

THE
SECOND PART
OF A TREATISE CONCERNING
POLICY, AND RELIGION.

Wherein the necessity, fruite, and dignity of Christian religion, in commonwelth, is evidently showed, with the absurdity of false religions, and the danger, and dammage, that ensueth thereof to all states; And by the way somme philosophical, moral, and politicall matters are treated: dyuers pious lessons & instructions geuen, tending to christian perfection: many controuerseys in religion debated, and discussed: and the objections of polityks, and heretyks answered; Finally it is clearly proued, that the Catholique Roman religiō only doth make a happy common welch.

Written by THOMAS FITZHERBERT Esquyre
and Catholique priest.

Quærite primum regnum Dei, & iustitiam eius, & hæc omnia adiicientur vobis. Matth. 6. Seeke first the Kingdome of God, and his iustice, and all these things shalbe geuen yow besydes: Math. 6.

At Douay, by IOHN HEIGHAM
with Licence of Superiours.

Anno Domini 1615.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

LIBRARY

1890

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

LIBRARY

1890

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

LIBRARY

1890

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

LIBRARY

1890

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

LIBRARY

1890

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

LIBRARY

1890

A
P



appl
byri
min

T

in a

Dea

gro

inc

Ybe

arg

tre

led

dal

ma

THE PREFACE
 ADVERTISING
 DYVERS THINGS TO BE
 NOTED IN THE TREATISE
 FOLLOWING.

Sicilldes Musæ paulo maiora canamus,
 Non omnes arbuta iuuant, humileſq; myricæ.



O song the pastoral poet, when he meant to
 tune his pype to a heygher note, that is to say,
 to passe from treating rural, and cuntry con-
 ceits of sheppards, sheepe, goates, shrubs,
 bushes, hils, and dales, to sing and celebrat
 the prayes of Augustus Cæsar, & his flo-
 rishing Empire, by the occasion of the birth
 of Saloninus sonne to Asinius Pollio
 cheefe fauorit of Augustus, to whome he
 applyed a prophesie of Sybilla Cumana, which in truth concerned the
 byrth of our Saniour IESV. Christ and his most happy empyre, and do-
 minion ouer the soules of men.

Therefore I being now to flye, (as I may say) a heygher pitch, then
 in my former Treatise, that is, to passe from handling so meane, and
 weake a subiect, as is the infirmity of mans wit, and humane pollicy
 grounded thereon, to treat of the necessity, frute, and dignity of religion
 in common welth, yea of that religion, and euerlasting empyre of Christ,
 whereof the prophetesse Sibilla spake in the prophesie aforesayde (an
 argument much more incomparably excellling the former, whereof I
 treated before, then the imperial maiesty, and power of Augustus, excel-
 led the poore and base quality of sheppards, sheepe, bushes, hils, and
 dales (yea as much as heauen surpasseth earth, or rather all things nothing) I
 may with much more reason say, multò maiora canamus, and in steede

THE PREFACE

of the Sicilian Muses (whose helpe the poet implored) inuocat that holy, and deuyné spirit, which is the true light of hartes, & teacher of all truth, whome therefore I humbly beseech so to illuminat my understanding, and guyde my pen, that I may worthily treat of so worthy & hygh a subject, as is the transcendent woorthines and perfection of Christian religion.

For although my intent is not to vnfold all the mysteries of the christian faith, neyther yet to handle any part thereof further, then the same may some way concerne common welth, yet for as much as I am to proue in this treatise, that the perfection, and felicity of common welth consisteth in Christian religion, I cannot sufficiently performe the same, except I show the perfection, and incomprehensible excellency, effects, and fruits thereof, no more then if I should undertake to treat of the woorthines & felicity of man, and omit to speake of the excellency of the soule, and of the euerlasting beatitude, whereto he is ordayned, and wherein consisteth his last, and cheefe felicity.

Therefore, whereas there are ouer many at this day, who haue such prophane conceit of common welth, and pollicy, that they think matters of spirit, altogether impertinent thereto, and expect in a politicall discourse nothing els but rules, or instructions teaching cunning practyses, sleighes, subtilties, shifts (or as I may tearme them tricks of state) yea coosenages, & fraudulent deuyses, rather then prudent, and sound aduises, such being now the corruption generally growne in the world, that craft, and subtilty is held of many for prudence, the deepest dissimulation for the profoundest wisdome, and (if I may speake plainly without offence of modest eares) the synest, and best cloked knauery for the wysest, and heyghest policy, Therefore I say to such, that if they could frame a common welth of a company of coggers, cooseners, and connicatchers, tending euery one to his owne particuler proffit, or pleasur, or yet of a congregation all of sensuall men, litle better then a heard of cattle, or beasts (I meane though endued with reasonable soules, yet lead, and gouerned altogether by sence) they shuld haue more reason to exclude from it, all matters not only of spirit, but also of vertue, & morall honesty; but if common welth be a ciuill society of men united with the communion of lawes, for a publyk, and common good, I say of men, that is to say reasonable creatures, hauing reasonable soules created by almighty god to his owne ymage, and for his owne seruice, yea ordayned to a supernatural end, that is, to eternal beatitude, to be obtained by spir-

TO THE READER.

*real meanes, to wit by religion, iustice, pietye, and the practise of all ver-
 tue (all which I will make most evident in the ensuing discourse) may if
 evidently proue that the cheefe end, and felicity of the common welth is
 selfe, is no other then the end, and happynes of euery particuler man in this
 life, and that the same cannot otherwayse be atchiued, but by the perfect
 practise of christian religion, they cannot thinke it strange, or impertinent
 to the subiect which I handle, if I doe now and then, intermix discourses
 of true christian perfection, and such things as belong thereto; For seeing
 no common welth can be perfect without perfect vertue, nor any perfection
 of vertue be had without Christian perfection, nor the same be any
 where found but in Christian religion, as I will make most manifest
 hereafter, I cannot delineat a true, ciuil, & politick man, that is to say a
 perfect member of a christian common welth, except I describe a perfect
 christian, neither yet performe that, except I also show what is christian
 perfection; nor that without the explication of many heigh misteries, and
 excellencies of christian religion.*

*And for as much as I cannot accomplish all this with the benefit that I
 wish to my reader, except I also lay doune the meanes how to attayne to
 christian perfection, thereby to arrive to a perfect union with god (which
 is the proper effect of true religion, and the only true felicity of man, and
 common welth) therefore I meane also to enterlace many spiritual aduises,
 and rules tending to the true vse, & practise of christian religion, lest
 otherwayse I may be lyke to one that should tell a sick man of a soueraigne
 medicin for his disease, and conceale from him the vse of it; so that my
 desire, and intention, yea my obligation being (my subiect considered) not
 so much to show, or describe, as to make a perfect member of christian
 common welth, & to supply the defects of humane pollicy (whereof I treat-
 ed in my fyrst part) with the perfection of christian religion (which is
 the subiect of this my second part) I hope no man can iustly mislike that I
 doe oft inculcat matters of spirit, and especially the office, and duty of a
 true christian man, and touch also now and then, somme points of the
 heighest christian perfection. And whereas I shall also haue occasion to re-
 late by the way, somme admirable, miraculous, & stupendious effects of
 gods grace in holy men, I doubt not but the pious, and well disposed reader,
 will receiue greate edification thereby, noting, and admiring therein, not
 only the eminent dignity, and excellency of christian religion, but also the*

THE PREFACE

infinis power, wisdom, and bounty of almighty god towards his seruants

And as for such incredulous miscreants, as the Apostle S. Iudas teacheth animales spiritum non habentes, meu altogether sensual, hauing no spirit, who therefore doe not vnderstand (saith S. Paul,) et quę sūt spiritus Dei, those things vvhich are of the spirit of god, I. Cor. 2. beleeuing no more of good woorks then they see with theyr eyes, or touch with their hands, or can comprehend within their weake, idle, and addle heads, such I say, I remit partly to that which I haue discoursed in my first part against Atheists, and partly to the experience of gods most admirable woork in this kind, which I shall haue occasion to demonstrat in this my second part, drawing the same from the fountayne of the holly scriptures, according to the interpretation of the Catholyke church, and deriuing it to these our dayes, by the examples and testimony of gods saints in all tymes, and ages.

And if neuertheles they persist obstinat in their incredulity, and think with some ridiculous, and blasphemous iest, (as commonly they are wont) to elude such a sacred authority of experience both ancient, and moderne, I leaue them with sorrow, and pittie of their case, to the terrible sentence of S. Peter pronounced of such as they. Hi velut pecora irrationalia &c. these being lyke to vnreasonable beasts, naturally tending to the snare, and destruction, blaspheming in those things vvhich they know not, shall perish in their ovvne corruption, receiuing the revvard of iniustice &c.

Furthermore for as much as the differēce of opiniōs in matters of religion at this tyme, requyreth some discusson of the truth, that thereby it may appeare who they are that truly professe the christia religion, I do therefore think good to treat of diuers poynts in controuersy betwyx the Roman Catholyks, & their aduersaries, thereby to shōw the preiudice that groweth to state by false religions, exemplifying the same especially in Lutheranism, and Caluinisme, because those sects eyther doe comprehend, or haue engendred all other, and are more generally embraced then any of the rest.

And therefore whereas I may perhaps be censured by some as ouersharpe, and vehement sometymes in the reprehension of Lutherans, & Caluinists, and their doctrine, (out of the abundance of my zeale to the catholyke faith) whereby I may also seeme to cast some aspersiō of iniury (as

TO THE READER.

perhaps it may be interpreted upon my owne cuntrymen, I meane Protestants and Puritans in England, I wish them to vnderstand, that although I hope to vse such due moderation towards Lutherans, and Calvinists, as not to reprove, and taxe them further then they shall iustly deserue, yet I think I may be the bolder with them, as iust occasion shall be offered, because I perswade my selfe that no Protestant, nor Puritian in England, can iustly take him selfe to be iniured thereby, seeing that there is none of them (for ought I know, or can imagin) that is formally eyther a Lutheran, or a Calvinist, I meane that holdeth, & professeth the doctrine of Luther, or Calvin otherways then with such additions and subtractions, as euery mans priuat spirit doth suggest, and therefore what soeuer I shall say of Luther, or Calvin, or any of theyr progeny, I would not haue it further to be extended then I meane it, which is only to those Archsectaries and such others as are content to be held, and styled for their disciples, I meane to be called Lutherans, or Calvinists.

And as for my louing Cuntrimen who reiect some part of their doctrine, and admit the rest, I would wish them, heere by the way of aduise well to consider, what assurance they haue more for that which they take, then for that which they leaue, since they (I meane Luther, and Calvin) assured them selues no lesse of the one, then of the other, pretending the warrant of holly scriptures, and the assistance of gods holly spirit equally for both, So that if they were deceiued in part, they might as well be deceiued in the whole, especially seeing that neyther of them had any other ground of his new doctrine, but only his owne priuat sence, and vnderstanding of scriptures for yf they had had the assistance of gods spirit therein, they could neither of them haue erred in any part thereof, and much lesse haue dissented the one from the other so much as they did, being so opposit, & contrary (euen in some of the most important, and essentiall poynts of faith) that they detested, & condemned one another for damnable heretykes, as their followers doe vntill this day; whereby it is euident, that at least the one of them was mightily deceiued, and therefore had not the spirit of god, yea & that the other also kuylding upon no better ground then his companio, but vpon the selfe same (I meane his owne presumption to vnderstand the scriptures aright) had no more assurance of the holly ghosts assistance then he, and therefore might erre as dangerously, and absurdly as he.

And is

THE PREFACE

And if any man grounding him selfe also upon the same foundation, follow the one more then the other, and yet neuer theles doth approve him in part, and reprove him in the rest, he is to consider, that he may with reason feare, lest he him selfe be as much beguyled in that which he accepteth, as his maister was in that which he reiecteth, seeing he hath no more assurance for the one part, then for the other; his owne, or his masters priuat sence of scripture, being the ground of both; So that we see all is buylt heere, vpon vncertainety. & that no man can, by this meane, haue any ground or assurance of his faith; whereby we may also learne what extreame folly, & danger it is for any man, to leaue the infallible iudgement of the church (which is the spouse of Christ, and guided by his holy spirit) to follow his owne, or any mans priuat sence in the exposition of scripture, which can proceede of nothing els but singularity, temerity, presumption, and pryde, the mother of heresy, and as I may say, the very precipice whereby infinit numbers haue fallen headlong into the pit of eternal perdition; whereof I neede not to say more heere, because I shall touch it now, and then in the ensuing discourse.

It relecth now good reader that, I aduertise thee of some alteration in my desygne, since I wrote my first part. For, although I was then determined to compact my whole conceit into two volumes, or parts yet there hath since occurred vnto me such abundance of matter, necessary partly for thy proffit, and partly for thy delectation, that I am now resolved to adde a thyrd part. And seeing that the subiect of the whole, being Pollicy, & Religio, my first part treated principally of Pollicy, I meane that this second part shall treat most of Religion, & the thyrd indifferently of both; wherein I also hope fully to discharge my obligation touching some particular paynts promised in my first part, which I shall haue opportunity to performe in this, as also to consummat the whole subiect of my first proiect, whereof there will remayne much to be accomplished, according to this my latter desygne.

So that thou seest, good reader, it falleth out with me, as it doth with buylders, who seeldome content themselves with their first plot, and commonly spend both longer tyme, and much more money, then at the first they determined. And although I cannot presume duly to obserue the rules, and precepts of Architecture in the fabrike of this my religious palace, so I may terme a work treating of Religion, yet I will not be content

TO THE READER.

that which most importeth, and best correspondeth to the nature of such a building; & therefore I will not only furnish it with implements of pious lessons, and instructions of greate edification, but also erect and buyld therein an oratory, or chappel for christian contemplation; and in the very porch or entry thereof, represent vnto thee a true pourtrait of the natural contemplation of the philosophers; And though I doubt not, but thou wilt fynd therein excellent matter, and perhaps wonder to see such hygh and mystical doctrine in pagans and heathens, who could reach no further, then nature, and the light of reason could lead them, yet I do not recommend it vnto thee for any other purpose, then to serue for a fyle to set foorth our Christian contemplation, that is, to make thee the better see, and vnderstand the excellent perfection thereof.

If therefore it may please thee sometymes to rectyre thy selfe into this contemplatiue chappel, and there with due, and serious meditation to contemplat not so much the forme of the buylding, (which by the smale skill of the Architect, may faile in proportion) as the matter, and furniture thereof, borrowed from the holly scriptures, and most contemplatiue fathers, I doubt not but thou shalt receiue such spiritual benefite, and contentment thereby, that thou wilt say, as S. Peter sayd vpon the mount. Bonum est nos hic esse, or with the royal prophet. Quam dilecta tabernacula tua domine virtutum, concupiscit & deficit anima mea in atria Domini. Matth. 17. Psal. 83.

And for as much as in the buylding of a Palace, special care is to be had to make it sayre, and beautifull to the eye, and to grace it with variety of pictures, images, and pourtraicts of dyuers sorts, I will be carefull also to geue thee some satisfaction in that behalfe; and therefore doe meane to paynt, and adorne this my religious buylding, with greate diuersity of moral, and polirical doctrine, and with store of histories, as well profane, as Ecclesiasticall, as also with the true and liuely pourtraits of the most famous, and woorthy men that haue flourished in gods church since our saviours tyme, proposing to thy view theyr vertuous, and heroical acts, in the contempt and triumphant conquest of the world, and themselves, for the loue of god; so the end that framing thy lyfe after the model of theyr example, thou mayst arrive to some degree, at least, of true christian perfection.

THE PREFACE

Moreover, whereas there is no palace so beautifull, or magnificent that hath not dyuers retraits, channels, finks, and other base, and homely places (which though they be lothsome of theyr owne nature, yet are necessary for the whole buylding) thou shalt also fynd in this my religious palace matters of that quality, I meane the absurd, beastly, and impious opinions, and lines of Pagans, Mahometans, Ievves, Macchianilians, Polityks, & Heretyks representing unto thee the borrow of false religion, which may serue, not only to moue thee to the detestation thereof, but also to breede in thee a greater estimation, loue, and honour of true religion.

Finally, as nothing more importeth in buylding, then to lay a sure foundation, and to make the walles substantial, and able to resist the force, as well of wynd, and wether, as of encmies, if neede requyre, so will I haue a special care to found all this my buylding, vpon the firme, and immueable rock of truth, and to rayse strong walls of pregnant arguments, & reasons drawne from nature it selfe, fortifying the same with the euident testimonies of holly scriptures, and ancient fathers, and with many old & moderne examples; And therefore seeing I haue benne content, good reader, for my part to be at the charges, and paynes, not only to buyld this pallace, and to make it commodious for thee, but also to present it vnto thee for thy vse and habitation, I hope thou wilt not vse it as an Inne, for a bayte, or a nights lodging, (that is, only take a superficial view of it) but make thy abode in it at least for some tyme; I meane read, and ruminat the whole woork with diligence, and after practise that which thou shalt fynd therein fit for thy vse. For so shalt thou, of this my labour reape the benefyte, I the comefort, and almighty God the glory, to whose grace, and holly protection I recommend thee.

Thy hartie well willer.

Thomas Fitzherbert.

A PER-

A

PERFECT ANATOMY

OF THIS TREATISE, SHOWING PARTICVLERLY WHAT MATTERS are handled in it, and in what Chapters.

Touching Religion only.



HAT religion is most natural to man, and most necessary for the conseruation, not only of all mankind, but also of the whole world. Chap. 1. & 2.

How much the heathens and pagans esteemed religion, and priesthood, and some what touching the eminent dignity of christian priesthood, & of the church of Christ. Chap. 6.

The purity and excellency of Christian religion, and the admirable force, and effects of gods grace for the repression of vyce, and the reformation of mans manners. Chap. 15. & 16.

The excellency of christian contemplation with the practise and stupendious effects thereof. Chap. 18. 19. 20. & 21.

That the Catholyke Roman religion hath the true imitation of Christ and Christian perfection. Chap. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 31. 37. & 38.

Touching Religion, & Pollicy ioyntly.

That the end and felicity of common welth consisteth in religion, according to the doctrin as well of the old philosophers, as of Christian deuines. Chap. 4.

That all pollicy is to be directed by the rule of religion, and that otherwise it can not be good, and true pollicy. Chap. 6.

AN ANATOMY

That the ciuill society, or common welth ys, by the law of nature subordinar to the ecclesiastical society. Ibidem.

That Atheisme destroyeth common welth, & by what meanes. Chap. 1.

That the vse of taking and geuing othes, is most necessary for common welth. Chap. 8.

That all false religions are pernicious to common welth. Chap. 6. Showed in paganisme, Chap. 7- 8. & 9. in Mahometisme, and Iudaisme, Chap. 14. In Lutheranisme and Caluinisme, Chap. 28. and in the rest of the chapters vnto the end of the booke, and especially in the 30, 35, 36. and the last chapter.

That the christian religion is truly ciuil, or political, that is to say conforme to reason of state, and most behoouefull for common welth. Chap. 15. 16. & 17.

That the Catholyk Roman religion, ys the true Christian religion before mencioned, & therefore is truly ciuil, or political, and maketh a happy common welth. Chap. 25. 26. 27. 36. 37. and 38.

That the practise of the Euangelical counsels, to wit of voluntary pouerty, chastity, and obedience, or abnegation of a mans selfe, ys convenient and necessary for common welth. Chap. 25. 28. 29. 30. 31. 34. and the last chapter num. 87. 88. 89. 90. & 91.

Cerryayne arguments, and reasons of Machiavel against Christian religion, out of reason of state are confuted. Chap. 24.

Other obiections of polityks against the single lyfe of priests, and religious disciplin are answered. Chap. 34.

That no political law can subdue the law of the flesh, without the help of gods grace. Chap. 15.

Touching Policy only.

How temporal goods, and commodities may serue, and auayle to the felicity of common welth. Chap. 4. and in the last chapter num. 111.

That common welth standeth by vertue, & falleth by vyce. Chap. 9.

Dyuers political obseruations, and rules taken out of Plato for the good gouernment of common welth. Ibidem.

That all the science, and practise of the Southsayers, and Augures amongst the Romans, & Grecians was absurd, and contrary to true reason of state. Chap. 8.

That Polygamy, or the hauing many wyues at once vsed amongst Turks, Persians, and Moores is against reason of state, and hurtfull to common welth. Chap. 14.

That many ciuil constitutions of the Iewes ordeyned in their *Talmud*

OF THIS TREATISE

are not only most absurd and impious, but also most repugnant to reason of state. Ibid.

Touching matters of morality, philosophy, and the philosophers.

That the felicity which wicked men imagin to be in sensuality, riches, honours, and pleasures of the world is no felicity, but misery. Chap. 5.

That paynimes, and infidels could neuer arrive to the perfection of moral vertues, though many of them seemed to excell in some of the moral vertues. Chap. 16.

That the philosophers beleueed, that there is but one god, and that philosophy is the handmayde of diuinity. Chap. 3.

That the philosophers did not know the true cause of the general diseases in mans nature, and therefore laboured in vayne to cure it by their precepts. Chap. 15.

That Aristotle placed the felicity of man, and of common welth in contemplation. Chap. 4.

What manner of contemplation the philosophers requyred to mans felicity, & what practise they had thereof. Chap. 17.

What the philosophers taught concerning the actiue, and contemplatiue lyfe, & in what manner they thought that the common welth might be made happy by contemplation. Chapp. 22.

How much virginity was esteemed amongst the paynimes, & what meanes they taught to liue chaste. Chap. 30.

Touching matters historical.

An historical relation of the religion of the Romans. Chap. 7. & 8.
Examples of dyuers flourishing common welths ouerthrowne by vyce. Chap. 9.

An exact epitome of the Roman history, with the mutation & changes of theyr commonwelth, and empyre. The welth, power, and ample dominion of the Roman emperours, theyr desastrous deaths whyles they were paynimes, and an exact obseruation of the rigour of gods iustice from tyme to tyme vpon the Roman comon welth, and empyre from the foundation of Rome, vntill the propagation of the Christian religion vnder Constantine the greate. Chap. 9. 10. 11. 12. & 13.

An historickall relation of the religion of Mahomet, and the ridiculous absurdities and lyes containyd in the Alcoran, and his other books; Also of the Talmud of the iewes, and theyr absurd impiety, and folly. Chap. 14.

AN ANATOMY

Examples of the admirable effects of gods grace, in the reformation of mens manners. Chap. 15. & 16.

Examples of contemplatiue, and holly kings. Chap. 23.

An historical relation of the beginning, and proceeding of all the religious orders in gods church, from Christs tyme vntill this day. Chap. 25. & 26.

Examples of gods extraordinary fauours bestowed vppon his seruants by extases and rapts, reuelations, the spirit of prophesy, and other miraculous operations in euery age since our Sauours tyme. Chap. 27.

Examples of emperours, kings, and other greate princes, who haue forsaken the world for the loue of god. Chap. 28.

An historical relation of the licentious lyues of *Luther*, *Caluin*, &c., and other sectaries. Chap. 30. Of theyr dissentions and pryde objected by one of them against another. Chap. 31. And of the fruit of their new gospell, noted, and acknowledged by themselves in theyr disciples, and followers. Chap. 36.

What cuntries haue benne conuerted to the christian faith, by religious men, with examples of many other greate benefits bestowed also by almighty god vppon princes, and theyr itates, by theyr meanes; and finally, what monasteries haue benne buylt in England by the kings thereof. Chap. 34.

Examples of *Arrians*, *Donatists*, and other infamous here:tykes, and notorious wicked men, who were professed enemies of religious men, and theyr profession. Chap. 31.

Examples of gods iustice extended vppon wicked emperours, and princes, who had made lawes against monastical disciplin, and religious men. Chap. 34.

Examples of miracles vaynely attempted, false reuelations, and diabolical illusions, happened to dyuers sectaries, namely to *Luther*, *Caluin*, *Foxe*, and others. Chap. 32.

Examples of greate austeritv vsed by holly men, for the satisfaction of gods iustice, mortification of their flesh, or other pious ends, as well in the old testament, as the new, and in all ages since our sauours tyme, in imitation of him, and of his apostles. Chap. 36.

*Matters of Religion in controuersy betwixt Catholykes
and theyr aduersaries, debated and discussed.*

The euangelicall counsels in general, proued to haue benne taught, & practised by our sauour and his apostles. Chap. 24.

Conce
Chasti
Chap.
Tha
our lau
of our
The v
Script
Chap.
Ten
cerning
possibi
uation,
saluatio
concey
and oth
Christi
doctrim
welth,
Chap.
The
descend
apostles
this day
Tha
Cathol
uation
The
tificati
ments
religion
charity

Wha
precept
Chap.

Con

OF THIS TREATISE

Concerning counsels in particular, to wit voluntary poverty, Chap. 28.
Chastity, Chap. 29. & 30. obedience, or abnegation of a mans selfe.
Chap. 31.

That the gift of miracles hath benne continued in gods church, from
our sauour Christs tyme, vntill this day, with answers to the obiections
of our aduersaries. Chap. 32.

The vse of religious vowes, is defended by the authority of the holly
Scriptures, ancient Fathers, and continual custome of the Church.
Chap. 33.

Ten poynts, or articles of religion debated by way of state, vz. con-
cerning iustification by faith, and woorks, inherent Iustice, free will, the
possibility to keepe the commaundements, and theyr necessity to sal-
uation, whether we ought to assure our selues of our predestination, and
saluation, whether god be authour of sinne, of the Sacrament of penance
conteyning contrition, confession, and satisfaction; of the fast of lent,
and other fasts, ordayned by the Church, of prayer to saynts, lastly of
Christian liberty, in all which poynts it is evidently proued, that the
doctrin of the catholyks ys very conuenient, and behouefull to common
welth, and the doctrin of theyr aduersaries most pernicious thereto.
Chap. 35.

The vse of penance, and mortification of the flesh, is proued to haue
descended from the doctrin, and example of our Sauour, and the
apostles, and to haue continued in the church from theyr tyme vntill
this day. Chap. 36.

That the true Church of Christ can neuer be hid, or erre, that the
Catholyke Roman Church is the true Church, and that there is no sal-
uation out of it. Chap. 36. & 37.

The doctrin of *Luther*, and *Caluin*, concerning imputatiue Iustice, Iu-
stification by only faith, and the impossibility to obserue the commaunde-
ments handled before by way of state Chap. 35. is treated by way of
religion, and confuted, whereby the greate dignity, and excellency of
charity is amply declared. Chap. 38.

*Matters belonging to Christian perfection, and to the
felicity of man in this lyfe consisting in his
union with god.*

What christian perfection is. Chap. 23. & 37. and how dyuers
precepts of our sauour touching the same are to be vnderstood.
Chap. 23.

Of

AN ANATOMY OF THIS TREATISE.

Of three sorts of Christians excluded from true Christian perfection, & felicity, and who they are that arriue vnto it. Chap. 37.

Of the incomparable woorth, & dignity of mans vnion with god, obtayned by christian perfection, and that all true honour, proffit, pleasure, and felicity consisteth therein; Ibidem.

How farre Christian perfection may extend in this lyfe, and of the diuers degrees thereof. Ibidem.

Of meditation, and mentall prayer, of the remedy of distractions, desolation, and temptations, as well in prayer, as out of prayer. Chap. 18. 19. 20. & 21.



THE TABLE

THE TABLE
OF THE CHAPTERS
SHEVVING THE CON-
TENTS OF THE SECOND
PART OF THIS
Treatise.



HE necessitie of religion, for the conseruation and perfection of the worlde, is proued by the reduction, and returne of all creatures to their beginning and first cause, that is to say, God their Creator. Chap. 1.

In what maner all creatures are reduced to God their Creator by religion, and by the way, the beginning, effect, vilitie, and end of religion; is euidently declared out of the best philosophers: consequently it is proued, that religion is so natural to man, that it can not be extinguished, except mankind be exterminated, and the whole worlde dissolued: whereby the necessitie of religion, the prouidence of God, and the blindnes, and impietie of the politike, is euidently shewed. Chap. 2.

It is obiected, that the philosophers which haue beene alleadged in the former chapters, were Idolaters, and that therefore their testimonies, for matters of Christian religion are impertinent, and not to be used by Christians. The obiection is answered: and it is proued, that the religion whereof the philosophers treat, was true religion, consisting in the worship of one God, whom they acknowledged to be the author of nature. Also, that philosophie is the handmaide of our deuinitie, and to be used for the confirmation thereof, with certaine considerations prouing the necessitie of religion, and the ignorance, and blindnesse of politiques. Chap. 3.

To shew the necessitie of religion in common wealth, it is cleerly proued, as well by the philosophers, as by deuines, that the end, and true felicitie of every man in this life, and of common wealth, consisteth in religion. And finallie it is declared,

THE TABLE

how temporal commodities may serue, and auale to the felicitie of common wealth. Chap. 1.

That the felicitie which wicked men place in sensualitie, riches, honour, and worldly delightes, is no felicitie, but miserie: and that there is no true contentment, or happines but in God. And by the way, the vanitie of the world, and worldlymen, is euidentlie shewed. Chap. 2.

That ciuil societie is subordinat to the religious, or ecclesiastical societie, that is to say, to the Church. And by that occasion it is declared, how much religion hath benne honored, and respected in profane common welths: and the eminent dignitie of the Church of Christ is touched by the way. Also certaine considerations are drawne out of all the precedent chapters, and some groundes laid, for the better examination of false religions, to wit of Paganisme, Mahometisme, Iudaisme, Lutheranisme, and Caluinisme. Chap. 3.

The absurditie of Paganisme, is shewed in the religion of the ancient Romans, and that the same was no lesse contrarie to true reason of state, then to true religion, not only for the vanitie of their Gods, and the impietie of their sacrifices, and ridiculous ceremonies: but also for the bad effectes of vice, and all kind of wickednes, which it produced in their common welth. Chap. 4.

That the profession of the Augurs, and Soothsayers amongst the Romans, and all their manner of diuination, was frivolous, vaine, and most pernicious to their common welth: Also that their religion could not but breede Atheisme in very many of the professors of it, and was also in that respect, contrarie to reason of state: to which purpose it is declared, how Atheisme destroyeth common welth. Chap. 5.

That the corruption of manners, and the vice which grew of Paganisme, could not but be very preiudiciall to the Roman common welth, to which end, the necessity of vertue for the conseruation of state, and the dammage that followeth of vice is declared, with diuers politicall obseruations, and rules out of Plato to the same purpose: And to the end it may appeare, how the Roman common welth could stand, and encrease, to so great an empire, as it did, with the exercise of that religion, it is signified, that as God out of his providence did encrease, and encrease their estate, to the end, that he might build his Church in time against the ruynes of their empire: so also he punished the same most severely from time to time, for their impious religion, which appeareth in the history, from the foundation of Rome, untill the expulsion of their Kings. Chap. 6.

OF THE CHAPTERS.

A continuation of the same matter, to shew the severitie of Gods iustice in punishing the Romans, from the expulsion of the Kinges, untill the first war of Carthage, with a perfect Epitome, or abridgement, of the Roman historie during that time. Chap. 10.

The epitome of the Roman Historie is continued, and the exemplar punishment of God upon the Romans, further observed, from the beginninge of the first warre of Charthage, untill the ouerthrow of their common welch, or the birth of our Sauour Christ, under Augustus Cæsar, the first Roman Emperour. Chap. 11.

A prosecution of the same matter, with a continuation of the abridgement of the Roman Historie, from Augustus Cæsar, untill the empire of Constantine the great, the first Christian emperour. Also the extreame tyrannie of the pagan Emperours, their persecutions of the Church, how long euerie one of them reigned, and in what manner, and yeare they died, and finallie the horrible calamities, and miseries inflicted by Gods iustice upon them, and the Roman empire during their raigne. Chap. 12.

The conclusion of the foure former chapters, concerning the religion, common welch, and empire of the Romans, and first of the amplitude of their dominion, their great welch, and power, and the meanes how they attained unto it is breeflie signified, with a compendious recapitulation of their calamities, which are proued to be farre greater then the miseries, and calamities of Christians haue bene at any time. And finally it is declared, how their great power, and ample dominion, serued for the propagation of the faith, and Church of Christ: wherebin it appeareth, how his providence in the conseruation and amplification of their state, for the good of his church, concurred with his iustice in their seuerer punishment, for the abominable impietie of their religion. Chap. 13.

The absurditie not only of Mahometisme, (which the Turkes, Persians, and Africans professe) but also of Iudaisme as it is now at this day professed, and practised by the Iewes is amply declared: with the ridiculous lies, falsities, and errours, taught in the Alcoran of Mahomet, or in the Thalmud of the Iewes, no lesse contrarie to reason of state, then repugnant to the veritie of religion. Chap. 14.

Of the veritie, dignitie, fruit, and necessitie of Christian religion in common welch, in respect aswel of the puritie, and excellencie of the doctrine, as also of the admirable force, and effects of Gods grace, which is giuen for the repression of vice,

THE TABLE

and reformation of manners. And by the way, it is declared, both by the
philosophers laboured, to reforme the diseases in mans nature. Chap. 16.

It is objected that many Paines, and Infidels haue excelled in the morall, and
civill vertues, though they were utterlie void of grace. And for satisfaction of the
objection it is proued, that though they might haue, and had some vertues, yet they
could neuer without grace, arrive to the perfection of morall vertue. Finally for
the further prooffe of the necessitie of grace, to the repression of vice, many examples
are alleadged of the notable effects of grace, in the suddaine, and miraculou con-
uersion of sinners, and reformation of mens manners. Chap. 16.

The necessitie of Christian religion, for the good gouernment of state is further
proued by the end, and felicitie of man, and common welth, because the same can-
not be obtained but by Christian religion. And for as much, as it is declared be-
fore, that aswel the Pagan philosophers, as our Christian deuines, place the felicity of
man, and of common welth in contemplation (which is an act of religion,) it is here
discussed what maner of contemplation, the philosophers required to this felicity,
what practise they had of it, what delight they taught to be in it: and lastlie, what
experience they had of that which they taught concerning the same. Chap. 17.

Of Christian contemplation what it is, how it serueth it selfe of philosophical con-
templation, and how it differeth from it, what excellent meanes it hath to arrive
to perfect union with God, in the which consisteth the end, and felicitie of man, and
common wealth: Also of three wayes practised by contemplatiue Christians, to ar-
riue to the perfection of contemplation, to wit, the Purgatiue way, the Illu-
minatiue way, and the Vnitue way: and first some practise is shewed of
the Purgatiue way, verie necessarie for beginners, and for the conuersion of sin-
ners. Chap. 18.

Of the Illuminatiue way, and the practise of it, with certaine obseruations
for the remedy of distractions, and spirituall desolation or sterility of spirit, which
may occurre in the exercise thereof. Also certaine meditations, to be practised by
those, that desire to profit in the seruice of God, and in the way of vertue, and to ar-
riue to the perfection of contemplation. Chap. 19.

Of the Vnitue way, and the practise of it, with rules to be obserued in the
exercise thereof, and meditations belonging to it. Chap. 20.

Of certaine other meditations proper, to the Vnitue way, and of the exercise of
spirit, called by the contemplatiues Ecstasis, and of rapt, and the diuinity of deu-
ins.

OF THE CHAPTERS.

And the ineffable consolations which God imparteth to his seruants in the perfect practise thereof: whereby it is euident, that true union with God, and consequentie the cheefe felicitie of man in this life, and of common wealth, consisteth in Christian contemplation. Chap. 21.

It is objected that to make a common wealth happy by such a christian, contemplation as hath been discribed, all the Citizens must be religious men, such as haue abandoned the world. The obiection is answered: & it is proued that euery member of a Christian common wealth (of what degree, state, or vocation soeuer he be) may be a perfect contemplatiue: and happie in his vocation: Also what is the perfection which Christ requireth in euery Christian man: & by the way, somewhat is said of the actiue and contemplatiue life, according to the opinion, as well of philosophers, as of our deuines. Ch. 22.

To proue that anie Christian man may bee a perfect contemplatiue in anie lawfull vocation, diuers examples are alledged of holie, and contemplatiue Kings. Whereuppon it is inferred, that meaner men, who haue lesse occasion to diuert them selues from contemplation, may bee perfect contemplatiues. Chap. 23.

Certaine frivolous obiections of Macchiauel against Christian religion are answered, and his impietie, and ignorance discovered. Chap. 24.

That the Christian religion which geueth true felicitie to common welth, is no other, but the Catholike Roman religion, because the same onlie hath the true Christian, and Euangelicall perfection, consistig in the imitation of Christ: and that consequentie it hath the onlie meanes to unite man with God. Chap. 25.

A continuacion of the same matter, to proue the continuall discent of religious disciplin, from the first 300. yeares after Christ, vntill our time, by the occasion whereof, the beginnings, and authours, of all the different professions, and orders of religions in Gods Church, are declared: with the reasons, and causes, why it is necessary, that there should be so many different orders in the Church of God, and that his mercifull providence, and bountie euidentlie appeareth therein: finally that the most holie learned, and famous men in Gods Church, haue professed, or allowed religious life, and that the later orders of religion, doe not differ either in matter of faith, or in substance of religious disciplin, from the first monkes, or religious of the primatiue Church. Chap. 26.

That God hath in all times and ages, giuen testimonie of his union with religion

THE TABLE

religious men, by manie extraordinary fauours bestowed vpon them, and by miracles, and rapts, by visions, reuelations, the spirit of prophesie, and the operation of graces, whereof examples are alleadged in euerie age, from the primitive church euen vntill this day: And thereupon it is concluded, that the Roman Catholicks hauing the true imitation of Christ in religious disciplin, and all the externall signes of Gods internall vniõ with them, haue not onlie the perfection of Christian religion, but also the cheefe felicity of man in this life, & of comon wealth. Chap. 17.

That the aduersaries of the Roman Church at these dayes, haue no perfect imitation of Christ, and therefore no perfection of Christian religion, nor vniõ with God, and consequentlie, no true felicitie either for themselves, or for the common wealth. And for this purpose it is proued, that they haue no practise of the euangelicall Counsels of our Sauour: and first touching voluntarie pouertie, the practise whereof; is deduced from our Sauours example, and expresse wordes, besides the authoritie, and vniforme consent of all the ancient Fathers: and by the way, the distinction betwixt our Sauours precepts, and counsels (denied by the aduersaries) is clearelie proued, the shifts and false gloses of Luther, Caluin, and their fellowes, discovered, and confuted. Chap. 18.

Of the Euangelical counsel of Chastitie, grounded vpon our Sauours example, and expresse wordes, according to the interpretation of all the ancient Fathers. Also the cauils, and peruerse gloses of our aduersaries, are derelicted, and rejected. Chap. 19.

To the end it may appeare, that our aduersaries neither haue, nor according to their principles can haue, anie practise at all of the Euangelical counsel of Chastitie, their Mahometical doctriu (teaching an impossibilitie to lue chaste) is ample, and particularelie declared out of their owne wordes, and proued to be most absurd, in respect both of reason of state, and also of experience, and common sense, yea, sufficientlie controuled, and confuted by the Painimes and Infidels. Also the bad and beastlie effects of that doctriu, are testified by the licentious liues of their cheefe masters, or teachers. Finallie diuers of their friuolous objections, and vaine cauils concerning this point, are fullie answered. Chap. 20.

Of the third Euangelical counsel, to-wit, perfect Obedience and abnegation of our selues, deduced out of the expresse doctriu of our Sauour, and confirmed by the testimonie of the Fathers, and examples of Gods miraculous approbation thereof; in diuers cases. Also that our aduersaries haue not so much practise thereof, as the very painimes had, nor so much as any dissimulation there to: and this is proued by the inollerable pride of their cheefe masters which

OF THE CHAPTERS.

partly in their owne workes, and partly by the testimonies of one of them against an other. Finallie it is made most euident, that they are not only void of all true imitation of Christ, and christian perfection, but also that they are sworn enemies of it, and therefore farre from all union with God; and true felicitie.

Chap. 31.

Whereas it is shewed, that the Roman Catholikes, haue all the externall signes that may be, of Gods externall union with them, (to wit, ecstasies, rapt, and reuelations, the spirit of prophesie, visions, and apparitions of our Saviour, his Angels and Saintes, and the operation of manifestest miracles: (it is here examined, what our aduersaries can pretend to haue had, or to haue in this kind: and it is proued, that they haue had nothing els, but certaine counterfet miracles, which haue miscaried vnder their hands, illusions of wicked spirits, idle and phantasticall dreames, horrible visions, and apparitions of deuils, and fained reuelations. Lastly, their objections against our miracles, are confuted, and they concluded to be wilfully blind.

Chap. 32.

For the finall conclusion of the question, concerning the Euangelicall Counsells, and religious life, the matter of religious vovyes is debated, and defended against our aduersaries. Also, that the continencie of clergymen, is beneficiall to the common wealth, and that certaine wicked Emperours, who haue sought by lawes to re-fraine, or to prohibit monasticall life, haue bene severelie punished by almighty God for the same. Finallie a breefe recapitulation is made of all the premises, concerning the true imitation of Christ, and our aduersaries are thereby conuincd, to be utterly void, as well of all Christian perfection, as of the true felicitie of man, and common welch.

Chap. 33.

Certaine obiections of the Politikes, out of the lawes of diuers Emperours and Kinges, against religious disciplin are answered, and the impietie of the said lawes shewed, by the notable punishment of God vpon the lawe makers. With a breefe recapitulation, and conclusion of all the former chapters, concerning religious discipline.

Chap. 34.

To proue that the Catholike religion is conforme to true reason of state, and the contrary doctrin repugnant thereto, ten points, controuersed betwixt the Catholikes, and their aduersaries, are debated by way of state: and it is euidently shewed, that the doctrin of Catholikes, leadeth to all vertue, and is therefore most conuenient for state, and that the doctrin of their aduersaries, eyther withdraweth from vertue, or inciteth to vice, and consequently is most pernicious to all states. Finally, the bad frute of Lutheranisme and Caluinisme in Common welch, is shewed by

THE TABLE OF THE CHAPTERS.

by the experience thereof, sufficiently acknowledged by Luther, Caluin, and their fellowes.

Chap. 1.

Three obiections are answered. The first, concerning the bad lines of some Catholikes. The second touching the good lines of some Lutherans, and Caluinists. And the third concerning their exhortations to vertue, and by occasion hereof, it is amply proued, that the mortification or chastisement of the flesh, is necessary to good life. Also that the worst, and most vicious Catholiks, are commonly those which become Lutherans, or Caluinists. Lastly that the exhortations, which Luther, and Caluin, vsed to induce men to vertue, and to withdraw them from vice, were ridiculous in them, being wholly repugnant to their religion, and by the way they are fitly compared to Epicurus, & his followers, as well for their doctrine, as for their manner in the deliuey of it.

Chap. 16.

The conclusion of this treatise, deuided in two chapters. And first, in this, a breefe recapitulation of the whole, with certaine considerations resulting thereon, concerning our union with God, christian perfection, & felicitie, woorthy to be well pondered of euery christian man: And next, certaine doubts are cleared, touching christian perfection: & how farre it may extend it selfe in this life.

Chap. 37.

An obiection of our aduersaries concerning christian perfection, is fully answered, whereby their doctrine of imputatiue iustice is confuted, with an application of all the former discourse to common welth, by the consideration of 4. notable effects of charity, by the which it is proued, that the Catholike Roman Religion only, getteth true felicity to common welth.

Chap. 38.





THE SECOND PART OF A TREATISE CONCERNING POLICY AND RELIGION.

*THE NECESSITIE OF RELIGION, FOR THE CON-
seruation and perfection of the worlde, is proued by the reduction, and
returne of all creatures to their beginning and first cause, that
is to say, God their Creator.*

CHAP. I.



VCH is the sympathy, and correspon-
dence betwixt the body, and the par-
tes thereof, that whatsoeuer is conue-
nient, and necessary for the whole, is
also necessary for euery parte, for with
the whole, the partes are ioyntly con-
serued, or destroyed; therefore whe-
reas I am now to shew the fruit, digni-
tie, and necessitie of religion in com-
mōwelths, kingdomes, & states (which
are but partes of the world) I thinke it

not amisse first to shew, that religion is so necessary, for the conserva-
tion of the whole world, that the same could not stand without it;
whereby two thinges will manifestly appeare, the one, that religion
is consequentlie necessarie for the conseruation of all commonweal-
thes; and the other, that the politikes, who reduce religion to a bare
name, and matter of opinion, or fantasy (contenting themselues
with the shew, and apparance thereof in the states, where they
gouerne) doe, asmuch as in them lyeth tend to the destruction, not
only of commonwelth, but also of the whole world.

This will easely be made manifest to any man, that hath had but
any tast of Philosophy, which teacheth that the world, and all thinges
therin being produced by one first cause, doe not only continually de-
pend thereon, but also are finally reduced therto, and could not

A

other

otherwise subsist, and be conserved; which I will proue to be the especiall effect of religion.

First therefore I will treat of the reductiō of all thinges to almighty God, their first cause and beginning: And after I will declare, how the same is wrought, and performed; Let vs heare then, the doctrine of some of the most ancient, and best philosophers.

Diogenes,
Laertius
Proam. in
vitas Philo-
sopho.

Marfilus
Ficin. com-
ment. in
conuiuium
Plato. oratio
2. c. 1.

Ibid.
Mercuri. de
potestate &
sapient. c. 3.

Aristotle 12.
metaph. c. 12.

Plato in
Timao.

Iamblicus
Marfilus
Ficin. in
compendio
in Timaeum.
ca. 6.
Proclus in
element
Thelog.
Dionys. lib.
de diuin. no-
minib. ca. 4.

Proverb. 16.

Rom. II.

3 The *Pithagorians* who were the first that were called Philosophers (because theyr master *Pithagoras* being demaunded what he was or what he professed, answered, that he was *Philosophus*, a louer of wisdom) taught that all thinges are measured, and gouerned by almighty God with a certayne Trinity, in respect of *theyr beginninge, theyr midst, and theyr end*, for that all thinges proceede from God, retorne vnto him, and are perfected in him: for which cause also *Orpheus*, *Mercurius Trismegistus* and *Plato* call him, *principium, medium, & finem vniuersi*; The beginninge, midst, and end of the world, because as all creatures, are procreated, moued, and gouerned by him, so also they are referred to him, as to theyr end, and finally haue theyr consummation in him, and by him.

4 Therefore *Aristotle* compareth almighty God, to the General of an army, or master of a family, and the world to the army, or family, because all thinges in the world proceeding from God, their first cause, are also finally referred to him: as all thinges (sayth he) in an army haue theyr relation to the generall, or in a family to the head thereof. *Plato* also affirmeth, that God is the beginninge, and end of all thinges, of some thinges ymmediately, and of others by the meanes of man, which how yt ys effected, shalbe declared after a while. Hereuppon *Iamblicus* (one of the cheefe *platonikes*) sayth, that yf all thinges had not a marueous reuolution to God (from whom, and in whom they haue theyr being) in *nihilum repente corruerent*; they would suddaynly fall to nothing, which *Proclus* also confirmeth, saying, that all thinges haue a perpetuall recourse, and as yt were a refluxe to the fountayne from whence they first flow, that ys to say, to God.

5 *Dionysius Areopagita* a Christian philosopher, and most learned deuyne sayth to the same purpose, that euery thing in the world, *ex optimo est, & in optimum conuertitur*: is of the best (that ys to say, hath beginning and being of God) and doth turne agayne to the best, which is also conforme to our holly scriptures teaching expressly that, *uniuersa propter semetipsum operatus est dominus*, our Lord made all thinges for him selfe, and that all thinges, are *ex ipso, per ipsum, & in ipso*, of him, by him and in him, which last ys read in the Greeke *ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἐν ἑαυτῷ, διὰ αὐτοῦ*.

to say into him, signifying thereby the relation, and recourse that all things haue to God, in which respect he ys also called in the Apocalipic, *α. & ω. the beginninge, and end,* and being as Boëtius sayth.

Apocal. 1.
Boët. de con-
sola. philoso.
li. 3. metro. 9.

Principium, rector, Dux, semita, terminus idem.

The beginning, the gouernour, the guide, the way, and the last end whereto all things tend: such being his infinit bounty, and loue to wardes his creatures, that he not only conserueth those things which he hath created, but also conuerteth, and turneth them to him selfe.

6 For (as Dionysius Areopagita saith) the loue of God proceeding from him, and extending it selfe to all, and euery one of his creatures, maketh as it were a circle returninge, and drawing with it all things vnto him, whereby he doth not only conserue his creatures, but also consummat, and persitt them. For then may any thing be truly said to haue consummation, and perfection, when being returned to the beginninge, from whence it was first deduced, it can goe no further, as we see it fall out in a circle which is ended, and persited, when the lyne is reduced to the same point from whence it was first drawne; whereto Boëtius may seeme to allude, when he saith thus.

Dionys. lib.
diuin. nom.
ca. 4.

*Reperunt proprios quæque recursus,
Redituque suo singula gaudent;
Nec manet ulli traditus ordo,
Nisi quod fini iunxerit ortum,
Stabilemque sui fecerit orbem.*

Boëtius de
consol. lib. 3.
metro. 2.

The fence is, that all things do naturally desire to returne to their beginning, and nothing doth consummat the course, and order that nature hath assigned it, vntill it hath made a circuite, or circle, and ended where it beganne.

7 This being so, let vs now see, how this is accomplished, in the whole world, that is to say, how the world, and all things therein, are reduced to their beginninge. This is most truly, and euidently performed by the meanes of man, being *Microcosmus*, a litle world, and participating of the nature aswell of all heavenly, as of all earthly things: in which respect, he is called in the scripture, *omnis creatura*, euery creature, as S. Gregory noteth vpon the wordes of our Sauour, *predicari Euangelium omni creatura*, preach the gospell to euery creature, because sayth S. Gregory, *Omnis creatura aliquid habet homo*, &c. Man hath somethinge of euery creature, for he hath beinge common with stones, sense with brute beastes, and understanding with Angels.

Mercuri.
Tris. ad
Asclepium
ca. 3.
Mar. 16.

S. Gregor. in
Marc. 16. Ho.
29.

8 Thus sayth he, besydes that it is also further to be vnderstood, that god gaue vnto man a participation, not only with all creatures

*Cicero libr.
de vniuersit.*

in heauen, and earth, but also with him selfe, making him to his owne ymage and likenes, to the end he might be a meanes berwixt him and his other creatures, to vnite them and the whole world with him theyr creator, for nothing is more agreeable to reason, nor more vsuall, or familiar to nature, then to conioyne two extreames by the meane of some thinge tempered, and composed of the nature of both. *Omnia duo, &c.* All rursse thinges (sayth Cicero) doe require some meane to serue them for a bond, or knot to vnite them: for euen as in a building or house the rooffe cannot be connected with the fundation, but by the helpe and meane of some thinge in the middest (as of walls, or pillars which may extend to both) so in naturall thinges, there can be no connexion of extreames, but by some thing, which hauinge participation of theyr nature, may, as it were, touch them both and ioynae them together.

9 And this is euidently scene as well in all naturall societies, as in the naturall coniunction of all other thinges. In the oeconomical society, wee see, that the wife obeying her husband, and commanding her children, and seruants, is, as it were, the bond of the family, beinge partaker of the condition of both, the highest and lowest. And in ciuill societie, wee see the like, wherein the king is vnited with his subiects by magistrates, communicating in commandement with him, and in obedience with them. Also in man himselfe, reason doth not otherwise performe her function, or doe her office in the gouernment of the body, but by the facultie, and power of sense, which hath part of both: And the like may be obserued in the motion, and progresse of nature, which doth not passe from the extreame heate of sommer, to the extremitie of winters colde, but by the temperature of spring and autumn, which connecting the one with the other, doth accomplish the course of the whole yeare.

10 Finally the same may be also in some sort noted in the blessed Trinitie, wherein the Father, and the Sonne, are vnited with perpetuall communication of the holy Ghost, proceeding from them both. It is therefore most requisit, that the same reason, and manner of connexion, which is scene, not only in creatures, but also in God their creator, should haue place in the whole world, that is to say, that man, whom god hath ordained to bee his lieutenant vpon earth, should haue a kind of middle condicion berwixt the highest, and the lowest nature, to the end that being conioyned with both, he might be a meane to vnite, and conioyne them both. This he doth principally by the meanes of religion, as may appeare by the very etimologie

therof, for (whether we define religion to be the science of serving God, as *Plutarch* calleth it, or Iustice towards God whereby true worship is given him, as *Cicero* defineth it, or a vertue wherby we doe due honour, and worship to God, as our deuynes say) the name of religion is deriued of the effect thereof, to wit, a *relegando*, of tying together (according to *S. g. 81. ar. 5. c. Augustine*) because saith he, it tyeth and vnith our soules with God our independent beginning, which *Lactantius* also affirmeth saying, that religion taketh that name a *vinculo pietatis*, from the bond of piety, because God doth tie vs vnto him thereby whiles we serue him as our lord, and obey him, as our father. Thus saith *Lactantius* reiecting the deriuation of *Cicero* who in his booke, *de natura deorum* deduceth it a *relegendo*, from reading agayne, though neuertheles els where he seemeth to allude to the other etymology, speaking of the goods of *Lerulus*, which he saith were *religioni religata*, meaning therby that they were consecrated to the Gods. But whatsoeuer is to be thought of the nature, or etymology of the word religion (wherof there haue bene diuers opinions) there is no doubt, but that the especiall effect thereof, is, the vnion of man with God, and the reduction of all other creatures by his meanes to the seruice of their creator; for although almighty God taking vpon him our humane nature, did therby vnite him selfe with al mankind in generall, yet the application of this general vnion to euerie man in particular, is principally wrought by the meanes of religion, as shall appear in the next chapter.

In what maner all creatures are reduced to God their Creator by religion, and by the way, the beginning, effect, vtilitie, and end of religion, is evidently declared out of the best philosophers: & consequently it is proued, that religion is so natural to man, that it can not be extinguished, except mankind be exterminated, and the whole worlde dissolved: wherby the necessitie of religion, the providence of God, and the blindnes, and impietie of the polityke, is evidently shewed.

CHAP. II.

His force, and effect of religion to vnite man with God, was curiously obserued, and exactly taught by the most ancient, and best Philosophers, as first by *Mercurius Trismegistus*, who teaching that all thinges visible, and subiect to our senses, were created by almighty God, for the vse, and seruice of man, addeth that God made man to his owne image, & as well of an eternall, as of a mortall nature, to the end, he might discharge two functions

ethiōs according to his diuerse natures, the one in the gouernēt of the earth, & the other in the contemplation, and seruice of God whereby man, (whom he calleth *magnum miraculum*, a great miracle) may arriue, saith he, to such a combination, and society with God, that he may be of a diuine nature, and as it were a God.

Arist. ethic. 2 *Aristotle* in like sort teacheth, that there are two functions of the vnderstanding of man, whereof the one consisteth principally in the contemplation of God, and of cælestiall thinges, the other in action. By the first, man vnitheth himselfe with God, by the second, he communicateth with other creatures; and this contemplation, whereof *Aristotle* speaketh, is nothing els but religion, or a necessary part thereof, as it is euident, for that *Aristotle* placing the felicity of man therein, requireth thereto not only the knowledg of God (without the which there can be no contemplation of him) but also the loue, and worship of him, and all perfection of vertue; and therefore concluding his disputation of the felicity of man, he saith, that the contemplatiue man is most happy, both because he is most vertuous, and also because he is most like to God, and best beloued of him, and cherished, rewarded, and benifited by him. And as for the worship of God, seeing *Aristotle* also in his Ethicks requireth of euerie man that he honour, and

Arist. ethic. li. 10. ca. 8. worship God, so much as he possibly may, which *no man* (saith he) can doe so much as he ought, there is no doubt, but that he holdeth the same to be most requisit in his contemplatiue man, whome he affirmeth to be the greatest louer, and frind of God, and best beloued of him, as I haue declared. So that it is manifest, that the contemplation (whereunto *Aristotle* ascribeth the amitie, and vnitic of man with God) is cyther religion, or a necessary part therof.

Plato in Timæo 3. & de leg. 1. 4. *Plato* teaching that al thinges on earth were made for the behoofe, and seruice of man, and man himselfe for the seruice of God, assigneth no other end thereof, but only that man may be vnited with him, and therefore he saith, that we must not contemplate God, only to know him, but much more to worship, and loue him, to the end we may contract a straight amitie, and frindship with him, for those (saith he) which knowv God, are not gratefull vnto him, except they loue him, and those which both knowv, & loue him, are not acceptable vnto him, for their knowledg, but for their loue, for a man may knowv God, and bee his enemy, and blaspheme him, which he cannot doe, and loue him. Thus teacheth he, who also requireth that this loue of God in man, be not a superficiall, and a light affection, but a most feruent, and pure loue, correspondent to his infinite beauty, bounty, and goodnes, that is to say, a loue sine modo aut ter-

Vide Iauell. in Epitome in Ethic. Platon. Tract. 4. c. 2.

man, without measure or end, due to God alone for himselfe, & to all creatures for God; by which loue man may be so linked & coiyned with God, that they may become, as it were, both one; whereto Plato also requireth the worship and seruice of God, consisting in adoration, prayers, sacrifices, oblations, pietie, modestie and humilitie, all which concurring are nothing els but religion.

4. To Plato I will adde only two of his followeres, to wit Porphyrius, and Iamblicus, who teaching that man is ioyned with God by religion, doe withall, notably shew, and explicat, the reason, beginning, force, effect, vtilitie, and end thereof: whereto I wish the politikes to be attentiuē, to the end they may learne of the verie paynims, that religion is not a matter of fantasie or humayne deuice, but that it floweth from the very fountaine of nature it selfe. Porphyrius attributing the combination, and connexion of man with God, to the only force, and effect of religion, doth vse notable reasons to teach and perswade the excellencie, and necessity thereof. Whereof the first is, that whereas

god is all in all, and man but (as it were) a part of all, it is necessarie that man do conuert, and turne himself vnto god, to the end he may be conserued by him, and receyue health both of body, and soule, seeing the part cannot haue conseruation or health but from the whole. The second is, that seing all humane thinges are subiect to mutation & change of good, and bad successe, it is therefore necessarie that god who guideth, and gouerneth the affaires of men, be adored and serued by them. The third reason is, that we may by the adoration, and worship of him be combyned, and ioyned with him, wherein (saith Porphyrius) consisteth all the force, and fruite of adoration in this life. The fourth and last is, that seing we are the children of god, but seperated and as it were banished from him in this exile, and prison of the world, it is conuenient that we worship, and serue him here with all piety, to the end that being deliuered hence, we may returne to him, for otherwise we shall for euer be like to Orphanes, that are depriued of theyr Parents.

5. Thus saith Porphyrius, who also teacheth that there groweth such a familiarity, and vnion betwixt god, and man by the meanes of religion, when it is accompanied with puritie and sanctitie of life, that he calleth the true religious, and contemplatiue man, a *deuine man*, and the *incontaminat temple* of god: and saith further, that hauing god in himselfe, he hath an assured pledge of life euerlastinge, & to *translatum ad Deum Iouis familiaris euadit*, and being wholly as it were in the possessiō of god, becometh his familiar, or fauorite; thus saith he.

Plato in Phadone & Simposio.

Idem in Timaeo. in Alcibiade. 2.

4. de leg. in Eutiphron.

Vide Iauell.

vbi supra c. 1.2. & sequent.

Vide Marsil.

Ficinū prologo in Timaeo. ca. 6.

Porphyrius de Sacrificiis ca. ult.

Vide Marsil.
Ficinum ubi
supra.

Iamblic. de
mysterijs Æ-
gyptior. §. 1.

6. *Iamblicus* an other famous *Platonik*, deriuing religion; and the first instinct thereof, from no other roote, but from almighty God; affirmeth that God hauing created man to his owne likenes, doth draw, and reduce him to him selfe; for seing, that nature, saith he, flowing from God, imparteth to diuerse inferiour things a certaine simpathy, and conueniency with the superiour, whereby they haue alwayes an inclination and disposition to follow the course thereof (as wee see by experience in those things wherein the sunne, and moone doe predominat) much more doth the father, and creator of soules, imprint in them a certaine force, or instinct, which continually moueth, and draweth them to him, which naturall instinct *Iamblicus* calleth *ractum quiddam diuinitatis*, a certayne touch of diuinity, better, and more certayne then any humane knowledge; and hereuppon groweth the naturall propension, and inclination in man to the adoration, and worship of God, that is to say, to religion, and Gods gratefull acceptancie thereof at mans hand, when it is duly performed.

7. Thus teacheth *Iamblicus*, and the like, or rather the very same in effect is taught by *Proclus*, *Plotinus*, and other *Platonicks*, who speake of these things so deuinely, and so like contemplatiue Christians (as shall farther appeare hereafter) that the Politikes, and Atheists of our times, may be ashamed of their blindness, seing that pretending, as they doe, to weigh all things in the ballance of reason, and seeming to them selues farre wiser, and of clearer sight then other men; yet cannot see that, which these Philosophers saw to be conforme to reason, to wit, that God made man to his owne image, giuing him a reasonable soule, capable of the knowledge of him, imprinting therein the instinct of religion, that is to say, a naturall inclination to adore, worship, and serue him, whereby man may be conioyned with him; and attaine to the greatest felicitie which may be had in this life. And this I shal not neede to confirme with the testimonies of our scriptures, and Christian Fathers, for that no true Christian man is eyther ignorant, or doubtful of it, whereof neuerthelesse I shal haue occasion to say somewhat hereafter; and therefore I wil only shew now for the present, how it foloweth vpon this coniunction of man with God, that the whole worlde is reduced to God, and combyned with him, by the benefit of mans religion.

8. For although all creatures, may truly & properly be said to reuerence or to be reduced to their Creator, partly because they serue him, to what vse soeuer it pleaseth him to ordaine; and partly because they glorifie him, in giuing manifest testimonie of his infinite bountie,

dome, omnipotencie, and other his diuine perfections expressed in them: neuerthelesse not only their returne, and reduction to him, but also their combination with him, is most euidently and excellently, wrought and performed by the religion of man, especially three wayes. The first, by a certaine consequence of the subordination that all earthlie creatures haue to man, and man to God. For as in a kingdom gouerned by a kinges lieutenant, or deputie, when the subiects doe obeye the lieutenant, and he the king, all the people is vnited with the king, by the meanes of the lieutenants obedience: so also, when all creatures inferior to man serue him, & he serueth & worshippeth God, they are all connected, and cōbined with God by the religion of man.

9 The second waye is; That for asmuch as by the consideration of Gods inefable wisdom, omnipotencie, and bountie in the creation, and disposition of all his creatures, man is induced, not onlie to know God, but also to honour, praise, and serue him, all creatures may also be said to honour, praise, and serue God in man, and by man, whereto the three children in the furnace inuited them, saying, *Be-nedicite omnia opera domini domino*, &c. All the workes of our lord prayse yet our lord, &c. which they doe most properlie by the religion of man. For (as *Euthymius* saith) *Laus qua ego deum laudo propter illa, eorum* *Euthymius* *quaque laus efficitur* &c. The praise which I giue to God for them, becommeth theirs, when I take occasion by them to prayse God.

10 The third consideration is yet more particular, because man doth not only vse the seruice, or helpe of al creatures, for the seruice of God, but also doth by religion particularly offer, and dedicate them, vnto him for the most part, eyther vowing, or consecrating them to his honour, or applyinge them to some holy vse for his service, in sacrifices, oblations, tithes, first fruites, ceremonyes, in the buildinge, or ornament of temples, and churches, and in other acts of religion: And as for such creatures as are not fitt, for any religious act, or holy vse (as noysome beasts, serpents, poysons, and such like) such doe also glorifie God by the meanes of mans religion, by the which their natures are manie tymes tempered, and corrected, and made eyther harmeles, or els beneficiall to the seruants of God, for his greater glorie, according to the promise of our Sauour, to such, as should beleue in him.

Serpentes collent, & si mortiferum quid biberint, &c. They shall take away *Marci. 16.* *serpentes, and if they drinke any poysoned thing, it shall not hurt them.*

11 Finallie all creatures what soeuer in heauen, earth, or hell become at one time or other obedient, or pliable to mans will by the meanes of religion, for the seruice, and glorie of God. *Moyse* by religion turned

Exod. cap. 7. ned the riuers of *Egipt* into blood, killed the fish therein, destroyed
Cap. 8. & 9. the *Egiptians* with froggs, flies, plague, thunder, lightning, and fiery
Ibid. cap. 14. haile, made the sea giue place, and passage to the children of *Israell*,
Exod. 17. and turned the stone, and rocke into streames of water. *Iosue* staied the course
Psal. 113. of the sunne, and moone a whole day together. *Elias* commaunded
Iosue. 10. fire to come from heauen, to deuoure the captaines, and souldiars
4. Reg. 1. of king *Ochofias*. *Elizeus* purified the poysoned fountaine of *Hierich*,
Ibid. c. 2. reuiued the dead, and chaunged the tast, and nature, of bitter, and pe-
cap. 4. stiferous herbes. The three children repress the force of fire, & walked
Dan. 3. securely in the burninge furnace. *Daniel* remained safe in the dungeon
Ibid. cap. 14. amongst the hungry lions. *Ionas* hauing bene in the belly of the whale
Ion. 2. three daies, and *S. Paule* in the bottome of the sea a day, and a night
2. Cor. 11. were restored to land aliue; To conclude, by religion the seruants of
 God commaunde deuels, triumphe ouer all infernall powers, and
 drawe the verie Angels, and celestiall spirites to their helpe and as-
 sistance, when the seruice and glorie of God requireth it; so that by
 the religion of man, all things good, and bad, glorifie and serue God.
Apo. 5. In which respect *S. Iohn* in the *Apocalipse* saith that he heard, *Omne*
creaturam &c. Every creature which is in heauen, vpon earth, and vnder
 the earth, and in the sea, say vnto him which sate in the throne, and to the
 lambe, *benedictio & honor, & gloria, & potestas in secula seculorum,*
blesing, and honour, and glory, and power for euer and euer.

12 Thus then we see, how the circle (as I may terme it) of the world
 is consummat, and perfected by mans religion, whereby all things,
 are reduced to their first beginninge, that is to say, to almightie
 God their creator, for whose seruice they were created: wherein ap-
 peareth the infinit wisdom, and goodnes of God, his providence in
 mans affaires, and the admirable force, and effect of religion, which
 may therefore be tearmed the indissoluble bond of the world, or a
 diuine knot, or lynke, whereby man, and all other creatures, are tyed,
 and knit to their creator: which knot, whosoever seeke to dissolue
 (as our politykes doe) they consequentlie conspire the dissolution,
 and destruction of the whole world. To conclude, it is most euident
 by all the precedent discourse, that religion is so naturall to man, and
 so farr from being a matter of conceit, or opinion, or an humane
 inuention (as the politikes esteeme it to be) that except humane
 nature be vterlie extirped, and mankind exterminated, religion
 cannot be extinguished.

It is objected, that the philosophers which haue bene alleadged in the former chapters, were Idolaters, and that therefore their testimonies, for matters of Christian religion are impertinent, and not to be used by Christians. The objection is answered; and it is proued, that the religion whereof the philosophers treat, was true religion, consisting in the worship of one God, whom they acknowledged to be the author of nature. Also, that philosophy is the handmaide of our deuinitie, and to be used for the confirmation thereof, with certaine considerations prouing the necessitie of religion, and the ignorance, and blindness of politicians.

CHAP. III.

BVt some perhaps wil say vnto me, that these Philosophers, (vpon whose authoritie I haue hitherto relyed) treat not of true religion, for that they neuer knew it, but rather of the Idolatrie which possesse the world in thei tymes, or of some other deuise of their owne, seeing that the ancient Philosophers before Christ (as *Mercurius Trismegistus*, *Plato* and *Aristotle*) reiecte the religion of the Iewes, and the other more moderne since Christs tyme (as *Porphyrius*, *Iamblicus*, *Proclus* and *Plotinus*) contemned and vtterlie condemned, the Christian religion, wherevpon it may seeme to folow, that thei testimonies, which I haue produced, are to no purpose for the confirmation of true religion.

2 For the satisfaction of this scruple, and the better explication of al this question concerning religion, it is to be vnderstood, that the philosophers treating of the worship, and honour of God consisting in religion, did vnderstand, that worship and seruice of god, which man is bound by the law of nature, and taught by the light of reason to yeald him alone, whome they knew, and acknowledged to be the first cause of all causes, and the author of nature, and of all natural things, as I haue sufficiently declared in the first part of this treatise, and therefore neede not to repeate it here: only I wil add that there was none of them so simple, or senseles, but that he dispised the false gods that were worshipped in those times, as *Iupiter*, *Iuno*, *Venus*, *Mars*, *Mercury*, and the rest, whom they knew to be most wicked men, in so much, that *Socrates* was put to death by the *Athenians* for impugning them, and denying the multitude of gods. In the preface.

3 Neuertheles, for as much as they knew, and confessed God, and Rom. 1. did not glorifie him (as the Apostle saith) but trusted wholie to their

Rom. 1.

Augustin. li.
de vera reli-
gione ca. 1.

owne wisdom, putt vp with pride of their knowledge, being (as s. Hierome calleth them) *base bondslaves of popular praise*, men (for the most part) most sensuall, and impure of life: (as I haue sufficientlie shewed in my first part) for this cause, I saie, they were iustlie giuen ouer by almightie God into a reprobate sence, in so much that thin-
king themselves wise (as the Apostle saith) *they became such fools*, that they not onlie worshipped the common gods, which they them- selves derided, but also did accomodate their bookes, and writings in manie things, to the common opinion of the people, least otherwise they might incur the penaltie of the lawes, as Socrates had donne, & hereupon it grew, that (as s. Augustine affirmeth) *they professed, and practised publickly one religion with the people, and taught privately in their schooles another*, consisting in the contemplation, and worship of the author of nature, which being considered purely in it selfe, as voyd of all Idolatrie and superstition, was true religion, and may in some sort, be said to be the same that ours is, with this difference, that in them, it was onlie naturall, and therefore imperfect, and in vs it is not onlie naturall, but also enriched, and perfected by Gods grace, for grace doth not abolish nature, but reforme, and repayre it, illuminate, and strengthen it, enrich, and adorne it, and finally bringeth it to that perfect felicitie, and happines whereto God hath ordeined it.

4 So that naturall religion, which the Philosophers knew, & taught, was true religion; and maie be called both theirs, and ours, differing onlie in them and vs, as an infant differeth from himselfe afterwards, when he becommeth a man. For, if we consider the progresse, that religion hath made in mankind from the beginninge, and creation of man, it may be said, that being considered in it selfe after his fall, it was borne weake, and naked, and receyued first clothing, and growth in the law of nature, wherein it passed a kynd of infancie, and after grew to more strength, and stature in the law of Moyses, as in a kynd of youth, and now lastly being augmented, and illuminated with the faith of our Sauour Christ, and infinit giftes, and graces of the holie Ghost, it is growne to perfection.

Clem. Alex.
strom. li. 6.

5 Therefore seeing the religion, which the philosophers taught, and beleueed, was not only true religion, but also the same which we professe (though not in such perfection) two things follow thereon: the one that we may with great reason vse, & transference their doctrine concerning religion, to the confirmation of ours. For (as Clemens Alexandrinus saith) *philosophy was giuen by almighty God to the Gentiles, as their proper testament, to serue for the foundation of Christian philosophy*, or

rather
respec
Theolog
ous of
fish the
ment
woma
head,
man,
super
philos
pole a
n des P
they p
fieldes
affero
our fa
Th
the ph
of surp
Lactan
Th
is, the
ligion
poynt
olop
felle:
thing
nice
the k
the v
also
lie s
6. S
last
beg
prom
mea
and
not

Clem. Alex.
li. 1. Strom.
Gen. 16.

Gregor. nif-
in vita Moy-
fis.
Deut. cap. 21
v: 12.

Hugo de S.
Vicore in
exordio sis-
per Ecclia.
Hystarch.

rather/as he saith in another place) to serue it for a hand mayd. In which respect he compareth the philosophy of the Gentils to *Agar*, and our *Theology* to *Sara*, to whome *Abraham* said of *Agar*. *Ancilla tua in manu tua est, utere ea, ut liber. Thy handmaid is in thy owne power, use her as it pleaseth thee.* And *Gregorius Nissenus* alluding to the law of the ould testament (which commaunded, that no Iew should marrie any forrayne woman, whom he should take prisoner, except he did first shauē her head, and pare her nayles) compareth philosophie to the captiue woman, whom he saith the Christian may marrie, so that he cut of her superfluous, and extrauagant opinions, and conforme her to Christian philosophie, that is to say, to the law of Christ. And to the same purpose also, one of our latter deuines saith notably thus. *Philosophis datus est uides Philosophari propter nos &c.* God ordayned that the Philosophers should teach their philosophie for vs, to the end that they might cultiuare, and till the barren fieldes of mens myndes, & sowe notable seedes of doctrine, which we might afterwards reape, when it should be ripened with the sunne, and heate of our faith.

Thus he, following *S. Augustin*, who saith, that all those things which the philosophers taught, consonant to our faith, ought to be taken from them as from usurpers, or vniust possessors, and to be applied to our use, as *Ciprian* (saith he) *Lactantius*, *Victorinus*, *Hilarius* and others haue done.

The other thing which I conclude vpon the Philosophers doctrine is, that those which measure all their beleefe concerning matter of religion with onlie reason, cannot with anie show of reason denie those poyntes of Christian catholike doctrine, which the most famous Philosophers were forced by the verie light of nature, and reason to confesse: As that there is one God, the author of nature, and of naturall things, that he made man to his owne ymage, and for his owne seruice, and that therefore he gaue him a reasonable soule, capable of the knowledge of him, and endewed with an instinct of religion, by the which he might not onlie worship, honour, and serue him, but also be most happilie vnited with him euen in this life, as I haue partly showed already, and wil doe much more ampie hereafter.

6. Seeing the, that the Philosophers doe teach, not only these poynts last mentyoned, but also the finall reduction, of all creatures to their beginning, that is to say, to God their creator, and seeing also I haue proued the same to be most fullie, and euidentlie performed by the meanes of mans religion, yea, and that God is glorified in man, and all other creatures thereby, it must needs follow, as I haue noted before, that religion is most naturall, and necessarie,

not onlie for man, but also for the whole world, and that whose-
derogateth from it, doth iniurie both to God, and to all his creatures
and seeketh as much as in him lyeth, to breake the indissoluble bond,
with the which God, and they are connected, and the world per-
ted, and conserued.

7 And to all this, I will yet add for the cōclusion of this chapter, two
other considerations of mans infinit obligation, to worship, and serue
god. The one is, the incōprehensible excellencie of his deuine nature.
For yf men doe worthily honour, and reuerence a king, or prynce, for
the only dignity of his person, though they be not his subiects, what
honour, worship, and seruice is due to him, that is king of kings, and
lord of lords, not by election, or succession, but by nature, in whome
all the seuerall excellencies, and perfections of all creatures are joynte-
lie, infinitlie, and incomparablie supereminent, as in theyr first cause,
being infinit in power, wisdomē, iustice, bounty, beauty, knowledge,
veritie, nobility, maiesty, felicitie? In which respect the beastlie *Epi-
curians* them selues, though they denied the diuine prouidence in the
affaires of men, confessed neuertheles and acknowledged the necessitie
of religion, for the reuerence, and worship of God, in respect of the
most admirable, and ineffable perfections of his deuine nature, as ap-
peareth in *Cicero* in his bookes *de natura deorum*.

*Cicero de
natura deo-
rum.*

8 The other consideration is grounded on our Christian faith, tea-
ching our duty, and obligation to the seruice of God, in respect of
our creation, conseruation, and redemption, yea and of the eternall
reward due by his promise for his seruice, and eternall punishment
threatned for the contempt thereof. But of these poyntes I shall not
need to say any thing now in particular, both because our Christian
doctrine is of it selfe most euident in that behalfe, and also because
there wilbe many occasions offred to speake thereof in this discourse.

*To shew the necessitie of religion in common vvealth, it is cleerly proued, as well
by the philosophers, as by deuines, that the end, and true felicitie of every
man in this life, and of common vvealth, consisteth in religion. And finally
it is declared, how temporall commodities may serue, and auayle to the
felicitie of common vvealth.*

CHAP. IIII.



AVING shewed in the former chapters as well the necessitie,
as the admirable force, and effect of religion, generally in
the whole world, I wil now shew the same particularlie
in common welth, which may appeare not onlie by the
general

generall consequence, & inference that may be made from the whole to euerie part (as that religion being necessarie for the whole world, must needs be necessarie for common welth, which is a part thereof) but much more in respect of the speciall force, fruite, and office of religion, in common welth; which I will deduce from the consideration, and prooffe, of an infallible, and irrefragable veritie, to wit, that the cheefe end, and felicitie whereto common welth is naturallie ordained, consisteth in religion, that is to say, in the due worship, and seruice of God: which being declared, and proued, will serue for a most solid, and sure foundation to the building of this whole treatise, and by necessarie consequence, draw after it diuerse important considerations, and conclusions, which I will after prosecute for the more cleare vnderstanding of all that which belongeth to common welth.

Now then, to fynde out the true end and felicitie of common welth, it shalbe conuenient to waigh the force of an argument of Aristotle discussing, and resoluing the same question, who sheweth euidentlie in few wordes, that the end, and felicitie of euerie particular man, and common welth, is all one; his Argument is this. Seeing, that euerie particular man in the cittie, and all the citizens are of one, and the self same nature, and that the felicitie of all the cittie, or common welth, doth grow of the felicitie, or happines of euerie particular citizen: it must needs follow, that the felicitie of euerie particular man, and of the whole common welth is all one, as the power (saith he) to laugh is one, and the selfe same in euery man, and in all mankynd. Thus reasoneth Aristotle, and his argument is demonstratyue, whereby it appeareth, that to shew the true end and felicitie of common welth, it shalbe conuenient to declare, what is the end, and true felicitie of euerie man in this life.

And although the same is in parte performed already in the two former chapters, where it appeareth by the opiniōs of the best philosophers, that God made mā to noe other end, but for his owne seruice, that is to say, to the end to worship, honour, and serue him by true religion, and to be thereby most happily vnited with him (where vpon it foloweth that both the end, and also the felicitie of man in this life consisteth in religion) though, I say, this appeareth allreadie, yet because I handled not the same of purpose to shew the end, and felicity of man, but only touched it, by the way, vpon an other occasion, I will now more amply treat therof, as of a matter most important, and necessary to the whole subiect of this treatise.

Aristot. li. 7.
polit.

3 First then I will beginne with the doctrine of the Philosophers. *Aristotle* and the *Peripatetikes*, being most curious, and subtile searchers of nature, obserued, that as in all thinges that haue substance, some are more excellent then other, and one substance (to wit God) most excellent of all other, whereto all other are referred, as to their end (which therefore hath no relation to anie other thinge) so also in the actions of men, some are better, and more noble then others, and one action the best, and most worthy of all the rest, to the which, they all ought to be referred, as to their end, and in this action these philosophers placed the felicitie of man, determininge, that whoso-
 euer arriueth to the perfect exercise of that action, is as happy as man can be in this life. And for as much as reason taught them that this best action of man, must needs proceede from the worthiest, and best part of man, and that nothinge is more worthy, and noble in him, then his vnderstanding, and againe no action of the vnderstanding better then the contemplation of God, they concluded by a necessary consequence, that mans felicitie in this life, consisteth in the contemplation of God, to the perfection whereof they required not only the worship, but also the loue of God, and practise of all vertue: as I haue shewed before in the second chapter out of *Aristotle*, who shouldeth his contemplatiue, or wise man, to be most happy, because he is most vertuous, and in fauour with God, and cherished, and benifited by him. Besides that, I haue also declared in the same place, that *Aristotle* requir-
 eth in his contemplatiue man, the worship of God in the highest degree, which concurring with the loue of God, and the true exercise of vertue, is nothing els but religion: whereby it appeareth, that the contemplation whereto *Aristotle*, and the *Peripatetikes* his follo-
 wers ascribed the end, and felicitie of man, doth principally consist in religion.

Aristotle.
Ethic. li. 10.
ca. 6. & 7.

Ibid.

Chap. 2. nu.
2.
chap. 2.
Idem ibid.
cap. 8.

Idem ibid.
li. 8. c. 14.

Cicero li. 4.
de finib.

Seneca. lib. 4.
de benef. c. 6.

4 The like may be iustlie affirmed of the opinion of the *Stoikes*, who placed the end, and happines of man, in a conformitie of mans life to the rule, and lawe of nature, by the exact exercise, and practise of the morall vertues, whereof the cheefe is religion, which as I haue declared is, *iustitia erga Deum*, iustice towards God, whereby his due honour is duly rendred vnto him. Besides that, nothing is more conforme to nature, then that the author of nature be duly worshipped, honored, and serued, which evidently appeareth to be the opinion of the *Stoikes*, by their doctrine of gods particular providence in the gouernment of the world, and of the affaires of men, as is manifest in *Seneca* the famous *Stoike*, who in that respect not only condemneth, and

detesteth the ingratitude of *Atheists* towards God, in that they acknowledge to haue receyued all their particular benefites, of nature, and not of him, but also requireth a most perfect, and sincere obedience in man, and a resignation of his wil, to the will of God, in the patient suffering, & willing acceptaunce, of all the calamities that it shall please God to lay vpon him in this life, as I haue amplie shewed in *Senecas* owne wordes, in the first part of this treatise: so that there can be no doubt, but that the felicitie of man, which he, and other *Stoicks* attributed to the exercise of vertue, according to the præscript of nature, did in their opinion consist in the worship, loue, and seruice of God the author of nature, that is to say, in religiõ, which is the principall vertu, & most naturall to man, as may appeare by the naturall instinct thereof most euident in all men. And as for *Plato*, and his followers, it is manifest by that which I haue signified at large in the second chapter, that he, and all they, taught expresselie, that the end, whereto man is ordaind, is religion, seeing they affirmed that he was created by almightie God to his image, and liknes, and for his seruice, that is to say, to loue, honour, and worship him, and by that meanes to be vnited with him, which they accounted the onlie felicitie of man in this life, and that the same should be consummated in the life to come, by the perfect vision and fruition of God; as though they should say with *S. Paule*. *Nunc videmus per speculum in enigmate, tunc facie ad faciem*, &c. Now we see as it were through a glasse, in obscuritie, then we shall see face, to face, now we know in part, then we shall know as we are knowne.

6 To this perfect felicitie of the life to come, *Plato* requireth the other felicitie of this life, as the high way that leadeth therto, and consisteth, as he teacheth, in a religious wisdom: in which respect, he accounteth the speciall office, & dutie of a *Philosopher*, or wise man, to be, to search forth the reasons, and causes of all thinges, that he may thereby ascend to the knowledge of the diuine reason, whereby they were made (that is to say, of the deuine nature, or God him selfe) and that knowing him, he may worship, and serue him, and so finallie come to enioie him; whereto he requireth much more vertue, and pietie in a wise man, or philosopher, then science, or knowledge, though he thinke the same also verie requisit, to the end, that God (the master of all science, and the author of all thinges that are knowne) may be thereby the better knowne by him, and the more sincerelie honored, and serued.

7 Thus teacheth *Plato* in his *Epinomis*. Where he also affirmeth, that religion is the greatest of all vertues, and that the negligence, or contempt thereof, is the cause, or mother of all unhappie, and miserable

Idem de provid. t. 1. & 4. & 5.

Cap. 2. nu. 23. & chap. 25. nu. 27. & 28.

Chap. 2. nu. 3. 4. 5. 6. & 7.

1. Cor. 13.

Plato de Rep. li. 6. & 7. & in Epinom.

ignorance: whereby it appeareth, that whereas Plato attributeth mans felicitie sometymes to wifdome, he meaneth nothing els but a religious wifdome, confifting both in the true knowledge of God, as also in the adoration, worship, and seruice of him. In which respect *Lactantius* saith of religion, and wifdome thus. *Non potest fieri religio a sapientia &c.* Neyther can religion be separated from wifdome, nor wifdome from religion, because God is not onlie to be knowne, and loued (which belongeth to wifdome) but also to be honored, and serued (which belongeth to religion) but wifdome goeth before, and religion followeth, for first we know God, and then we honour, and worship him: so that these two names signifie one force, the first consisting in sense, and vnderstanding, and the other in act. Thus farr *Lactantius*: which may also be confirmed out of our holie scriptures, wherein it appeareth, that true wifdome concurrith euer with religion, or rather consisteth therein, that is to say, in the feare, loue, and worship of God, and in the obseruation of his commaundements, as I haue amplye proued in the first part of this treatise.

8 The like also I wish to be noted aswell in Plato, as in the *Platonicks* and other Philosophers, when they ascribe mans felicitie, some tymes to the knowledge of God, sometymes to a similitude, or likenes of God in man, and sometymes to the coniunction of man with God, seeing they vnderstand the knowledge of God to be a part, or rather the ground of religion, and the other two, to be the effects thereof: for the knowledge of God is, as it were, the roote from whence religion, and all the fruites thereof does spring, in which respect the booke of wifdome saith: *Stare iustitiam & virtutem tuam Domine, immortalitatis radix est*: To know thy iustice, and power, o lord, is the roote of immortalitie. In which sense, *Mercurius Trifidus* saith, that the onlie felicitie of man is, *cognitio maiestatis diuinae*, the knowledge of the deuine maiestie; vnderstandinge the knowledge of God in perfection, that is to say, with all the fruites, and effect thereof: because in the roote, is conteyned the vertue, and perfection of all the tree.

9 This is euident in *Mercurius* himselfe, who ascribing the felicitie of man, to his coniunction with God, requireth thereto, not onlie the knowledge and worship of God, but also perfect pietie, vertue, and con-
cept of riches, and of all other thinges, yea of the bodie it selfe, & this he calleth (as indeede it is) perfect religion, and *mensuram hominis, the measure, or rule*, according to the which man ought to frame his life; And therefore the *Platonicks* doe also affirme, that by the meanes of religion (which some of them call adoration) man is not onlie made like to God, but also conioyned with him: wherein they place both the force of reli-

Lactantius
lib. de vera
sapient.

Sap. 15.

Ad Asclep.

ca. 10. & 6.

Ibidem. ca.

4. & 6.

Ibid.

gion,
cyed i
that, I
refore i
ayne to
10 H
word
felicit
For, v
some
to the
gion,
with
11. A
res th
whic
Sauy
sing th
sent:
vir qu
in G
Som
blesse
uatio
rum,
his v
scrip
char
quid
con
of r
12
and
dath
bile
vov
kee
dis
ma
of

gion; and also the felicitie of man, as appeareth by that which I haue
 cyted in the second chapter out of *Plato*, *Iamblicus*, and *Porphyrius*: Besides Chap. 2.
 that, *Iamblicus* also saith, that onlie true adoration doth make soules happy, and Iamblicus
 restore them to their country, that is to say, to heauen, and that, no man can ar- de misterijs
 raigne to perfect happynes, but by the meanes thereof. Ægypt. in si-
ne.

10 Hereby we see, that howsoever the best Philosophers may seeme in
 wordes to differ, and dissent one from an other, concerning the end, or
 felicitie of man, yet in sense and substance, they doe all notablie agree.
 For, whereas some of them do assigne mans felicitie to contemplation,
 some to the knowledge of god, some to wisdom, some to vertue, some
 to the adoration or worshipp of God, they all vnderstand eyther reli-
 gion, or such a part thereof, as cannot be perfect, but when it is ioyned
 with the whole.

11. And this manner of speech is very vsuall also in the holie scriptu-
 res themselves, concerning aswel mans iustification, as his felicitie, both
 which are attributed sometymes to the knowledge of god: as when our
 Saviour said praying to his Father: *hac est vita eterna &c*: this is life euerla- Ioan. 17.
 sting that they may know thee, the only true God, and Iesus Christ whom thou hast
 sent: And sometymes agayne to the feare of god, as in the psalmist: *Beatus* psalm. 111.
vir qui timet dominum; happy is the man who feareth God: And sometymes to hope
 in God, as. *Beatus homo, qui sperat in te*: blessed is the man, that trusteth in thee: psalm. 83.
 Somtymes to faith, or beleefe in God, as: *Beati qui non viderunt, & crediderunt*: Ioan. 20.
 blessed are those which haue not seene, & beleueed: & otherwhiles to the obser-
 uation of gods commandements, as: *Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impio-* psalm. 1.
rum, &c. happy is the man, that hath not gone in the counsell of the wicked, but
 his will is in the law of our lord &c. And this I say, is most vsuall in the
 scripture, for that the knowledge, feare, and loue of God, faith, hope,
 charitie, and the obseruation of his commandements (which are all re-
 quisit, to true, and perfect religion) doe alwayes, and must of necessitie
 concurre, whensoever mans happynes or iustification, is ascribed to any
 of them.

12 Therefore the Apostle teacheth, that, he which saith he knoweth God, 1. Ioan. 2.
 and doth not keepe his commandements, is a lyer, and that, he which loveth not,
 doth not know God. And the Preacher saith: *qui timeant dominum non incredi-* Eccles. 1.
biles erunt &c. those which feare God, will not be incredulous to his worde, they
 will search what is his will, and pleasure, they will sanctify their soules, and
 keepe his commandements: And after againe for conclusion of his whole
 discourse, he saith: *finem loquendi pariter omnes audiamus, deum time, &* Ibid. c. 12.
mandata eius observa, hoc est enim Omnis homo: let vs all heare the end, or conclusi-
 on of all speech, feare God, and kepe his comandements for this is every man: thus saith

the Preacher, giuing vs to vnderstand that the perfection, or end of euery man, consisteth in the feare of God, and the obseruation of his commaundements, that is to say, in religion, and that when man discharge his dutie in that behalfe, he doth execute, and accomplish the proper office, whereto humane nature was ordayned:

13 This may farther appeare by that, which our holie scriptures also teach, concerninge the creation of man to the ymage of God, as the precepts giuen him in paradise, the misery which followed vppon his transgression thereof, the lawes, and commaundements imposed vppon him, both in the ould testament, and the new, penalties both temporall, and eternall threatned, like rewards promised, examples of Gods seuerer iustice vppon offenders, and of his great benefits bestowed vppon his seruantes: all which, as also the whole course of the holie scriptures, and Christian doctrine, doe denounce nothing els to man, but that he is the creature, and naturall bondslaue of God, and that therefore the end, and proper office, or function, whereto God ordayned him, is religion. Wher-

*Laſtan. lib.
4. cap. 28.*

*Ibid. li. 3. ca.
9.*

uppon *Laſtantiuſ* ſaith: *Hac conditione, &c. VVe are created or made with this condition, or to this end, that we may yeld due honour, and ſeruiſe to God our creator: And againe in an other place. If any man (ſaith he) ſhould aſke a man, that is truly wiſe, to what end, or purpoſe he was created, he would anſwer readily, and without all doubt, that he was created to worſhip God, who made vs to the end we may ſerue him.* Thus ſaith he, of the end, whereto man was ordayned, and the ſame alſo he affirmeth of mans felicitye in this life: and therefore hauing confuted the opinions of many of the philoſophers, concerning mans cheefe good, or felicitye, he concludeth. *Summum igitur hominis bonum, in ſola religione eſt: therefore the cheefe good, or happynes of man, is only in religion.*

*Ambros. de
offic. li. 2. ca.
5.*

*Aug. de ciuit
Dei. lib. 14.
cap. 26. &
lib. 19. cap. 4.*

*Ibid. cap. 5.
& 8.*

Ibid. ca. 20.

14 And *s. Ambroſe* alſo confirmeth the ſame, by the authoritie of the holie scriptures ſaying. *Scriptura diuina, &c. The deuine ſcripture placeth the happynes and felicity of mans life, in the knowledge of God, and in the fruit of operation, and working, that is to ſay in faith, and good workes.* And although *s. Auguſtine* do reprove ſome of the philoſophers, for houlding that man may be happy in this life, and therefore teacheth, that there is no true beatitude here, eyther by morall vertue, or by frendſhip, or by a ciuill, and ſociable life, and much leſſe by riches, honours, and dignities (in reſpect of the continual conflict that the beſt, and the wiſeſt morall men haue, partly with ſenſualitie, and vicious inclinations, & partly with the ordinarie dangers, cares, feares, detriments, ſicknes, and afflictions incident to the liues and ſtates of all mortall men) yet he doth not deny all kynd of happynes in this life, (eſpeciallie that, where of our

holie
the Ph
whom
to vert
two re
work
him
de ma
abſol
poſſib
that
citie,
enjoy
Hic d
bna:
tent
15 S
but t
of m
ther
gift
ther
licie
and
16
in th
ſent
gion
in tr
vita
hap
17
wo
the
pro
pe
th
re
m
re

holie scriptures often make mention) but that felicitie which some of the Philosophers taught, namely the *Epicurians*, *Peripatericks*, and *Stoicks*, of whom the first ascribed felicitie to sensuall pleasure, and the other two, to vertue, though with some difference: all which I say, he impugned for two respects, the one because they were perswaded that mā was the only worker, and cause of his owne happynes, *whereas*, saith he, *non facit beatum hominem, nisi qui fecit hominem*. None maketh man happy, but he which made man. The other reason was, because they taught that man might be absolutely, & perfectly happy euen in this life, which he proueth cannot possibly be, for the reasons touched before, affirminge neuertheles that man may, by the gift, & grace of God, arriue hereto a kynd of felicitie, though in comparison of the perfect beatitude, which we are to enjoy in the next life, it is no better then misery: & therefore he saith: *Nisi dicimur beati, quando pacem habemus, quantulacunque hic haberi potest in vita bona: Vt* are here called blessed, or happy, when we haue asmuch peace, & contentment, as may be had here in a good, or godly life.

Idem. epi. 52.

Idem. de ciuitat. lib. 19. c. 10.

Ibid.

15 So that *s. Augustine* denieth not all kynd of happynes in this life, but teacheth two things concerning the same: the one that no felicitie of man dependeth on man alone, or proceedeth from himselfe (be it either from his soule, or from his body, or from both) but that it is the gift of God, and dependeth on his grace, and assistance: the other is, that there is no perfect happynes, or beatitude in this world, but that the felicitie, which by Gods grace, and gift we may enjoy here, is vnperfect, and to be consummated, and persited in the next life.

16 And so we are to vnderstand all the beatitude, or happines, which in the holie scriptures and fathers, is ascribed to mortall men, in which sense. *s. Augustine* himselfe saith: *Omnis vita bona, & beata via, in vera religione constituta est*: All the way & course, of good and happy life, consisteth in true religion. And *s. Ambr.* *Certū est virtute sola vitā prestari beatā, per quam vitam, vita acquiritur aterna*. It is certaine that only vertue giueth, or maketh the happy life, by the which the eternall and euermore life is obtained. Thus he.

Aug. de vera relig. c. 1. Ambros. de offic. lib. 2. cap. 5.

17 Therefore I conclude that he may worthyly be called happy in this world, who liuing religiouslie in the feare, & loue of God, dwelleth as the psalmist saith, *in adiutorio altissimi &c.* In the help of the highest, and in the protection of the God of heauen, by whose grace, & fauour, he enioyeth such peace of soule, & cōscience here, that he not onlie sayeth securely amidst the stormes of this tēpestuous life, tryumphing ouer all the miseries thereof, but also arryueh in the end at the port of eternal felicitie. But what manner of happynes this is, which may be had here, & what true pleasure, & delectation there is therein, I will declare amply hereafter, when

Psal. 90.

Chap. 18. 19. 20. & 21.

I shall

I shall treat of Christian religion, and wil now conclude this chapter with he consideration of what is the felicity of common welth.

18 Seing then it is manifest by all this precedent discourse, that the end, and felicity of man in this life, consisteth in religion, it must needs follow, according to the argument of Aristotle before alleaged, that the end, and felicitie of cōmonwelth consisteth also therein, which s. *Aug.*

ep. 52. ad Macedonium.

gustine confirmeth, saying: *Non aliunde beata ciuitas, aliunde homo, cum aliud ciuitas non sit, quam concors hominum multitudo.* The common welth is not happy for one cause, or reason, and man for an other, seeing that common welth is nothing els, but a multitude of men agreeing together: Thus he.

Aristotle. Ethic. li. 10. c. 7. & 3. Idem

Polit li. 7.

19 Therefore Aristotle hauing in his *Ethicks* ascribed the end, and felicitie of man, to the contemplation of god (which as I haue shewed before is an act of religion) he also assigneth this same end, and felicitie in his politikes to common welth: And although he affirmeth, that there are two kindes of felicities, the one speculatiue, consisting in contemplation, and the other practical, consisting in the exercise of al the moral vertues, and calleth this latter politicall felicitie (because the common welth may then be worthily called happy, when it flourisheth with the perfect practise of al vertue:) Neuerthelesse he teacheth, that this practical felicitie is subordinate to the speculatiue, as to the end whereto it is naturally ordained, and that therefore, all politicall actions, ought as lesse to be referred to contemplation, then labour to repose, busines to ease, and warr to peace: In which respect he admonisheth the law-maker, or institutor of the common welth, to frame his lawes, and the maners of the prince, and subiects, rather to contemplation, then to action, by the example of nature it selfe, which being most carefull of those things that are most noble, and excellent, hath alwayes farr greater care of the end, then of the meanes that lead, or helpe thereto.

Idem li. 4. polit.

20 And for this cause, he assigneth priesthood for the first office in the common welth, as most important, and principally tending to the obtaining of the end, whereto common welth is ordained.

Plato 1. de rep.

Plato also teacheth the same most expressly in his booke of common welth, in his lawes, and in his *Epinomis*, in al which, it is euident, that he assigneth no other end of common welth, but the contemplation, and worship of God: And therefore he laboureth principally to make his common welth happy by a religious wisdom, consisting partly in the speculation, or contemplation of God, and partly in the worship of him: In the coniunction whereof, (which is nothing els but religion) he placeth the felicitie of man, and of common welth: and the reason is, for that the especiall effect of religion (as I haue declared sufficiently in

Marfil. Fin in Argum. in epinomis.

the fec
welch,
21 F
welch
with
will,
fiet
wick
dren
they
ing, or
they
happy
domin
fear,
22
or co
coun
shall
wish
exclu
but t
ledgi
(as t
happ
strun
part
fery,
yea,
23 T
pine
rich
wea
Cyre
fue
plin
his
ral
alle
tes.

the second chapter) is to vnite man with God, whereuppon it also foloweth, that the felicitie of man, and common welth, consisteth therein.

21 For who can denie but that man, and consequently all common welth, are then most happy, and fortunate, when they are most vnited with god, the fountaine, and only author of true happines, vpon whose will, they, and all their felicitie depend: Which the royall prophet signifieth notably, who hauing described the temporall prosperitie, which wicked men sometimes enioy by the permission of God (as that *theyr children are comely, faire, and vuell decked, theyr barnes and cellers, full of prouision, theyr sheepe, and theyr cattel fruitefull, theyr beefes fatt, and not so much as a decay- ing, or ruinous wall or hedge, in theyr territories, nor any tumult, or clamour in theyr streetes,*) He addeth, *beatum dixerunt populum* &c: Men call the people happy who haue these thinges, but happy is the people, or common welth, cuius dominus Deus eius, whose lord is theyr God, that is to say, who liuing in the feare, and seruice of God, haue him for theyr lord, and protector.

Psal. 143.

22 Thus sayth the royall prophet, teaching notably that no people, or common welth, be they neuer so prosperous for a time, can be truly counted happy, being out of the fauour of almighty God, whereof I shall haue occasion to say some what more hereafter. And neuertheles I wish it here to be vnderstoode by the way, that I doe not hereby wholly exclude temporall commodities, from the felicitie of common welth: but that I signifie wherein this felicitie principally consisteth, acknowledging with *Aristotle* and other philosophers, that the goods of fortune (as they terme welth, power, honours, & prosperitie) are necessary to the happy state of comon welth, so that they be taken, and vsed only as instruments, or helps thereto, and not as felicitie it selfe, or as any essentiall partes, or causes thereof: being rather in deed, the true causes of al misery, if they be not principally referred to the seruice and honour of god, yea, and vsed with great moderation.

23 Therefore *Aristotle* and *Plato*, require the goods of fortune to the happines of common welth in a mediocrity, teaching, that superfluity of riches, is no lesse pernicious to the publicke good, then to the priuate weale of man: In so much, that *Plato* being earnestly requested by the *Cyrenians* to giue them lawes, refused to doe it, by reason of theyr excessive welth and prosperitie, which he thought would make them indisciplinable, and not fit to be gouerned. And what he farther ordayned in his owne common welth, concerning the goods of fortune, and temporall commodities, yt shalbe declared in the ninth chapter, where I will also shew by examples, what damage, and destruction followeth to states, by the abundannce of riches, and temporall prosperitie, by reason

Aristot li. 5.

politic.

Plato 4. de

repub.

Plutar. de

doctrina

principis.

of

of the great corruption and vice, that commonlie groweth thereof.


24 This is also signified in the holie scriptures, concerninge the people of *Sodome*, whole iniquity (saith the prophet) was *superbia, saturnus panis, abundantia & otium*. *Pride, saturnity or fullnes of bread, and meare, abundance, and ease*: giuing to vnderstand, that theyr sinne, and consequently theyr ruine, grew of theyr welth, plenty, and prosperitie: And *Moses* also ascribeth the fall of the Iewes to the same cause. *Incrassatus est dilectus*, saith he, & *recalcitrauit: incrassatus, impinguatus, dilatatus dereliquit Deum factorem suum &c.* My beloued people waxe fat, and then they began to kick, in when they grewe once to be full, well fed, fatted, and dilated, or amplified, they abandoned God theyr maker. Thus prophesied *Moses* of the future fall of the Iewes, by the meanes of theyr ouermuch ease, welth, and prosperine, which so enwrapped, and snared them in pleasures, & worldly delights, that as the prophet *Abacuc* saith, they forgott theyr God, and sacrificed to the very nets which entangled them, making idolls of theyr welth, and contentments, and placing their end, and felicitie therein.

Ezech. 16.
Deut. 32.
Abac. 1.

25 So farre are temporall commodities from being any essentiall part, or cause of mans felicitie, that they rather draw him many times to all infelicitie, and misery: as shall farther appeare in the next chapter, wherein I will discouer the supposed, and false happines of wicked men, who contemning religion, and the seruice of God, frame to them selues, a kinde of felicitie in sensualitie, honours, and pleasures. Where as I will make it manifest, that be they neuer so welthy, potent, and prosperous, they haue neuer any contentment, and peace of mind, but are allwayes most miserable. And hereof I will yeald only fise, or fixe reasons, whereby also, the vanitie of worldly welth, dignitie, and pleasure, shall sufficiently appeare.

That the felicitie which wicked men place in sensualitie, riches, honours, and worldly delights, is no felicitie, but miserie: and that there is no true contentment, or happines but in God. And by the way, the vanitie of the world, and worldly men, is evidently shewved.

CHAP. V.

I  The first reason, why wicked men, neyther haue any true felicitie in theyr worldlie pleasures, but infelicitie, and misery, is, the continuall contradiction of theyr owne passions, and concupiscences, which doe miserably teare, and distract them inwardly, with such a perpetuall combat, and ciuill warre, that they can

men have any repose and true contentment of mind: Whereupon *S. lower* saith, unde bella, & lites in vobis? &c. whence growe vvarres, and strifes within you? doe they not growe of your owne concupiscences, which make vvarre in your bodies? Thus saith he: whereof the reason is, for that mens passions are so different, and diuers, that many tymes they contradict one another, for what the flesh desireth, regard of honour sometimes admitteth not, and that which both honour, and the flesh requireth, respect of profit otherwhiles reiecteth: much like as when a sicke man is pestered with contrary humors, or with a cold stomack, and a hote lyuer, which two as they torment, and afflict the patient, so also one of them, hindreth the cure of the other. And therefore whiles passionat men, eagerly hunt after the accomplishment of all theyr desires, and find themselves hindered with their mutuall contradiction, and conflict, they haue such a babilonick confusion, and perpetuall garboile in the city (as I maie say) of their owne breasts, that the saying of the Prophet *Dauid* may iustly be applied vnto them. *Præcipita Domine, diuide linguas eorum, quoniam vidi iniquitatem, & contradictionem in ciuitate.* Cast them downe headlong o lord, denide their tongues, for I haue seene iniquity, and contradiction in the city. Thus saith the royall prophet, giuinge to vnderstand, that where is iniquity, there is contradiction, and disquiet of mind.

2 The second reason of the infelicity of the wicked, is the anguish and torment of mind, that accompanieth euery passion or vice, which will easily appeare, if for example sake, we consider the nature and condition of some three, or foure of them. And first to beginne with couetousnes, how restless, and insatiable is the hunger and thirst, that the couetous, and auaricious man hath after riches, who the more he hath, the more he desireth: and as *Valerius* saith; *Not possessing his vvealth, but being possessed by it, Valer. Max. uia miserabile slauie of his owne money, to whom a man cannot wish a greater harme, then that he may liue long to torment himselfe, who though he desire all, yea and haue all that he desireth, yet in effect hath nothing. For as the prodigall man wanteth many things, so the auaricious man wanteth all things, not enioying that which he hath, and thirsting after all things els: whereof the preacher saith thus. Est & aliud malum quod vidis sub sole, &c. There is an other euill, or mischeefe which I haue seene, or noted vnder the sunne, and the same very frequent, or common amongst men, to wit: a man to whom God giueth riches, and substance, and honour, and he wanteth nothing of all that his soule desireth, and yet God doth not giue him power to ea ther of, but some stranger shall deuoure it, this is vanity, and great misery.* Thus saith the preacher.

3 In like manner the ambitious man insatiably gaping after honours,

and dignities, is vexed with enuie at euerie other mans prosperitie, not receiuing faith *Seneca*, so much contentmēt by seeing manie men behind him, as disgust by seeing any one before him, whereby he is drawne in to manie dangerous practises, and attempts: and as *S. Augustine* saith. *Per multa, & magna pericula, ad plura, & maiora peruenit: by manie, and great dangers, he passeth to more, and greater, vntill at length he runne headlong to his owne ruine, whereof wee see dailie experience, besides infinit examples of ancient times, needeles to be alleadged.*

4. But who can expresse how hypocriticall, base, and ridiculous is the passion of ambition, for though the ambitious man desire nothing more, then honour, yet he would seeme most of all to contemne it, and commonlie so contradicteth himselfe in his owne actions, that euerie man discouereth his humour. And whereas he seeketh to commande all men, he is forced to be euerie mans slaue, crouching, and creeping to euerie one, fawning, and flattering, bribing, dissembling, and committing infinit indignities, to rise to dignitie. And therefore *S. Barnard* fitlie calleth ambition, *negotium ambulans in tenebris*, as the Psalmist saith, *a busines walking in the darke*. For the filthy vice of ambition (saith he) lieth low, but looketh vp to the highest, and yet would not it selfe be seene: it is the mother of hypocrisy, it lurketh in corners, leueth darkenes, and cannot endure the light. And no meruell: for if it be once discovered, it becommeth ridiculous: And so falleth it out to be true, which the Apostle saith: *Gloria in confusione eorum, qui terrena sapiunt: Their glory is their confusion, who seeke after earthly thinges*. Thus saith *S. Barnard* in substance, of ambition, which also in an other place he calleth, *a subtile euill, a secrett poison, a priuy plague, a forger of lies, and deceies, the mother of enuy, the fountaine of vice, the nurse of sinne, the moth that eateth and consumeth sanctity, and piety, the blinder of hartes, and finally such a pestilent passion, that it engendreth, and breedeth sicknes of the very medicines, and remedies, that are applied to the cure of it, corrupting, and abusing all thinges, euen the holiest, to the furtherance of her designements.*

5. Furthermore, who can expresse the folly of the ambitious man, who neuer knoweth when he is well, and ventereth his life, and state many times, either he knoweth not for what, or for that which, in effect he hath already: the which *Plutark* representeth notably in *Pyrrhus* king of *Epyrus*, who hauing greatly enlarged his dominions with the conquest of the great kingdome of *Macedonie*, beganne also to designe with him selfe the conquest of *Italy*, and hauing communicated his deliberation with his great counsellour *Cineas*, he demanded his aduise,

*S. August. li.
8. confes. c. 6.*

*D. Ber. ep.
126.
Psal. 4.*

Philip. 3.

*D. Ber. in
Psal. 90. ser.
6.*

*Plutar. in
Pyrrho.*

where
ment to
kingdo
confide
the llar
will yo
there a
former
easily b
what n
with th
and ma
the end
doing t
suffice y
ally, A
ormak
kingdo
which
immod
what h
which
his ow
as he g
time, a
killed
house.
6. T
couete
Psalm
druvne
to dr
ghost.
7. A
the A
nothi
serue
thing
is fed
nefit

Whereto *Cineas* answered, that he greatly desired to know what he ment to doe when he had conquered *Italy*? Mary quoth *Pyrrhus*, the kingdome of *Sicily* is then neare at hand, and deserueth to be had in consideration, aswell for the fertility, as for the riches, and power of the Island. Well quoth *Cineas*, and when you haue gotten *Sicily*, what will you then doe? Then quoth *Pyrrhus* *Africk* is not farr off, where there are diuers goodly kingdomes, which partly by the fame of my former conquests, and partly by the valoure of my souldyars, may easily be subdued. I graunt it, quoth *Cineas*, but when all *Africk* is yours, what meane you to doe then? When *Pyrrhus*, saw that he vrged him still with that question, mary then, quoth he, thou, and I wilbe merrye, and make good cheare. Whereto *Cineas* replied, if this saith he, shalbe the end of your aduentures, and labours, what hindereth you from doing the same now? Will not your kingdomes of *Epyrus* and *Macedony* suffice you to be merry, and make good cheare? And if you had *Italy*, *Sicily*, *Africk*, and all the world, could you, and I be merrier then we are, or make better cheere, then we doe? Will you therefore venter your kingdomes, person, life, honour, and all you haue, to purchase that which you haue already? Thus said *Cineas* to *Pyrrhus*, reprehending his immoderate ambition, who knew not when he was well, neither yet what he would haue, seeing in conclusion he desired no more, then that which he had already, which in the end cost him deare: for following his owne ambitious, and vnbrideled appetite, to amplify his dominions, as he gott much, so he lost much, being able to conserue nothing any time, and at length hauing entred the towne of *Argos*, by force, he was killed with a brickbat, throwne downe by a woman from the topp of a house.

6. Therefore I conclude aswell of ambitious, as of auaricious, and couetous men, that they may well be said to be those, of whome the Psalmist speaketh, when he saith. *Errauerunt*, &c. *They vndered vp and downe in the drie desert, and found not the way to the city where they desired to dwell, but for very hunger and thirst, fainted and gaue up the ghost.* Psal. 106.

7. And what shall I say of the intemperate man, whose belly, as the Apostle saith, is his God, who breatheth, and belcheth out, nothing but surfett, and sinne? Who eateth not to liue and serue God, but liueth, yea, and serueth God to eate, referring all thinges spirituall, and temporall, to the belly: more like a beast that is fedd for the shambles, then a reasonable creature: and what benefit reapeth he thereof in the end, but infinit diseasses, and Philipp. 3.

D ij either

either vntymely death in his youth, or a lothsome life in his age, laden with dropfies, tormented with gouts, and consumed with cartrages, whereby he payeth the penalty of his owne excesses: In which respect, the prouerb saith truly, that *more die by surfett, then by the sword.*

Seneca describeth notably the infelicity of the riotous glutton in this manner. From riott saith he, and excesse in diett, proceedeth palenes of face, trembling of the sinewes soaked in wine, and leanness of body caused by surfetts, more miserable then that which followeth of famine. Thence proceed the vnstaied, and staggering stepps of men, pining away in paine, and realing as though they were drunck. Thereof groweth the dropsy dispersed throughout all the skinne, the swelling of the belly accustomed to receyue more then it can well containe. Thence followeth the ouerflowinge of the gall, discoloured countenannce, consumptions, rotting inwardly, crooked fingers, with stiffe ioyntes, numnesse of the arteries, and shaking palsies. What should I speake of the giddinesse of the head, of the torments of the eyes, and cares, of conuulsions caused by enflamed braines? Or yet of the passages, by which we purge, tainted with inward soares, and vlcers, besides innumerable sortes of feuers, some entring with violence, others creeping in by easie infection, others assailing with horror, and trembling of all the members? What shoulde I reck on vp infinit other diseases, that are punishments of riott, from the which those are free, who suffer not themselues to be transported with sensuall pleasures, and delights.

Thus saith he. Whereto is to be added, a Christian consideration of the eternall paine, due by the iustice of God, to the workes of darknes, as the Apostle termeth the sinnes of intemperaunce, to wit, dronkennes, and frequent feasting, and bankettinge. *Abjiciamus* (saith he) *opera tenebrarum,* &c. Let vs cast of the workes of darkenes, let vs put on the armour of light, let vs walke honestly, as in the day light, not in banketting, and dronkennes, not in bedding and lasciuiousnes, not in contention, and emulation, but put vppon you our lord Iesus Christ, and doe not pamper your flesh, accordinge to your desires. Thus saith the Apostle, who also in an other place reckoneth commessationes, & ebrietates, that is to say, frequent banketting, and dronkennes amongst the workes of the flesh, concluding, *Qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non consequentur.* They which doe these, and like thinges, shall not attayne vnto the kingdome of God,

Moreouer, who can sufficiently expresse the miserable state of a sensuall, and dissolute man, who giuing himselfe ouer to beastly lust, becommeth no better then equus, & mulus, quibus non est intellectus, a horse, and a mule which haue no understanding? In which respect, the prophet Hieremy

Seneca
ep. 95.

Rom. 13.

Gall. 5.

Psal. 31.

saith
Iulian
after
infatig
we see
te: for
losse
murde
by fuc
are no
11. A
sed w
day at
res, or
he co
Phadr
scis, v
vvear
myr
12.
apoe
& sib
wher

T
And
furor
it di
yrkle
a spi
tarke
met
misc
13.
hau
cien
mon
the
rest:

saith of such men. *Equi amatores & emissarij facti sunt, &c.* They became like to *Hiere. c. 5.* *Assions, or stoned horses, vvhhen they are in loue, for euery one of them vvvent neyng after his neighbours vvife.* Thus saith the prophet, describing very aptly the insatiable, and beastly passion of sensuall, and lasciuious men, who also as we see by experience, haue commonly sowe sauce to their sweete meate: for besides innumerable inconveniences, which they daily incurre (as losse of reputation, danger of punishment by law, quarrels, braules, murders, and mischeefes) they beare the penance of their incontinency, by such horrible, and filthy diseases, that many of them rotte aliuie, and are no lesse lothsome to them selues, then to all other men.

11. And who is so miserable, or so mad, and frantick, as he that is surprised with the passion of loue, wherewith he wrestleth, and languisheth day and night, consuming himselfe with needeleffe cares, phrenetick fears, or ielousies, framed in the forge of his owne idle conceits, and yet he contenteth, and pleaseth himselfe with his owne torment, saying with *Phadria* in *Terence*. *Nunc me miserum sentio, & tadet, & amore ardeo, & prudens, sicut, vivus, videri scio; pereor, nec quid agam scio.* I now find my selfe to be miserable, I am weary and cloyd, I burne in loue, and perish, vvitting, knowing, liuing and seeing my ruin, and yet know not vvhat to doe?

Terent. in eunuch. act. 2. scen. 1.

12. Againe, is there any more miserable then the enuious man, who as a poet saith. *Alterius rebus macrescit opinis: grovveth leane vvith other mens satt, & sibi pena semper est, and is alvvayse a punishment to himselfe?* In respect whereof we may well say with *Horace*.

Horat. ad Lolium. epi. 1. Virgil. de linore.

*Invidia Siculi non inuenere tyranni
maius tormentum.*

The tyrants of *Sicilly* neuer inuented a greater torment then enuy. And the like may also be said of anger, which is nothing els, but *breuis furor* (saith the poet) a short madnes, for it depriueth the soule of iudgemēt, it distempereth, and wāsteth the body, it maketh a man vvtractable, and yrksome more like a furious beast, or a mad man, or a person posselt with a spirit, then a man of reason, and vnderstanding. In somuch, that (as *Plutarke* noteth) he spareth neither God nor man, but sweareth, blasphemeth, curseth, railerth, reuileth, killeth, murdereth, and committeth all mischeefe.

13. Therefore vvhat felicity, quiet, or peace of mind can he be said to haue, that is tyrannised by these passions, whercof any one were sufficient to make a man miserable, and much more all of them, and commonly they all predominate, and reigne in wicked men: In which respect the prophet saith most trully; *Impius quasi mare feruens, quod quiescere non potest.* The wicked man is like to a fvvrelling sea, vvwhich cannot rest.

14 And therefore *Plutarke* affirmeth with reason, that vice sufficeth of it selfe to make a man miserable (as I haue noted in my first part of this treatise.) And *Cicero* teacheth, that sinne is the greatest punishment, that

Cicero de Harusp. resp. God doth lay vpon man in this life for sinne; *Tu cum furiales, &c.* When thou saith he to *Clodius*, furiously crieth out in the assemblies of the peo-

ple, ouerthrowest howses, burnest the temples of the gods, makest no difference betweene thy wife, and thy sister, carest not what woman thou corruptest, when thou ragest, and reulest, then doest thou pay the penalty ordained by the gods for the wickednes of men: for the body, in respect of the frailty thereof, is subiect to manie casualties, but the darts of the gods, doe stricke the mindes of wicked men: and therefore when thou art drawne by thy cies into all deceite, & mischeefe, thou art more miserable, then if thou hadst no eies at al: Thus saith *Cicero*. And the like saith *Plutarke* of *Tigellinus*, one of *Neros* fauourits: which maie also be confirmed out of the Apostle, who saith, that God gaue ouer theould *Philosophers* to a reprobate sense, permiittng them to fall into all vice and wickednes in punishment of their pride, and ingratitude to him: For sinne is a iust punishment of sinne, not onlie in respect of the eternall damnation, whereto it draweth men, but also for the torment of conscience, vexation, and anguish of mind, wherewith it is accompanied: As I haue amply declared in the first part of this treatise, and therefore omit to speake further thereof in this place.

Rom. 1.

15 An other reason of the vnquiet, and peacelesse mind of the wicked is, that their appetites commonlie are so inordinate, and their wills so vnbridled, that they can endure no restraint, or check thereof in anie thinge whatsoeuer. In so much, that though they haue neuer so much contentment in al other thinges, yet if in some one, they see themselves crossed, or loose the least part of thir pleasures, they so torment themselves, that they take no pleasure in anie thinge els: much like to litle children of a froward, and curst nature, who if they be broken of their wills, or if, of many of their puppets, some one be taken from them, they crie out mainelie, and cast away all the rest, and so doe passionate men sometimes for verie trifles. Whereof we haue a notable example in the holic scripture, in *Aman*, who abounding in honour, welth, and pleasure, and seeing *Mardocheus*, the poore Iew let him passe without doing him reuerence, was so vexed therewith, that he assembled his wife, children, and freindes, and after he had made them an ample relation of all his good fortunes, his riches, his magnificence, and greatnes, and of his familiaritie with his king *Assuerus*, and *Hester* the queene, he added that he should account all that nothinge, so long as *Mardocheus* the Iew,

Hester. 5.

should
did: an
uenged
had pre
16 Lo
sions, a
on ear
crossed
most at
passios
Besides
punish
publick
Abyria
glorior
cint ten
will ex
17 Last
sperity
be had
ges, if
concer
or any
and fat
& had
selues
& wea
18 Xer
pouer,
great re
found,
libido.
19 Be
and co
they ar
litle tr
rably v
These ch
fragile,
again
king p
shoul

should sit before the pallace gate, and not doe him reuerence as others did: and thereupon seeking to haue his will also therein, and to be reuenged of poore *Mardocheus*, he was hanged on the gallowes, which he had prepared for him.

16 Loe then how impotent, & exorbitant wicked men are in their passions, and how miserable they are thereby, for seeing no man is so potent on earth, that he can haue his will in all thinges, but wanteth it, and is crossed many times in his designements, & desires, those must needes be most afflicted therewith, who neuer vse to restraine their owne wills, or passions, but alwaies giue full scope thereto, as wicked men commonly doe. Besides that almighty God so disposeth out of his iustice, for their iust punishment, that some secrett disgusts doe commonly ouerway their publike pleasures, & therefore that which the prophet said of the great *Assrian* king, may welbe applied vnto euery wicked man, be he neuer so glorious and prosperous: *Mitter*, saith he, *dominator dominus in pinguibus Isai. 10.* *in tenuitate, & subitus gloria eius succensa ardebit robustio ignis.* Our lord the Ruler will extenuat his state, and vnder his glory shalbe kindled a burninge flame of fire.

17 Lastly such is the very nature, and condition of the pleasures, and prosperity of this world, that no true happines, or contentment, can possibly be had therein, whereof I may make the worldlinges themselues iudges, if they will but ponder, and duly consider their owne experience, concerninge the contentment they haue, or can haue, in honour, riches, or any earthly delights, which are so farr from giuinge any true repose, and satisfaction to the mind of man, that euen when they are possessed, & had in the highest degree, they either kindle a greater desire of themselves (which breedeth a continuall thirst, and torment) or els they cloy, & weary their possessors, & force them to seeke solace in other thinges.

18 *Xerxes*, saith *Cicero*, flourishing in all abundance of wordly wealth, honour, power, and pleasure, was so farre from being content therewith, that he offered great rewards to whosoener could inuent any new pleasure, and when it was found, he was not satisfied; *Neque enim*, saith *Cicero*, *unquam finem inuenit libido.* For mans lust could neuer yet find any end.

19 Besides that, if we regard the vncertainty of all worldly prosperity, and contentments, yea with what danger to all, and vtter ruine to many they are purchaseth, possessed, and conserued, we may easely iudge, how little true felicity there can be therein. Whereupon *Valerius* saith admirably well. *Caduca, & fragilia, puerilibusq; consentanea crepundijs sunt ista, &c.* These thinges wherein consist the force, wealth, and pleasure of man, are transitory, fragile, and like to childrens puppets, they abound sometimes vppon a suddaine, and are againe as suddainly lost, they take no roote, nor assured rest in any place, or person, but being tossed to and fro, with euery puffe, or blast of fortune, hoise men up on heigh

when they flow, and afterwards ebbing againe, either leane them destitute in dry ground, or drowne them in the depth of misery, and therefore they ought not to be esteemed, or yet to be called goods, especially seeing that, besides the mischeefe which they draw vpon vs, they redouble in vs a painefull thirst of them selues.

2. Tim. 6.
Eccles. 11.

Matth. 7.

Mar. 4.

Luc. 8.

Matth. 19.

Mar. 10.

Luc. 18.

Prov. 10.

20. Thus saith he, most truly, yea and this might be the better borne with in them, if they were not also the meanes to corrupt our mindes, and to replenish vs, with all kind of vice, and sinne. And therefore the Apostle saith: *Qui volunt fieri diuites, incidunt in laqueum diaboli: They which will be rich, fall into the snare of the deuil.* And the preacher: *Si diues furis, non eris immunis à peccato: if thou be rich, thou shalt not be free from sinne.* In which respect our Sauour compared riches to thornes, and said also, that it was, as hard for a rich man to enter into the kingdome of heauen, as for a camel to passe through a needles eye.

Eccles. 2.

21. This was wisely considered by Salomon when he prayed to almighty God, to giue him neither riches, nor pouerty, but only thinges competent, and necessary for his maintenance, left perhaps by plenty, and abundance, he might forgett and deny God, or by pouerty be forced to steale, and blaspheme him. And although he was aduanced by almighty God to the greatest honour, wealth, and glory that euer mortall man had, and became a very mirrour of humane power and prosperity, yet how litle true felicity, and happines he found therein, we may learne partly by the example of his foule fall from God by reason thereof, and partly by his owne testimony. Who saith thus: I magnified my workes, and built houfes, I planted vineyards, I made gardens, and orchards, and furnished them with all kind of trees. I made fish ponds to water my wood of yong trees. I had slaues and handmaides, and a great family, droues of cattell, and great flocks of sheepe, more then all that euer were before me in Ierusalem. I stored, and heaped vp siluer, and gold, and the substance, and wealth of kinges, and prouinces: I had musicians both men, and women, and all the delicacies of the sonnes of men: I had bowles, and goblets for wine, and exceeded all my predecessors in riches, and wisdom, and I denied nothing to my eyes, that they desired, neither did I restraine my hart from the vse, and fruition of all the pleasure, and delectation, that could be reaped of all that which I had prepared, perswading my selfe, that it was my part (that is to saie my felicitie) to vse and enioy the fruites of mine owne labour. But when I seriously considered all the workes which my handes had wrought, and all the labours where in I had bestowed so much vaine toile, and paine, I saw vanity, and affliction of mind in all, and that nothing is permanent vnder the sunne. Thus saith the wisest, and most fortunate king of the world that

never was; or is ever like to be, who speaking of his owne experience
deserveth to be beleueed.

22. Therefore, I may iustly say with the Psalmist, to all such as put their
felicities in worldly pleasures. *Filij hominum, usqueque graui corde, ut quid di-* Psalm. 4.
ligitis uanitatem, et queritis mendacium? O ye sonnes of men, how long shall your
hartes be heauy, and dull? why doe you love vanity, and seeke after lies? That is
to say, why doe you sett your affection vppon the goods, and pleasures of
the world, which are nothing els but vanitie, and lies, being not onlie
vaine, and friuolous, short, transitorie, and much sooner lost then had,
but also false, and fraudulent, like to the cupp of *Babylon* guilt on the out
side, and full of poison within, appearinge and seeming to be profitable,
pleasant, and glorious, but being indeede alwayes dangerous, and manie
times most pernicious. Wherevppon *Pyndarus* the greeke poet, was wont

to saie, that euerie good in this world, is accompanied with two euills;
and euerie contentment seconded with a thousand sorrowes, and those
farre more irkesome, and dolefull, then the pleasures delightfull: For,
more are wee greued with losse, then contented with gaine, more affli-
cted with sicknes, then delighted with health, more offended with iniu-
rie, then pleased with honour, and which is worst of all, *extrema gaudij*, Pro. 30.
saith salomon, luctus occupat, sorrow euer succeedeth ioy. In which respect
the Philosopher *Hermes*, or *Mercurius Trismegistus*, had great reason to giue
to God, as he said, *ingentes gratias*, exceeding great thanks; that
whilst he meditated vppon the nature of the true good; God did infuse
into him this certaine iudgement, that *mundus est congeries malorum*, the
world is nothing els, but a heape of euills.

23. Therefore I conclude with a certaine contemplatiue man, who
saith of the world, much to this effect. What els is the world but a ma-
gazin of woes and sorrowes, a schoole of vanities, a market of deceits,
a laborinth of errors, a dungeon of darkenes, a way besett with theetes,
a tempestuous sea, a garden full of weeds, and poisonfull hearbes, a foun-
taine of cares, a sweet, and pleasant poison, and a delectable phrensy?
what good is there in the world, that is not false, and counterfet? what
euill, that is not truly euill? it killeth thee, to betraie thee: it flattereth
thee, to deceiue thee: it exalteth thee, to cast thee downe againe: it ma-
keth thee merrie, to redouble thy sorrow: all the ease, and comfort it
giueth, is mixt with labour, and paine: the securitie it promisseth, is
without foundation: the hopes vaine: the ioyes false, and fained: and the
sorrowes true, and insupportable: in so much, that (as *s. Barnard* saith) if
it were not for the hope that wee haue here of the other life, there
would be litle difference betwixt the world, and hell.

Ludonic.

Granat.

Dux pec. lib.

1 part. 3.

24. This being so, I leaue it to the consideration of any prudent and vnpassionate man, what peace of mind, or true happines, euill men can haue in the pleasures and contentments of this world, or rather how miserable they are, euen in the verie height of their supposed felicitie, seeing it is not onlie accompanied with much miserie; but also doth wholie alienate them from almighty God, who (as I haue proued) is the fountaine of all happines, our cheefe, and onlie good, our beginning, and our end, in whome onlie we may haue true repose. For (as S. Bernard saith) *he made all thinges, he hath all thinges, and he is all thinges: Quodcumque bonum cupis, quodcumque pulchrum quæris, &c.* VVhat good soeuer thou desirest, vvhhat beautifull, or faire thinge soeuer thou seekest, vvhhat soeuer sweet, or desirable thing thou requirest, thou shalt find, and enioy it all in him, &c. If thou desire pouer, he is pouer, if thou desire fortitude, he is fortitude, if iustice, he is iustice, if wisdom, he is the fountaine of wisdom, if charity, he is charity, if beauty, he is beauty in selfe, if honour, glory, peace, and contentment of mind, he is true glory, the highest honour, eternall peace, the cheefe good, and all good. Thus he.

25. And therefore, euen as wee see, that the marriners compasse being touched, or rubbed with the load stone (which hath a naturall sympathy with the north pole) can neuer rest, or repose, vntill it looke directly northward, and that then it stayeth, and fixeth it selfe without any farther motion, or trepidation: euen so mans soule (being made to the image of God, and to the onlie end to serue him, and by the meanes thereof to be vnited with him) hath such a naturall inclination, and instinct euer mouing it to the end, whereto it was created, that it cannot haue any perfect repose, vntill it be vnited with him, and in the meane time it euer labourereth, and can neuer be fully satisfied with worldly thinges

Bernard. de
clamat. in
verba euang.
Ecco nos
reliquimus,
&c.

Psal. 111.

which as S. Bernard saith very well, may occupy, and possesse the soule of man, but neuer fill, or satisfy it: for nothing, saith he, that is lesse then God, can fill that vvhich is capable of God. And he addeth farther, that therefore euerie man doth naturally desire. *Summum bonum*, the cheefe good (that is to saie God) and that no man can haue rest, vntill he arriue to it. But wicked men (saith he) doe miserably erre, and vvander, vvhith finding not the next way, ambulant in circuitu (as the psalmist saith) goe rounde about, vvhiles they hunt after the lesser goods, desiring alwayes the cheefe good, and neuer obtaining it, though it be nearer them, &c. And a litle after, *vis peruenire*, saith he, *ineipe transilire*, &c. VVilt thou arriue vnto the cheefe good; beginne to leape ouer the lesser goods, for otherwise thou shalt be miserably entangled, and detained vvhith the desire, and lose if earthly thinges.

16. Thus saith *S. Bernard*: shewing how it falleth out, that although all men doe naturally tend to felicitie (which is God) yet most men doe not obtaine it, because they erre in the way, or meanes that leadeth vnto it, pursuing continually the lesser goods, in steede of the cheefe good, and thirsting after apparent goods (yea very trifles, and toys) in steede of the true good. Like one that running a race for a prize of inestimable value, followeth euerie butterfly that crosseth his way, till at length he fall into some deepe ditch, where he is drowned in durt, and looseth both the prize, and his life: for so doe worldly men, who hauing the incōparable ioyes of heauen, and God himselfe proposed vnto them, for reward of their good course in the race of this life, runne at randome (as I may saie) after euerie butterflie of worldlie pleasure, till at length they fall headlong into the pitt of eternall perdition.

27. And yet neuertheles, they might enioy both the temporall goods of this world, and the eternall, if they would not abuse the first, but vse them onlie as a meanes to the latter, that is to say, for the seruice, and honour of God, for the which they were principallie ordained: whereas they putting their onlie felicity in their worldly wealth, loose their true felicitie, liuing in a continuall obliuion of their end, and of their duty to God their creator. For euen as we see that hoggs and swyne (when their keeper doth cast downe from the tree store of accornes to feede them) doe neuer so much as lift vpp their heades, or eyes to haue any cogitation of him, but grunting, and grumling one against an other, attend onlie to their feeding: euen so these worldlings, notwithstanding the continuall benefits, which almighty God doth most bountifully powre downe vppon them, doe neuer so much as eleuate their eyes, or mindes from the earth, and delights of this world to thinke vppō him, and much lesse to be thankfull vnto him, but grumling one against an other, and thinking all the world to litle for themselues, attend onlie to their present pleasures, satting themselues as hoggs, and swine doe for the slaughter, that is to saie, daily encreasing, and heaping damnation vppon themselves. And though they know well that they must die, and cannot be ignorant, if they be Christians, that then they are to yeld a strait account of their life past, and of euerie idle word, yet they liue as rechles, and careles thereof, as if they were sure to liue for euer: and which is more, are content for verie toys, and vaine trifles, not onlie to venter, and loose the eternall ioyes, but also to purchase to themselves eternall paine.

28. Therefore I conclude this point, concerning mans felicitie, with the saying of the Psalmist. *Beatus vir cuius nomen Domini spes eius, & non respexit*

Psal. 39.

respexit in vanitates, & insanias falsas. Blessed is the man whose hope is not in the name of our lord, and hath not regarded, and esteemed vanities, and false matters, that is to say, worldly wealth, honours, and pleasures, which so bewitch men with false shewes of transitorie delights, that they deprive them of the true felicitie of euerlasting ioyes, whereunto God created them, and draw them to the endlesse infelicitie, and miserie of eternall paine, prepared for the diuell, and his Angels.

That ciuill society is subordinat to religious, or ecclesiastical society: that is to say, the Church. And by that occasion it is declared, how much religion hath bene honored, and respected in profane common welth: and the eminent dignity of the Church of Christ is touched by the way. Also certaine conclusions are drawne out of all the precedent chapters, and some groundes laid, for the better examination of false religions, to wit of Paganisme, Mahometisme, Iudaisme, Lutheranisme, and Calvinisme.

CHAP. VI.

*Plato dialo-
go. 1. de rep.
vide Marfil.
Ficinum in
Argumento
dial. 1. de
rep.*

HAVING hetherto proued, that religion is the end of common welth, I thinke it conuenient, aswell for the further confirmation thereof, as also for the better explication of this whole question, to shew how common welth serueth, or is referred to religion, as the meane, or way to the end. Whereby it will euidentlie appeare, that religion is not ordained for common welth; but common welth for religion: and that whereas man is naturallie enclined, both to religion, and also to ciuill society, his inclination to the latter, is subordinat to the former, that is to say, that he is by nature, inclined to liue in common welth, to the end he may the better performe the acts of religion.

1. The reason of this may well be gathered out of *Plato*, who teacheth, that men are assembled, and doe liue together in ciuill societie, to the end, that all mankind may giue that due worship to God, which euery man oweth him, and one man alone can not sufficientlie performe, nor yet manie together, except they liue in ciuill societie. To which purpose it is to be considered, that the worship which is due to God from man, cannot be so compleat, and perfect in one man, or in a few, as in manie (for as *Salomon* saith. *In multitudine populi, dignitas regis. The honour of the king, is in the multitude of his people:*) And if it be requisite, that manie shall concur to the worship of God, then it is also necessary, that they liue in order, and be gouerned by magistrats, and lawes, for otherwise they

Prover. 14.

multitude would breed confusion: and where manie are vnited with one communion of lawes, and magistrats, there is ciuill society. Therefore seeing manie men, can not duly worship God, and performe the acts of religion, except they liue in ciuill society (which is common welth:) it followeth that common welth is most requisit, and necessarie, to the perfection of religion.

3 Moreouer, whereas the office, and acts of ciuilitie, and religion, are distinct, and different, the one from the other, and yet are exercised in one multitude, and communite of men, there must needes be also in the same communite, distinct and different orders, proper to the nature, aswell of religion, as of ciuilitie: that is to say, as man is, in respect of ciuill societie, gouerned, and guided for the good of common welth by lawes, and magistrats, ordained to that end: so also he must, in regard of religion be directed by other different magistrats and lawes, conuenient to the office, and end of religion: in which respect Cicero saith. *Sine ijs Cicero lib. 2. qui sacris publicè præsent, priuata religioni satisfieri non posse. Men cannot satisfy de leg. their priuat religion, or deuotion, except there be some, that haue publike charge of the things that belong to religion.* And this cannot be imagined, but in a societie, proper to religion, that in one communite of men, we find two societies, whereto nature hath ordained vs, the one ciuill, or political, and the other religious: whereof the former is called common welth, and the other, is now by Christians properly tearmed *the Church*: both of them euidently distinguished, the one from the other, by different magistrats, and lawes in all common wealths.

4 Now then forasmuch as the religious societie, or the Church, hath the seruice of God, and diuine things for her proper and peculiar end, and that the ciuill societie, or common welth doth of her owne nature, and condition, respect only humane and temporal matters, it must needes follow, that the religious societie is farre more perfect, and worthie, then the ciuill, yea, and that the ciuill societie is subordinat vnto the religious, such being the course of nature, alwaies to proceede by the inferiour to the superiour, and by the lesse perfect, to the more perfect, as by the meane to the end, and this is most euident in all things, which are of one kind.

5 The Elements are aswell in dignitie, as place, superiour one to another: The orbs, and spheres in like sort are subordinat to the highest, and moued by it: The sciences are all, as it were, subiect to *Metaphisick*, which therefore, *Aristotle* calleth the goddess of sciences, and (to omit *Aristot. lib. 2. metaphys.* multitudes of examples in a matter euident) the same may be noted in the societies, inferiour to common welth: for, humane nature is led,

as it were, by degrees and passeth from the lower, to the higher, or more worthy: as from the societie of the master, and the seruant, to the familie: from the familie, to the towne, or corporation: and from thence, to some kind of common welth, as to the more perfect, for the more ease, and better comoditie of man: And therefore by the like reason, humane nature resteth not there, but tending euer to the best, and to her proper end, it passeth from all sortes of common welth, and ciuill societies, to the religious, or ecclesiasticall societie, as to the highest, and most perfect, whereby man (who was ordained for the worship, and seruice of God) may discharge his dutie towards him, and attaine to eternall felicitie.

Cæsar comment-de bello Gallico l. 6

6 Thus then we see, not onlie that religion is the end of common welth, but also that the religious societie, or the Church, is farre more excellent, and worthy, then anie ciuill societie, by the same law of nature, that the soule is superiour to the body, reason to sense, heauen to the earth, and deuine thinges to humane.

7 The force of this naturall law, and the transcendent dignitie of religion, hath benne alwayes most manifest, euen in the common wealths of the Gentils. For, although true religion, could not haue any place, and much lesse any commaunde amongst them, (whiles they were drowned in the depth of Idolatrie) yet their naturall propension to true religion, appeared euidentlie in the honour and respect, that they bore to their errour, and superstition; as (to omit other manifest arguments, and proofes thereof) it was euident in the great authoritie, and dignitie of the priesthood, which was exercised in the different religions of diuers countries; whereof I thinke good to lay downe some examples.

8 We read in the Commentaries of *Cæsar*, that certaine priestes called *Druides* (because they dwelt most in the woods) were of such authoritie amongst the *Brittaines* in our cuntry, and the *Gauls* now called *Frenchmen*, that they were, not onlie exempt from all kind of taxes, or impositions, seruice in warre, and all other greouances, but also had in their handes the education, and instruction of all the youth and the decision of all ciuill and criminall causes, and other controuersies, either publike, or priuate, punishing such as refused to stand to their iudgement, with depriuation of all participation of their sacrifices: which was held for the most greuous penaltie that might be, and he which incurred it, was reputed to be so wicked, and infamous, that no man would conuerse with him, or speake to him; and such was the power of these *Druides*, that they made warre, some

times amongst themselves, for the office of cheefe priest, when it was vacant.

9 Also amongst the *Egyptians*, priesthood was of such high estimation, that no man could be king, except he were priest: And in diuerse partes of *Greece*, as *Plutarcke* affirmeth, priesthood was held equall in dignitie, with princelie estate, or kinglie maiesty. In *Aethiopia*, the kinglie authoritie was so subiect to the priestlie power, that when the priest denounced to the king, that it was the will of God, that he should kill himselfe, he neuer refused to doe it: in so much, that for manie descentes, and generations, the kings of *Aethiopia* killed themselves, by the sentence, or decree of the priests, preferring the reuerence, and respect of religion, before the loue of their liues.

10 And who can sufficientlie expresse, the great care, and respect, the *Romans* had of religion? Of whom *Cicero* saith: *Nec Numerò Hispanos, Cicero de*
secrèbre Gallos, &c. VVee doe not surmount the Spaniards in number, nor the Harusp. resp.
French in strength, nor the Africans in craft, nor the Greekes in the sciences, but wee goe beyond all nations in religion, and pietie. Thus he. And this is euident throughout all the course of their common welth, and empire. *Onuphrius*
Romulus their first king, thought it vnfit, that any other but himselfe, *de Romana*
should haue the care, and charge of the temples of the gods, and of *Repub.*
their sacrifices, and ceremonies. Which custome, passed also from him as hereditarie, to the kings his successors. *Numa*, who succeeded him, *Plutarck. in*
did not only thinke himselfe greatly honoured, with the title of *Numa.*
cheefe bishop, but also ordained all that maiestically forme of ceremonies, sacrifices, priestlie, and pontificall dignities, which the *Titus Livius*
Romans euer after most curiously obserued. And such was the priuiledge, *Dec. 1. lib. 1.*
and dignitie of their priesthood, that *Iupiters* priest was (as *Plutarcke*
witnesseth) *Vinum, sacrumque persequi simulachrum: A* living and holly *Plutarck. in*
image of refuge, that is to say, his verie person, was a sanctuarie. For, *quaest. Rom.*
whosoever did fall downe at his feete, he was that day free from stripes or *q. III.*
other punishment, and if he were already tied, or bound, he was presently loosed.

11 The cheefe bishop (who was called, *Pontifex Maximus*, and had the cheefe charge of all things belonging to religion) was subiect to no man, nor accountable for his doings to any: and which is more, the supreme authoritie of the common welth rested in him, & the inferior bishops, as *Cicero* witnesseth, saying that it was most notably, and deuinely ordained, by the ancient *Romans*, that the Bishops should haue the cheefe command in matters, that pertained aſwell to the common welth, as to the religion of the gods.

Thus

Thus saith *Cicero*, whereof there may be alledged diuers examples two, or three shall suffice. *Metellus* being cheefe bishop, forbade *Valerius* the Consul, (who was also a prieste) to goe to *Africa* with his army, to the end he might attend, to his priestly charge, as occasion should require: wherein the consul obaied him, and so the cheefe dignitie of the common welth yielded, saith *Valerius*, to religion. *Cn. Tremellus* the Tribune of the people, was fined, because he had so litle respect to *A Emilius Lepidus*, the cheefe Bishop, as to contend iniuriousslie with him: whereupon *Florus* obserueth; that *sacrorum magistratum* was potentius fuit. The authoritie of the sacred, or holly magistrats, was more potent, then the authoritie of the Tribunes, who where held equall with the consuls, and instituted of purpose by the people to counterpeise them.

12 I might add hereto the soueraigne, and supreme authoritie of the *Augures*, ouer all temporall magistrats in all matters of the common welth, were it not that I shall treat of it at large, in the eight chapter, where I shall haue occasion to lay downe some examples thereof, and namely of the two consuls. *P. Claudius* and *Lucius Iunius* condemned to death, for disobaying the *Augures*. For such was the reuerend regard of the *Romanes* to religion, that the violation, and contempt thereof, was not only alwaies ignominious, but also sometimes capital to the greatest princes, and supreme magistrats of the common welth; In which respect, *Valerius Maximus*, saith. *Omnia post religionem ponenda semper nostra ciuitas duxit*, &c. Our city hath alwaies thought, that religion is to be preferred before all thinges, yea euen in men of the highest dignitie, and maiestie: and therefore our Empire, hath alwaies most willingly submitted it selfe, and obeyed in matters of religion, esteeming, that it should in time attaine to the soueraigne of humane gouernment, if it did well, and constantly, serue the diuine power. Thus saith *Valerius*, of the time of the *Roman* consuls, and common welth.

13 And what respect was had to religion afterwards, it may appeare sufficiently, by that which wee read of the time of the Emperour *Alexander Seuerus*: As that there was an appellation from him to the bishop, and that they reuerfed his sentences, when they saw cause: And (to omit other arguments of this matter) there is in *Nicephorus*, extant a letter of *Iulian* the *Apostata* to *Asiacus*, an Idolatrous bishop, or high priest in *Galatia*, wherein he admonisheth him, to be euer mindfull of his owne dignity, and that therefore, he should not goe to visit the gouernours of the prouince, but verie seldome, nor suffer any priest to goe forth to meete them, when they should come to the cittie, nor to be seene in the theaters, nor to haunt *Tauerns*, nor that any souldiar, of what condition

Valer. Maxim. li. 1. c. 1.

Lucius Florus epit. lib. 47.

Chap. 8. nu. 1. 2. 3.

Valerius Maxim. li. 1. c. 1.

Baptista Fulgos. lib. 1. c. 1.

Niceph. eccl. hist. lib. 10. c. 22.

soeuer he were, should goe before any priest in the temple, for as soone, saith he, as any temporall magistrat doth sett his foote vwithin the dore of the temple, he becommeth a priuat man, for thou hast the cheefe authority or commaund, in the temple, as thou knowest, and so also the deuine decrees doe require.

Thus wrote the Emperour Iulian: Whereby we may see, what conceit the pagan Emperours themselues held, of the grauity, and dignity of priesthood, and consequentlie of the excellencie of religion. The like may also be obserued amongst the *Turkes*, where such honour, and respect is borne to the clergie, that whereas, all other sorts of men, of what dignitie, or degree soeuer they be, are counted no better then slaues to their Emperour: the priests are counted free men, and neuer pay, either rare, or tribut, and the cheefe bishop, or patriarch (who is called *Muphris*) is of such absolut authority, that no man what soeuer (not the Emperour himselfe) intermedleth in the affaires belonging to his charge, where as he neuerthelesse assisteth, when he thinketh good, in all the counsellis of state. And although the other ordinarie counsellers of the Emperour (who are commonlie foure in number) may be, and are oftentimes changed: yet he can neuer be changed, or excluded: yea, and if he contradict any decree of the counsell, or law of the Emperour, and affirm it to be contrarie to the *Alcoran*, or law of *Mahomet*, it is presently annulled, and held to be of no force. Finally such is the respect that the Emperour beareth him, that as oft as the *Muphris* commeth vnto him, he riseth out of his seat, and laying his hand vpon his breast, boweth his head downe to the ground to doe him reuerence. Thus much I haue thought good to note by the way, concerning the high esteeme that Infidels of all sorts, haue had of religion, and priesthood.

Seeing then superstition, and Idolatrie hath had such power to captiuate the minds of men by reason of the natural instinct, and inclination that all men haue to religion, what may be thought of the force, and power of true religion, accompanied with the light and power of Gods grace? Shall it not be much more potent to moue men to embrace, esteeme, and honour it aboue all earthly things? And shall not the priesthood, and prelacy belonging thereto, be more worthily respected, and reuerenced, then an earthly power? This appeareth euidently in the law of God, giuen to the *Iewues* by *Moyse* in the oulde testament, where it was ordained, that it should be death to disobay the commaundements of the high priest, and almighty God also said to the Prophet *Ieremy*. *Ece constitutus te hodie, &c.* Behold I haue constituted and ordained thee this day aboue nations, and kingdomes, that thou maist pluck vp, and destroy, and dissipat, and build, and plant, &c.

Munster. in Cosmographia. pag. 47

Melächton. in prefat. Alcoran.

Cispin in tractatu de Mahomete. Theues Cosmogra. li. 17. c. 7.

Leonclausius in pandect. hist. Turc. ca. 34.

Postel. de la iustice des Turcs.

Deuter. 17.

Ieremi. 1.

Iſai. 49. &
60. Agga. 2
Hieron. in
Agga.

S. Ignatius
ep. ad Smyr-
nen.

S. Chriſtoſt.
Ho. 4. & 5.
de verb.

Eſaia vidi
dominum
Ch. li. 3. de ſa-
cerdotio.

Matth. 16.

Ibid.

16 What meruell then, that the priethood of our Chriſtian Church (which is the kingdome of Chriſt, and the pillar of truth, as the Apoſtle calleth it) whereof the prophets alſo foaretold, that it ſhould in glorie excede the ſynagogue of the Iewes, which was but a figure of it) what meruel, I ſay, that in authoritie and honour, it excelleth all earthlie power, and principallitie? In which reſpect the holie martyr, S. Ignatius, diſciple to S. Iohn the Euangelift, ſaid of our Chriſtian priethood, that it is *Summa omnium honorum, qui in hominibus conſiſtunt*: The cheefe of all honours, which are in men. And S. Chriſtoſtome calleth it *Principatum ipſo regno*, &c. A principallity more venerable, and greater, then the kingdome it ſelfe, becauſe the princelie power, doth not excede the boundes of the earth, whereas the power of the Chriſtian prieth, extendeth it ſelfe to the heauens: and the Prince ſaith he, hath authority onlie ouer the body, but the prieth hath power ouer the ſoule. Thus reaſoneth S. Chriſtoſtome in his excellent treatiſe, which he wrote of the dignity of priethood.

17 This then being ſo, it cannot be doubted, but that our Chriſtian Church, wherein this priethood is exerciſed, is that religious, and eccleſiaſtical ſociety, whereto all other ſocieties are by the law, and courſe of nature ſubordinat, and ſubiect, which will be more cleare then the ſunne heereafter, when I ſhall treat purpoſelie of Chriſtian religion, and of the Catholike Church in particuler: for here I ſpeake but of religion in generall.

18 Neuertheleſſe, for the concluſion of this point, I will ſay further heere, concerning the dignity of our Church, that if wee conſider the excellent inſtitution of it, (as that it is a moſt exact, and exquiſit Monarchie notable tempred of all kind of common welths) and waigh withall the deuine wiſdome of the lawmaker, that is to ſay, our Sauour Chriſt: the equity, and ſanctity of his lawes: the terrour of the iudgements, and penalties extending to the eternal puniſhment of body, and ſoule: the inſtimable worth of the heauenlic, and euerlaſting rewards: the dignitie, and grauitie of the magiſtrats: the authoritie of the ſupreme Senat, or Parliament: (I meane the generall counſels:) the venerable maieſtie of the head, and his ample power to bind, and loſe: the boundes of his dominion propagated from the eaſt, to the weſt, the ſtabilitie, and perpetuitie thereof, which hellgates ſhall not overcome (hauing alreadie continued in a perpetuall ſucceſſion, of more then 7 hundred, and forty biſhops from the Apoſtle Saint Peter not with ſtanding the enuie and hatred of Heretikes, and the violent impugnation of moſt wicked, and potent Emperours.) And if with all we conſider

The hollic inspiration of the deuine spirit, which moueth, and gouerneth all this mysticall bodie, the giftes, graces, and miracles, wherewith it is adorned, the admirable force, and vertue of the Sacraments: the profound wisdom, and knowledge of Doctors: the Mellifluous eloquence of preachers: the immaculat chastity of virgins, the inuincible fortitude of Martyrs: the innocent life of confessors: and the most sweet favour of all vertues, that redoundeth of these heauenly flowers: finally, if we ponder also, the communion that this Ecclesiastical society hath with the heauenly hierarchy (whereby we become, *Ciues sanctorum*, & do *Ephef. 2.* *membra Dei*, fellow citizens with saints, and houshold seruants of God.) We cannot doubt, but that it is the lady, and mistresse of all societies, the Queene of Common welths, and Empresse of all kingdomes, and Empires. In which respect, it is honored, & adorned in the holly scriptures, with most excellent titles, *of the house of God, the gate of heauen, the city of God*, and such like: whereof also almighty God, said by the Prophet. *Gen. 28.* *Psal. 86.* *Isai. 60.* *Domum te in superbiam saeculorum*, &c. I will place thee for a pride (that is to saie, for an honour, and glorie) to worlds, or ages, a ioy to generation, and generation, and thou shalt sucke the milke of nations, and shalt be fedd with the Papp of kings, &c.

19 And againe: *Filij eorum, qui te humiliauerunt, curui venient*, &c. The children of those, which humbled thee, shall come crouching vnto thee, and shall adore the soote steps of thy feete, and thy gates shalbe open continually, they shall not be shut day, or night, to the end, that strength of nations, and their kinges, may be brought vnto thee: for the nation, and kingdome, which shall not serue thee, shall perish. And in an other place: *Erunt reges nutricij tui*. Kings shalbe thy foster fathers, and Queenes thy nurses, they shall adore thee, with their face bowed downe vpon the earth, and shall lick the dust of thy feet, and thou shalt know, that I am thy lord. Thus said the prophet foretelling the dignitie, maiestie, and glorie which now wee see, in the Christian Church, whereof I shall haue occasion to speake amply heereafter, in the third part of this treatise.

20 This therefore, is the societie, whereto euerie man is by nature instituted, and ordained: This is the huge, and immense ocean, to which all the springes and riuers, as I may say, of humane, and ciuill societies, of families, citties, and common welths, of kingdomes, empires, and states, doe naturally direct their course. This, I saie, is that eternall kingdome, and monarchie of our Sauour Christ, which being spread ouer the whole world, doth not onlie remaine alwaie, one, and the selfe same (retaining her authoritie, and dignitie in all Christian common welths, though neuer so different in their forme, nature

ture, and institution) but also comprehendeth them all, and as it were, fostreth them like a louing mother in her bosome, linketh, and combineth them in a spirituall vnion one with an other, adorneth, and perfecteth them, and finally (if they swarue not from her) bringeth them to true felicitie, conioyning them, and euerie part of them with God, by the meanes of true religion, which is found onlie in her, and is the end, for the which all common welths, and euerie particular man is ordained.

21 And now to conclude this question concerning religion in generall, thou hast seene, good Reader, that I haue hetherto treated of the necessity of religion, in common welth, in respect first of the whole world, secondly of euerie man in particuler, and lastly of common welth it selfe: and therefore I thinke good, before I passe further, to draw certaine conclusions out of the premisses, whereby the ignorance, error, and impiety of the pollitikes, may be the more manifest.

Chap. 2. C.
3.

22 Seeing then, that religion floweth, (as I haue proued) from the fountaine of nature it selfe, and is the bond, or linke, wherewith man and all other creatures subiect to him, are tied, and linked with their creator, and that the vertue, and force thereof is such, that not onlie all humane things doe by the helpe thereof, remaine in the protection of almighty God, but also man himselve is thereby vnited with him, and becommeth a most happie, yea deuine creature (first here in this life, by grace, and after in the next by euerlasting glorie:) what man can be so wicked, or senseles, as to thinke, that any humane, or worldlie thing, may be preferred before it, or yet compared with it? Who is so blind, that he seeth not the absurditie of those, which thinke it to be a humane deuise, consisting onlie in the opinion of men? What els may be thought that they pretend, but the destruction of man, the subuersion of the whole world, and the ruine of nature it selfe? For if there were no religion, or if all men should contemne it (as they doe) what connexion could there be of man, and of the world with God? What meanes, or way to true felicitie? Should not the world, by the breach of the common bond, fall to confusion, and man be ouerwhelmed with remediles miserie?

Chap. 4. per
totum.

23 Furthermore, seeing I haue also proued, that religion is the end not onlie of man, but also of common welth, and that all true political felicitie, consisteth principally therein: what els doe they which overthrow, or deface religion but subuert common welth, and depriue it of all true happines, and consequently draw it to infelicitie, and vnter desolation? And lastly seeing the end, wherto any thing is ordained, is farre more

able, & worthie, then the meanes that leadeth to the end: it is most euident, that religion, being the end of common welth, is farre more worthie, and excellent, then all humane pollicie: and that the axiome of the law is most true, to wit, *summa ratio est, quæ pro religione facit*, it is the wisest, and highest reason, which makes for religion? Where vppon it followeth, that religion is the verie rule, whereby all policie is to be directed, and the touch stone, wherewith it is to be tried: and that when pollicie is correspondent to the rule of religion, then it may trulie be counted good, and true pollicie, because it is conforme to the end, whereto it was ordained: and when it defleth, or dissenteth from it, then it is bad, and false pollicie, as disagreeing from the true end, whereto all true policie tendeth. As for example, the health of man, is the end of phisicke: and therefore whatsoeuer is holesome, and good for mans health, the same is medicinable, and agreeable to the rule of phisicke: and on the other side, whatsoeuer is vnholesome, or hurtfull to health, the same is contrarie to the true rule of phisicke.

14 Therefore whereas Politikes do accomodat all religion to state (as though state or pollicie were the end, and rule of religion) who seeth not that they are as absurde therein, as the phisitian, that should not seeke principallie the health of his patient, but the commendation of his medicine, or art, and would labour to wrest his patients complexion, and disease to the nature, and operation of his medecin, and not applie the medicin to the cõplexion of the patient, or to the nature of the disease? Or are they not as wise as the shoemaker, who would seeke to fitt the foote to the shooe, and not the shooe to the foote? Or as the carpenter, who would frame his squire, and rule to his tymber, and not his tymber to his rule? Could any thing be more praeposterous, absurd, or ridiculous? No truelie; and yet so doe the politiks, in the states wherethey gouerne, framing religion to the rule of their state, that is to say, the end, to the meane; the sicke mans health, to the medicine; the squire, to the tymber; and the foote to the shooe.

25 Now then to proceed to the declaration of what religion it is, which is the end of common welth, and consequentlie most conuenient for state, thou shalt vnderstand, good Reader, that forasmuch as diuers religions partlie haue bene, and partlie are professed in diuerse common welths (as *paganisme* amongst the *Greekes*, and *Romaines* in times past: *Mahometisme* amongst the *Turkes*, and *Persians*, and *Africans* this day: *Iudaisme* amongst the *Iewes* in sundry partes of the world: *Christianisme* amongst the *Christians*, and lastlie the different sects of *Christians*, who haue seperated themselues from the Catholike Church in diuerse partes

of Christendome at this present) I will therefore treat severallie of all these, and finally proue, that the religion, which doth vnite man, and common welth with God, and beatifie both, is the Christian faith: And that of those religions, which differentlie professe the faith of *Christ* at this daie, the ancient Catholike Roman religion, is not onlie the true religion, but also most politicall, that is to say, most agreeable to true reason of state: And finally that the doctrine of the sectaries, professing the name, and faith of *Christ*, namely of *Lutherans* and *Caluinists*, is no lesse contrarie to true reason of state, then to the veritie of our holie scriptures.

26 To this purpose, I thinke good, first to lay downe, *two* infallible groundes, and positions, whereby I meane to examine the religions aboue mentioned, and to performe in part, that which I haue vndertaken. The one is, that no false religion can be the end of common welth, nor vnite the same with God, nor yet benefit, and much lesse beatifie it. This may appeare, by the verie naturall instinct, that wee haue to religion: For, seeing that the religion, which is the end of man, and of common welth, is the same whereto nature moueth and inclineth vs, it must needs be, a good, and true religiō; it being euident, and grāted by all men, that as all naturall inclinations (such I meane as are conforme to the law of nature) are good and true, so also all those thinges, whereto they moue, and encline vs, are true, and good in like manner: For *bonum et verum*, that is to saie, good and true are inseparable, seeing what soeuer is good, the same is true, and what soeuer is true, it is also good: & if nature should encline vs to any thing that were euill, or false, it should both erre it selfe, and also induce vs to errour: which were most absurd to say, for thereuppon it must needs follow, that God the author of nature, and truth it selfe, should be the author of euill and falsity, which all philosophers deny with our deuines: and therefore *Cicero* saith of nature, that *natura ducere errari nullo modo potest*: If *wee* follow nature *wee* cannot erre, whereuppon it followeth, that the religion whereto nature inclineth vs, must needs be a good, and true religion: for if it were false, it could neither be good, nor yet naturall, and much lesse the end whereto nature moueth man, and common welth.

27 Furthermore a false religion cannot be the meanes to vnite man and common welth with God, who being veritie it selfe, and also most iust, hateth, and punisheth nothing more then falsitie, especially in those thinges which concerne his worship, and seruice. And therefore our Sauour *Christ* said, that those which worshipp, and adore God, ought to adore him, in *Spiritu & veritate*, in *spirit and truth*: whereuppon it also fol-

S. Tho. 22.

q. 26. ar. 6 c.

Aristot.

Metaphy.

Cicero de legib. li. 1.

lowe
becau
good
venge
by m
much
29
steth
or be
a fals
the w
I said
vice)
whic
mon
thing
the r
natur
not o
form
stand
after
des, I
Pagan
most
pollu
will
reaso

The a
an
gic
cu
v

grac

loweth that all false religion, is most pernicious to common welth, both because it devideth the same from God (vpon whom dependeth all the good and felicitie thereof:) as also for that it draweth his wrath and vengeance vpon it, no lesse then vpon particular men: as shall appeare by manifest examples hereafter in the third part of this treatise: and thus much for the first ground.

29 *The second position* or ground shalbe: that the religion, which consisteth either in the worshipp of a false god, or yet in precepts, customes, or beleefe inducing to vice, and corruption of manners, must needs be a false religion, and destroy common welth. For as in the first, (I meant the worship of a false god) it impugneth the author of nature (who as I said before is veritie it selfe) so in the latter (to wit in the induction to vice) it impugneth the lawe of nature. which leadeth to all vertue: in which respect the *Sticks*, teaching, that the felicitie of man, and common welth, consisteth in vertue, taught also, that to *live vertuously*, is nothing else, but to *live according to the rule*, and *law of nature*. And therefore the religion which leadeth, and induceth to vice, must needs be against nature, and consequently against reason, and true pollicy, that is to saie, not onlie false, but also pernicious to state: False, because all truth is conforme to nature. Pernitious to state, because state, or common welth standeth by vertue, & is ruinated by vice, as I will evidently proue hereafter. And in the meane time, hauing laid these two infallible grounds, I will thereby examine the religions aforesaid, and first beginne with *Paganisme*, as it was professed by the *Romans*, who in their kind, were most religious, or rather superstitious, and placed a great part of their pollicy, in the exact obseruation of their religion: which neuertheles I will manifestlie shew, to haue bene both false, and contrary to true reason of state, and consequently pernicious to their common welth.

Cicero de Finib. li. 4.

Chap. 9. per totum.

The absurdity of Paganisme, is shew'd in the religion of the aunient Romanes, and that the same was no lesse contrary to true reason of state then to true religion: not only for the vanity of their gods, and the impiety of their sacrifices, and ridiculous ceremonies: but also for the bad effectes of vice, and all kind of vickednes, which it produced in their common welth.

CHAP. VII.

BEing here to discipher aswell the impietic and vanitie of Paganisme, as the dammage that ensued thereof to the Roman common welth, I cannot but first make reflexion on the imbecillity, and vanity of man, when he is void of gods grace, sing that so wise a people, as the *Romanes* were, and as it seemeth,

To well

so well disposed, and inclined to vertue, were neuertheles so blinde, and withall so impious, as to embrace for some hundreths of yeares, such an absurde, ridiculous, and sacrilegious religion as they did, and with such notable detriment to their common welth, as did, and must needs grow thereof. Which no man can denie, that dulie considered the multitude, turpitude, and abiection of their gods, honoured with such detestable sacrifices, rites and ceremonies, that their beliefe, and the practise of their whole religion, could not possible produce in time, any other effect in their common welth, then contempt of God, and of religion, that is to say, Atheysme, and extreame dissolution of life; and manners, to the vtter ouerthrow of their state.

2 That this may euidentlie appeare, I will first treate of their gods: Secondly of their sacrifices: And lastlie of the effects of their whole religion. And first for their gods, and goddesse, what could be more contemptible then manie of them, whose names, and functions, did rather deserue derision, then deuotion, and might moue men rather to contemne them, then to reuerence them: As *Hercules* Ἡρακλῆς scarce-flie (whose deuine office, was to dryue flies awaie: And the goddesse called *Clacina*, because she was found in a sinke: And the rustie goddesse, named *Rubigo*, to whom they worthilie sacrificed a dogge: And the dombe goddesse, called *Muta*: Also the dunghill god *Sterquilinus*: And their sweeping goddesse *Deuerra*, who with her beesome (together with two other gods called *Pilumnus* and *Intercido*, the one armed with a pestle, and the other with an axe) defended women newly brought a bed, from the great god of the woods, called *Siluanus*: whereof the ceremonie was most ridiculous: for three men being sent about the house in the night, the first strooke the threshold of the dore with an axe, the second with a pestle, and the third with a beesome, and so shee that lay in childbed, was held to be secure from the god *Siluanus*, who, as they feared, would otherwise haue entred into the house, and donne her some great harme.

3 But what should I say of an infinit number of trifling gods, whom they worshipped, assigning a particular god, almost for euerie thing? As, *Forculus* for the god of the dore, or gate: *Limentinus* the god. of the threshold: and *Cardea* the goddesse of the hinges: so that they had two gods and a goddesse, appointed to keepe one dore, which one dogge would haue kept much better. And what a number of gods had they about a married couple? first the god *Iugatinus*, to ioine them together: then the god *Domiducus* to bring the bride home, then the god *Domitius*, and the goddesse *Manturna*, to keepe her at home, besides *Pennus*, and

*Lactant. li. i.
cap. 20.
Ouid fast. 4.
Lactant. de
falsa relig.
li. i. ca. 20.*

*D. Aug. de
ciuit. Dei. li.
6. c. 9.*

*Idem ibid.
cap. 7.*

*S. August.
Ibid. c. 9.*

Priapus

Iustin. li. 22.

owne bodies: whereuppon grew the custome of the *Cyprians*, whereof Iustin writeth, to witt, to prostitute their maides at the sea coast for some dayes before their mariage, to paie their offering to *Venus* for their chastity, all the rest of their liues.

Ludonic. vi-
ues ubi su-
pra ex He-
siodo, Eue-
moro &
Diodoro.

7 And what may we thinke of *Saturne Iupiters* father? Doe not *Hesiodus*, and *Diodorus* testify, that he was also a very wicked man, and that he depriued his owne father of his kingdome, as he himselfe was after depriued of his by *Iupiter* his sonne? In like sort doe not all authors agree, that *Mars* the great God, and protectour of the *Roman* Empire, was taken in adultery with *Venus*? Which ministred to the poets ample matter, for their further fictions? Also *Berecinthia* or *Cibele*, called the mother of the gods, was not shee starke mad with the loue of *Atis*, as shalbe declared more particularlie after a while?

Vide Ludon-
ic. viuem
in Commi-
in li. 6. S.
Aug. de Ci-
uit. Dei. ca. 7
Euseb. de
preparat. E-
uang li. 2.
ca. 4.

8 And what neede I speake seuerally of eueryone of the gods? Seeing *Eu-merus* a *Siciliā*, who wrote their history, (which he collected with great industry, out of the anciēt records of their temples) declareth the all to haue bene so impious, and beastly, that he was held by some in those times, for no better the an Atheist, & an enimie of the gods, for writing the truth, & yet his history was generallie called, *sacra historia*, the holie history.

Titus Liuius
Decad. 1. li. 1.
Plutar. in
vita Romu-
li.

Vide Ludon-
ic. viuem
ubi supra. in
li. 5. c. 23.
Lactant. lib.
1. cap. 20.
Plutar. in
Romulo. Vi-
de Ludonic.
viuem ubi
supra in li.
4. c. 8.
Lactant. ubi
supra.

9 But perhaps some may thinke, that the *Romans* hauinge receiued those gods, and their ceremonies from *Greece*, were deceaued by the common opinion of the *Grecians*, who had adored them for gods long before, and that their owne proper gods (such I meane as they theselues deified) were of more worth, or of better fame at least: Which neuertheles, was nothing so, as may appeare by their deification of *Romulus* their first founder, who was a parricide of his owne brother, a breaker of leagues, & all lawes, humane, & deuine, and such a tyrant, that the Senators whome he had made, killed him in the senate: and yet neuertheles, though they thought him vnworthy to liue, they held him worthy of deuine honour, & by a decree of the fenat, made him a god. So also, *Tiberinus* of *Alba*, a notable theefe, and robber, being by the iust iudgement of God, drowned in the riuer *Albula* (which hath bene euer since called *Tiber*) was made a god by *Romulus*. So also, *Flora*, a common strompet, was receiued, & declared for a goddesse by the *Romans*, & honored with an image, and with such beastlie feastes, called *Floralia*, that I am ashamed to speake of the particularities thereof, which may be seene in *Lactantius*.

10 This *Flora* was also called *Larentia*, and was nurse to *Romulus*, hauing bene so incontinent, that she was called *Lupa* (which in those daies did not onlie signifie a shee wolfe, but also a common queane) whereuppon grew the fable, that *Romulus*, and *Remus* were nourished by a shee wolfe.

in Bu-
qualit-
Plutar-
sport-
that if
his ten-
if the
great
deuile
for the
wager
ing fa-
temple
Mercur-
shee sh-
and so
rich, a-
a whil-
which
where
were
12 &
of the
der w
honor
so imp-
nes of
gion
13 A
need
who l
this m
But if
will be
der h
gods
are, w
from
vaine
glass

in But besides this *Larentia*, there was also an other of the same name, & quality, & honored, by the *Romans* for a goddesse, vppon this occasion, as *Plutarke* writeth. A priest of *Hercules*, saith he, being idle, and disposed to sport himselfe, inuited his god to play at dice with him, vppon cōdition, that if the god did winne, the priest should make him a great banker in his temple, and seeke him out the fairest woman that could be found, & if the priest did winne, the god should bestow vppon him somewhat of great valew, fitt for a god to giue. This bargaine being made, or at least deuised in his owne braine, he cast the dice, first for himselfe, and after for the god, and acknowledging himselfe in the end to haue lost his wager, he prepared a sumptuous bankett, and sought out *Larentia* (being famous for her beautie at that time) whome he hired to lie in the temple all night, which shee did, and they say, shee was admonished by *Hercules*, that shee should make choise of one to be her freend, whom shee should meete first in the mōrninge, at her going out of the temple, and so it fell out, that it was one *Tarrutius*, a verie old man, exceeding rich, and without children, who lead her home to his house, and within a while died, and made her his heire of all his goods, and possessions, which shee leaft after her death, to the common welth, in recompence whereof, shee was made a goddesse, and the feasts called *Larentinalia* were ordained for her honour, and seruice.

ii Whereby we may see, what manner of gods the *Romans* had, as well of their owne choise, as by tradition from the *Grecians*: and if we consider withall, with what ceremonies, feastes, & sacrifices these gods were honored, and serued, we shall find some of them, so ridiculous, & others so impure, beastly, and impious, that wee may both wonder at the blindness of the *Romans*, and also easily conceaue, what bad effects their religion must needes worke in their common welth.

13 As concerninge their foolish and ridiculous ceremonies, I shall not neede to produce any other wittnes, then the graue philosopher *Seneca*, who hauing derided the *Egyptian* rites, addeth: *Huic tamen furori*, &c. Yet this madnes lasteth but a while: It is tollerable to be made once a yeare. But if you come to the Capitoll of *Rome*, and see what passeth there, you will be ashamed to see such publike folly, & fury all the yeare lōg: one stā-
deth there to tell *Iupiter* what a clock it is: an other to make all the other gods obey him: one is his seargeant, & an other is his ointer: some there are, whose office is to dresse the heads of *Iuno*, and *Minerua*, standing farre, from their temples, and images, and only counterfeiting to doe it, with a vaine motion of their handes, & armes, whiles others hould the looking glasse: some also inuire the gods to their lawdayes: some present them,

Plutar. in Romulo. S. Aug. de ciuit. Dei. li. 6. c. 7.

Seneca apud Aug. de ciuit. Dei lib. 6. ca. 10.

memorialls, and enforme them of their causes: and theould *Antiphanes* lon, being already so discribed, that he is cleane out of date, and no longer fit for the stage, playeth his part euery day in the *Capitoll* before the gods, as though they would take pleasure to behould him, whom men detest and cōtemne. All kynd of tradesmen are there idle as though they were entertained to worke for the gods: yet, they may be borne with, for that they offer them not any vile, or infamous, but onlie superfluous seruice. But what say you of the women that sitt in the *Capitoll*, and thinke that *Iupiter* is enamored of them, & yet are not afraid of *Iunoes* frowninge lookes? Thus saith *Seneca*: who being himselfe a *Painym*, worthly scorneth (as you see) the childish superstition of the *Romans*, and their ridiculous religion.

14 But what? Was not also the solemne ceremonie of the *Ledisterma* most vaine, friuolous, and irreligious? When to pacifie the wrath of the gods, in time of great plague, and pestilence, they made them great bankets in their temples, and prepared beds for the gods and goddesse. Whereof *Livy* declareth the origen, saying that there was a great plague in *Rome*, a litle before it was taken by the *Gaules*, and that for the remedy thereof, the *Romans* had recourse to the bookes of the *Sybls*, where they found (as it seemed to them) that they should appease the gods with bankets for eight dayes together, and make three festiuall beds in the temples, for *Apollo* and *Larona*, *Hercules*, and *Diana*, *Mercury*, and *Neptunus*: by which meant, saith *Livy*, the wrath of the gods was pacified, and no maruaile if their choller were asswaged after so much good cheare, and so good entertainment for so manie dayes together.

15 But what could be either more vaine, or more impious, yea, and dishonorable to their gods themselves, then their stage playes, instituted specially for their honour, to be vsed in their greatest solēnities: Wherein nothing els was represented, but their dissentiōs, quarrels, warts, thefts, and adulteries, & nothing heard but contumelies, railing, and reuilinge speeches against them, as though the gods (if they had bene any thing at all) could haue bene delighted with their owne shame, and reproch, or could haue thought themselves to be honpured by their dishonour?

16 Such were the playes called *Megalesia*, dedicated to the honour of *Berecinthia*, the mother of the gods, and celebrated the twelfte of April: the occasion whereof, I thinke good to relate, as also the storie of the great goddesse *Berecinthia*, not much vnlike to a comedy, seeing I speake now of stage playes.

17 This *Berecinthia*, being called also *Cibele*, and *Idea*, was daughter to *Minas*, one of the most ancient kinges of *Phrigia*, who vppon a prophesy

*Liv. lib. 5.
Dec. 1. an.
urbis. 356.*

(which

which
soone
mine
foud
er, sh
loue
fath
all th
stod
nucle
of he
coun
died.
afflic
gians
first v
in the
out o
ter, I
gods
sters
river
oft a
othe
othe
their
it is
and
the
whic
expu
mot
pon
raig
orac
the
adm
all
basi
que

Diodorus
Siculi. li. 4.
Bibliotheca.
Vide Ludo-
nic. vinem.
Comment.
in li. 1. de ci-
uit. Dei. ca. 4.

which seemed to threaten him some great harme by her) exposed her, as
some as shee was borne, to be deuoured of wild beastes, vppō the moun-
taine called *Cibelinus*, where vppō she was afterward called *Cibele*, but being
found there by a sheppards wife, & brought vp by her, as her owne daugh-
ter, shee grew in time, to be a woman of a very rare beauty, & falling in
loue with a younge man called *Atys*, had a child by him. Afterwards her
father, having heard the great fame of her beauty, and discouering with
all that shee was his daughter, sent for her home, and when he vnder-
stood that shee was corrupted by *Atys*, he caused both him, and her
nurse to be killed, whereupon she fell starke mad with sorow, and loue
of her *Atys*, and ranne out of her fathers house, wandering about the
country with a tabber, & pipe, and her haire about her eares, vntill shee
died. And within a while after, it chanced, that all *Phrigia*, being greatly
afflicted with famine and pestilence, the oracle commaunded the *Phri-
gians*, for remedie thereof, to worship *Atys*, and *Cibele*: which they did
first vppon the hill called *Berecynthius*, where vppon shee was called *Bere-
cynthia*: and after vppon mount *Ida*, and therefore shee was called *Idea*, and
out of an erroneus conceit of the people, that shee was mother to *Iupi-
ter*, *Juno*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto*, shee was called at length the mother of the
gods. This mad gadding goddesse, was as madly serued, by as mad mini-
sters as her selfe: for her priests (who because they vsed to drinke of the
riuer *Gallus* in *Phrigia*, were called *Galli*) became phrentick, and madd, as
oft as they dronke thereof: and with kniues, cut their owne faces, and
other partes of their bodies, running vpp, and downe, and biting one, an
other in honour of their goddesse, to expresse both her madnes, and
their owne. But to declare how shee came to be honored of the *Romans*,
it is to be vnderstood, that manie yeares, after that she was thus desired,
and adored in *Phrigia*, it chaunced in the second warr of *Carthage*, that
the *Decemviri* of the *Romans*, found a prophesy in the bookes of the *Sibils*,
which (as it seemed to them) promised the *Romans* great victories, and
expulsion of their enimyes out of *Italy*, in case they procured that the
mother of the gods should be brought to *Rome* from *Phrigia*: whereup-
pon Embassadors were sent to demande it of king *Attalus*, who then
reigned there, and they were commaunded by the way, to passe by the
oracle of *Delphos*, to enquire what hope they might haue of good speed:
the oracle told them, that they should obtaine their demaunde, and
admonished them, to haue a speciall care, that the most vertuous man in
all the citty of *Rome*, should be sent to meete, and receiue her. The Em-
bassadors went from *Delphos* to *Phrigia*, and easilie obtained their re-
quest of *Attalus*, who directed them to the mountaine of *Ida*, where

Liuius dec.
3. li. 9.

this great goddesse had her habitation. And there no doubt they expected to find some great matter, or rather some great maiestie in the mother of the gods, who they vnderstood should driue their enemies out of *Italy*, and repair their wracked common welth, yea and should not be receiued, or entertained by any other, but by the verie best man in the citty of *Rome*.

18 But when they came thither, they found nothing els, but a huge great stone, called in that country the mother of the gods, which they tooke vp with great honour, and reuerence, and carried to *Rome*, aduertising first the Senat of their returne, where vppon *Scipio Nasica*. (who was esteemed at that time the most vertuous man in the citty) and all the matrons of *Rome*, were sent to receiue this great stone goddesse, in the name of the senate, and of the people: which was performed the twelfth of Aprill, with verie great pompe, and solemnity, in the consulat of *Scipio Africanus*, and *Publius Licinius*: and thirteene yeares after, *Immo Brutus* dedicated a temple to her, and instituted the playes called *Megalysia*, in honour of that dedication, which playes were such, as they must needs haue irritated the gods to the destruction of *Romans* if they had not bene all as stony, stupide, and senselesse, as their mother, for not only the players vsed all kind of reprochfull rants, and iestes, towards *Berecynthia*, and her loue *Atis*, but also all the streets, and euerie house in *Rome*, during those feastes sounded forth nothing els but their shame, and infamie: besides that the most honest, and ciuill citizens of *Rome*, vsed all that time, to goe disguised from house, to house, and to speake most dishonestly, and filthily, all that they could deuise.

Herodian.
in *Comodo*.

19 Therefore to conclude this story, what could be either more ridiculous, or more impious in the *Romans*, and their religion, then to deifie, whome they diffamed, and dishonoured, and to defame, and dishonour those, whome they deified? The like also may be said of their other stage playes, whereof we haue sufficient examples in *Terence*, and *Plautus*, wherein their gods are described to be theues, rauishers of women, adulterers, and most wicked men, which is so notorious to euerie boy in grammar schooles, that I shall not neede to saie any more thereof in this place. Neither yet doe I thinke good to speake of their most impure, and beastly ceremonies in their feastes, called *Saturnalia*, dedicated to *Saturne*, and *Fugalia*, instituted in the honour of the goddesse of mirth, which (as *S. Augustin* saith) might truly be called *Fugalia pudoris & honestatis*, drivers away of honestie, and shamefastnes. And no lesse beastlie were their *Floralia*, whereof I haue said some what before: and their feastes

S. Aug. li. 2.
de Ciuit. Dei
ca. 6.
Num. 9.

feastes dedicated to *Liber*, or *Bacchus*, of which there were two sortes: the one called *Bacchanalia*, celebrated at the first onlie by women in the day time, who hauing tipled well vntill they were dronke, ranne vpp and downe, as though they had bene surprised with some deuine fury: but afterwards men also concurred in the celebration of the feast in the night, vntill at length, such horrible impietie was practised therein, of adulteries, incest, sodomie, witchcrafts, murders, subornation of false witnesses, and diuers other mischeefes, that, the same being discovered by a Spanish woman, there were seuen thousand men, and women, either put to death, or banished, or forced to flee, and the *Bacchanalia* vterly abolished.

Linus. Dec.
4. li. 9.

20 But the other sort of *Bacchus* feastes, called *sacra liberi patris*, the feasts of the father *liber*, were neuer suppressed, though they were replenished with all kind of beastlie impuritie: and celebrated, not in secret, or priuate houses, but publikelie in townes, and abroad in the country in the high wayes, for a whole moneth together: wherein such filthie, & lasciuious spectacles were represented, & such beastlie ceremonies practised, that I am ashamed to thinke thereof, and much more should be to relate the particulars, which could not but incense, & kindle in the beholders, vnquencheable flames of lust: though neuertheles, the most chaste matrons were manie times compelled to plaie their partes therein, and as *S. Augustin* saith, to doe that in publike, vvhich common queanes, should not be offered to doe in the presence of matrons.

Augustin. de
ciuit. Dei. li.
7. ca. 21.

And therefore omitting to speake further, of the feastes, and ceremonies of that kind, I will conclude with their inhumane, horrible, and abominable rites, consisting in their bloodie ceremonies, and sacrifices of men, which *Seneca* reprobued, and abhorred in them, saying: *Seneca. apud*
se ipsi in templis contrucidant, &c. They kill themselves in their temples, and pray to their gods, with their woundes, in such sort, that no man can make any doubt but that they were starke mad. And if there were but a few of them, it might be borne with all: but their best defence, or excuse from madness, is their multitude of mad men. Thus saith he. And *Arnobius* testifieth that the custome of sacrificing men, was vsed amongst the Romans, euen to his time, laying that the Romans were then wont to sacrifice Greekes, and Gauls, of either nation a man, and woman: *Hodieque* saith he, *ab ipsis Latialis Iupiter homicidio colitur, &c.* and euen at this day, *Iupiter latialis* is worshipped by them with the murder of men, and satiated with the blood of malefactors; which is a sacrifice first for the sonne of Saturne. Thus saith *Arnobius*. Whereby it is euident, that although such sacrifices of men, haue alwayes before, bene most vsuall amongst the Romans, Greekes, Cartha-

Arnobius.
contra gen-
tes.

Plinius li.
36. anno ur-
bi. 657.
Sueton. in
Augusto. La-
ti. de sal-
ut. de sa-
sa religio. li.
1. c. 21. Euse-
bins.

Carthaginenses and *Gaules*, were first prohibited by a decree of the Senate, about a hundred years before our Sauour was borne, and afterwards againe, by an other decree of *Augustus Caesar*: yet neuertheles they ceased not of a long time after, as it appeareth also by the testimony of *Lucian*, *Latini*, and *Eusebium*: who witnes, that men were sacrificed to *Impier Latiale* vntill the yeare of our lord 300. which was about the thirteenth yeare of the Emperour *Dioclesian*.

22 This shall suffice for their gods, and sacrifices, though much more might be added, which I omit for breuities sake. And now to saie somewhat of the effects thereof, who can be so absurde to thinke, that such a religion could either be a true religion, or yet profitable to the common wealth, seeing it must needs breede in the professours thereof not onlie extreame corruption of manners, but also contempt of all religion, and verie Atheisme? For first to speake of the corruption of manners: who seeth not, that the more religious, and deuout the people should be to such wicked, and beastly gods as these, the more wicked, & beastly they should become themselves? Seing it is naturall to euery one, to desire and endeuour to imitate the deuine nature, which we truly acknowledge to be most happy, and most perfect: and cannot with any reason imagin any other way, or meanes, to attaine to perfect felicitie, and immortalitie, but by being like to almighty God, who is the fountaine of beatitude, and the true paterne of all perfection.

Genes. 3.

Isay. 14.

Lucian in
Menippo.

Chap. 8.

nu. 26.

Aug. de ci-
uit. li. 2. cap.
27.

23 And this the crafty serpent, and ancient enimie of mankind, knew so well, that he tooke an especiall occasion thereby, to perswade our first father *Adam*, to transgresse the commaundements of God. *Erius* (saith he) *sicut dei: you shalbe as it were gods*. And by the same meanes also *Lucifer* himselfe fell: *Ascendam* (saith he) *et similis ero altissimo: I will ascend, and be like to the highest*. Therefore it is no meruaile, if euery one desireth to be like the God, he adoreth, and serueth: seing it cannot be thought, that there is any euill, or imperfection at all in the deuine nature, or that God doth any thing either vniustly, or vnaduisedly. Which *Lucian*, an Atheistical pagan, noteth verie well of such as professed paganisme in his time, alleaging himselfe for example, saying, that when he was a boy, and heard out of *Homer*, and *Hesiodus*, not onlie the seditions, and warres of the gods, but also their rapes, adulteries, and thefts: he beganne euen then to be greatly affected towards those vices, perswading himselfe, that if they had bene euill, the gods would neuer haue vsed them, as I haue declared in *Lucians* owne wordes, in my first part, vpon the occasion of an absurd law of *Aristotle*.

24 Therefore *S. Augustin*, speaking of those gods of the *Romans*; and

of the

of the effect that their example must needs worke in the comon welth, faith, *Et ignominiosa deorum facta &c.* These ignominious acts of the Gods whether they were shamefullie, & wickedly fained, or more shamefullie, & wickedly committed, were publickly represented to the eyes, & eares of the people, who seeing such things to be pleasing to the Gods, & committed by them, easlie beleueed that they might both be offered to their service, and also imitated. Thus saith he.

25 Furthermore this religion of the Romans, did not onlie seeme to promise to the professors thereof, a similitud, or likenes of God, but also diuinitie it selfe, by the meanes of vice, for what els could the common people conceiue, but that diuinitie was the due reward of vice & wickednes, seeing that most wicked men, & women, (namely *Saturnus, Iupiter, Mars, Bacchus, Heracles, Romulus, Tiberinus, Venus, Lavinia, Flora*, & such other, (as had benne tyrants, adulterers, theeuers, common queanes, & strumpets) were honored as Gods & goddessees, whiles on the other side *Coriolanus, Camillus, Scipio, Cato, Brutus*, & other Romans, famous for their vertue, were neither Deified after their deaths, nor yet could whiles they liued, long continue in the grace, and fauour of the people, but were some of them banished, others otherwise disgraced, & some of them forced to bereaue them selues of their liues; yf then a good, & vertuous life, might seeme to merit deification, who would not think that these vertuous men, had better deserued to be made Gods, then those notable villaines, whose filthie & beastlie sacrifices, & detestable feasts, gaue sufficient testimonie (euen to the most ignorant) of their turpitude, and impietie: who then was imbued with paganisme, and had not reason, rather to make choise to satisfie his lust, and loose the bridle to all vice, with *Iupiter, Iuno, Venus*, and the rest of those gods, and so hope in the end to be made a god; then to liue vertuouslie with *Camillus, Scipio, Cato*, and other such, and reape no other benefit, therbie in the end, but danger, or least of banishment, or disgrace?

26 Moreouer, was not the dedication, and deification of the vices, and sinnes them selues, a wonderfull prouocation to vice, and sinne? Especiallie seeing that the corruption of humane natureys such, that yt doth not commonly so much seeke a iust cause to sinne (which yt can neuer haue) as some apparant pretence thereof, couered with some cloake of vertue. And what better colour could anie man haue to commit notable villanies, then not onlie to doe gratefull seruice to some god, or other, but also to doe a deuine act, I meane some sinne, that was held to be a god? who would trouble himselfe, to restraine his lust, and concupiscence; to bridle his affections, and to conquer

his passions, and to haue no god for his patron, when by satisfiſying his luſt, and taking his pleaſure, he might hope to haue the protection of two goddeſſes, *Vulupia*, and *Libentina*? for by thoſe names were pleaſure, and luſt deiſied, as I haue ſignified before. Could any man haue a better pretence, or a greater occaſion to ſinne, then to ſerue theſe goddeſſes, to be like them, to be gratefull to them, yea, and to doe an act that was reputed to be deuine? Where vppon it muſt needs follow, that the more religious thoſe were, who professed that religion; the more impious, and wicked they were, and that the common wealth, according to their religion, was then moſt religious, when it flowered with all intemperance, vice, and wickednes.

27 But here perhaps you will demaunde of me, whether the *Romans* were in deede ſo vicious, and wicked, as I preſume by their religion they were, ſpecially ſeeing that *S. Auguſtin*, greatly commendeth them for their vertue, and thinketh that in reſpect thereof, God gaue them the empire of the world. Whereto I anſwer, that although ſome of them did now, and then ſome notable acts of morall vertue, yea, and that a kind of ciuill iuſtice, flouriſhed in their common welth (for all which *S. Auguſtin* affirmeth that God rewarded them with temporall dominion, as I haue ſignified in the firſt part of this treatiſe) neuertheles it cannot be denied, but that they were generally moſt wicked, as may appeare by the teſtimony of *Cicero*, who pitifully lamenteth the vtter decay of vertue, and the generall corruption of manners in his dayes, imputing thereto, the fall, and ouerthrow of their common welth. *Noſtris vitis* ſaith he, *non caſu aliquo remp. verbo retinemus, reiſa vero iam pridem amiſimus. Vt* retaine our common welth only in name, and haue long ſince loſt it in deede by our vices, and not by any caſualty, or chance. *Saluſt* alſo confeſſeth the ſame, complaininge exceedingly of the coueteouſnes, riot, cruelty, diſtord, and all kind of wickednes in his ryme. And although he ſeeme to attribute it in ſome part, to the ouerthrow of *Carthage*, (the feare whereof, while it ſtood, was, as he thought, ſome bridle vnto them) yet it is manifeſt inough, by their owne hiſtories, that before that time, they were generally moſt wicked, as may appeare by the feaſtes called *Bacchanalia*, ſuppreſſed at length for the abominable impiety which was exerciſed therein, by an incredible number of men, and women: in ſomuch that about ſeauen thouſand, were executed or baniſhed for the ſame, in the year 568. after the foundation of *Rome*, as I haue declared before; And this happened, forty yeares before the deſtruction of *Carthage*, which was razed in the year 608.

Cicero apud Aug. de ciuit. dei. li. 5. cap. 21.

Saluſt. apud D. Auguſt. ibidem. ca. 18.

Linius Dec. 4. li. 9.

Nam. 19.

28 And againe, about one hundred yeares before the prohibition of

the *Nichinahia*, there was discovered a horrible conspiracy, amongst the very matrons of *Rome*, to poison the cittie, for the which three hundred, and seauenty of them, were executed, after they had poisoned a great number of men of all sorts, and qualities; Whereby it may safely be gathered, how maligne, and impious the people were generally at those daies, seeing that the feminine sex, naturally endued with modesty, mildnes, pittie, and compassion, was seized with this furious, and extravagant impiety, cruelty, and thirst of humane blood, without any other cause, then the malignity of their owne natures. And this passed, whiles the *Romans* were held to be most vertuous, to wit, in the yeare, after the foundation of *Rome*, long before they had extended theyr dominion out of *Italy*. Besides that, if we consider the tyrannicall oppression of the people by the nobility, presently after the expulsion of the kinges, the continual seditions, where with the common wealth was perpetually garboiled, from that tyme, vnto the Monarchy of *Augustus Caesar*, their detestable ingratitude towards the worthiest patrons, protectors, and propagators of their common welth, as *Coriolanus Camillus*, both the *Scipij*, *Cicero*, and diuers others, and finally the insatiable ambition, and horrible cruelty, of diuerse of their gouernours, namely of the *Decemuiui*, *Appius Clodius*, and his fellowes, of *Marcius, Sylla, Carbo, Cinna*, and lastly of the *Triumuiui* (of all which I omit to relate the particularities here, because I shall doe it hereafter at large, vpon an other occasion) if, I say, we consider all this, we shall evidently see, that all kind of wickednes reigned amongst them in the highest degree, from the very beginninge of their common welth. So that though they excelled other nations in some vertues, pertaininge to the gouernement of their state, and especially in a kind of ciuill iustice, and exact military discipline, yet they were otherwise most vicious, and wicked: whereby yt well appeared that the politicall vertues, wherein they surpassed other people, were no true vertues, proceeding of no other ground, but of vaine glory, and an extreame desire of honour, ioyined with a great loue to their common welth, as I shall haue occasion to signify farther hereafter.

29 In the meane tyme thou seest good reader, that I haue evidently proued in this chapter, twoo thinges: the one that their religion was so abominable, that the practise of it could not but make them most corrupt, vicious, and wicked: & the other, that the same was manifest in them by the effect, to wit, by their notorious corruption of manners vice, and all kind of iniquity: which will yet be much more euident, when I shal haue proued that their religiō cold not but produce also in

Linus Dec.
1. li. 8.
Entrop. li. 2.

An. urb. 423

Plutarc. in
their lines.

Linus Dec.
1. li. 3.


Chap. 11.
sub fin.

Chap. 13
nu. 5.

them meete Atheisme (that is to say, contempt of God, and of all religion) and consequently redouble their wickednes, and impiety. But because this chapter ys already growne long, I will tomtie the discourse thereof to the next, wherein I will first discover the superstitious vaintie and absurdity of their diuinations (which were also a part of their religion) and then will shew how pernicious the same were to their state; and lastlie I will treat of Atheisme, and proue that the same must needs growe of their religion; to the inestimable damage of their common welth.

That the profession of the *Augurs*, and *Southsayers* amongst the *Romans*, and all their manner of diuination, was frivollous, vaine, and most pernicious to their common welth: Also that their religion could not but breed Atheisme in verie manie of the professors of yr, and was also in that respect, contrarie to reason of state: to which purpose yr ys declared, how Atheisme destroyeth common welth.

CHAR. 3.

 MONGST the ridiculous toies, and superstitious vanities belonging to the religion of the *Romans*, none was either more frivollous, or prejudiciall to their state, then their Southsaying, or manner of diuination; to know future events by the flight of eagles, by the voice of birds, by the feeding of certaine chickens, which were kept in cages, by the falling of thunderbolts, by shooting of starres, by looking vpon the intrails of the beastes which they sacrificed, and by diuers other foolish observations, reduced to an art, or science, professed by those that were called *Augures*, and *Aruuspices*: of whom the latter made their conjecture by the entrailes of beastes, by thunder bolts, and by all kynd of strange and prodigious events; and the former, to wit, the *Augurs*, deuided by birds.

And to these diuiners, there was such respect borne, and so much credit giuen, that all the cheefe actions in the common welth, depended vpon their resolution: in so much, that nothing of moment was resolved, or executed, but they were first consulted with. For when the Consuls, or other officers were to be choosen, or the magistrats to goe to their prouinces, and charges, or warre to be denounced, or peace made, or a battaile fought; or any such important matter to be executed: if then the *Augurs*, or *Southsayers*, opposed them selues, vpon pretence, that either the chickens would not eat; or that some crow had not fauourable chanted, or that some thunderbolt had not fallen right, or perhaps (as once it fell out) some magick had gawed the gold of the temple, or finallie that some strange, or vacuous

matter had happened: then, I say, neither the election of officers was held for good, nor the governours were to goe to their provinces, nor the magistrates to undertake their charges, nor war to be denounced, nor peace to be made, nor yet battaile to be giuen, though the enimie were neuer so weake.

Here vpon Cicero saith, that the authoritie, and power of the *Augurs*, was such, that they could raise, or annular the election of the highest officers, dissolve, or dissolve assemblies, deprive magistrates of their offices, ordaine, or forbid the senat to treat with the people, yea, and that, *nihil domi, nihil foris, per magistratum gestum* &c. nothing was done by any magistrate, at home, or abroad, which could be ratified without their authoritie. And hereof the experience was seene manie times. As when the first tribunes of the souldiers were chosen, to witt, *Publius Sempronius Atratinus, Lucius Atilius*, and *T. Caelius*, they were by the decree of the *Augurs*, forced within a while to renounce their office. The like also happened to the two consuls *Scipio*, and *Tigulus*, and to omit diuers other examples, which might be alleged in this kind. *P. Claudius* the consul was condemned, and executed, because he went to sea contrarie to the opinion, and resolution of the soothsayers; inasmuch, that *Lucius Iunius* his companion, as well in office, as in his navigation, killed himselfe, to auoid the ignominie of like punishment.

But who seeth not the absurditie of this? For, if there were any force, or power in byrdes, beastes, or senseles things to foreshow, and pronosticate the vncertaine event of mens actions, it must needs be said, that the same proceeded, either of some natural propertie in them, or of some deuine institution, and operation aboue nature. But that this cannot be ascribed to any naturall cause, it is euident inough; seeing that those, who were most addicted to these diuinations, found so little probabilitie, on ground of naturall reason, to maintaine the reputation thereof, that they referred them whollie to a deuine operation. In which respect, there was amongst the *Romans* a solemne priesthood, and colledge of *Augurs*, who were called, *Ionis optimi maximi sacerdotes interpretes* & *intormumagi*. The priests, interpreters, and messengers of the greatest, and best God *Iupiter*, and *Diurnum Augures*; the *Augurs* of the gods: who, as *Seneca* testifieth, taught that the birds were moued by a deuine influence to foreshew, good, or bad success: and that the thunderbolts were cast out of the cloudes by a speciall providence, and disposition of the gods, to signifie future events, good, or bad. But how ridiculous is this opinion, and doctrine, it may appeare diuers waies.

First by the fabulous origen, and beginning thereof which Cicero re-
hath, according to the opinion, and tradition, of the greatest, and

Cicero de
leg. li. 2.

Linus Dec.
1. lib. 4.

Cicero de di-
uinatione. li. 2.

Valer. maxi.
li. 1. c. 4.

Seneca na-
tural. q. li. 2.
45. & 46.

Cicero li.
2. de diuina-
tione.

ancientests deuines, to wit, the *Hetrusci* or *Tuscans*, who deriued it from one called *Tages*, who they say was plowed vp out of a furrow by chaunce, as one was tilling, and plowing the ground in *Hetruria*. And this *Tages*, say they, being like a child in bignes, and shape, but like an ould man for witt, and iudgement, taught all the art of diuination, or southsaying to the people of that countrie, whereat *Cicero*, scoffeth in good earnest, and with great reason.

5 But what beginninge soeuer it had (which was most like to be some illusion of wicked spirits) the very maner of their diuination, sufficientlie bewraieth the vanitie thereof, seeing that (to omit many other impertinent toies,) they kept alwaies, chickens in a cage, and when they would know the successe, or euent of any thing, they let them out, and gaue them certaine liquide sopps to feede on, and if they refused to eate, it was taken for an ill signe, and if they fled away, it was much worse, but if they did eate greedilie, it was held for a very good pronostication, and specially if any of the sopps fell out of their mouthes vpon the ground, which was called, *tripudium solistimum*, and counted for the best, and most fortunat presage, that might be.

6 But who seeth not the foolerie of this? For what wonder was it to see hungry chickens, eate hungerly, or that some part of the liquid sopps, fell from their mouthes vpon the ground, when they tooke more then they could swallow at once, as commonly they would doe, when they were hungry? Where vpon it must needs follow, that the diuination could not but be very good, if it were taken, when the chickens were fasting, and therefore *Flaminius*, answered well to the *Augurs*, when they forbad him to fight with *Hannibal*, because the chickens would not eate: then (saith he) I see well wee must fight only when they are hungry, and not when they are full.

7 The like folly *Seneca* noteth in their obseruation of thunderbolts, whereof they said, there were three kindes: The first of those which *Iupiter* cast alone, and those were taken for very good signes: the second were such as he cast with the counsell of twelue gods, and those were very ominous and vnfortunate: and the third were those, which certaine superiour gods cast downe of their owne accord, and that kind of thunderbolt was held to be most pernicious, and to portend some greater defaster, where vpon *Seneca* saith, *quid tam imperium est* &c. what is so foolish as to beleue, that *Iupiter*, sometime with his thunderbolt striketh trees, pillars, yea, and his owne images, and leaueth wicked men untouched: or that he hath not witt, or iudgment enough, to cast his bolts himselfe, but that he must haue the aduise of other gods: nor els that those diuiners

Idem ibid. li.
1. & 2.

Idem li. 1. de
diuinatione.

Seneca, na-
tural. qua-
stio. li. 2. c.
42 & 43.

shall be
elected
newerth
to the i
morall
Iupiter
they are
he. Let
is strike
bee, the
herbe
8. The
eviden
were n
tions, h
manne
rary, a
fell on
the fan
the be
and co
cernin
that m
cleane
at onc
promi
As it f
slaine
of Ha
the sa
fied t
signe
9. Bu
uinat
there
ceede
which
fultre
cing
chick

should be counted fortunate, which he casteth alone, and those disastrous and unlucky, which he casteth with counsell, and advise? Thus saith Seneca. Who neuertheless, though he reiect this kind of diuination, referring it only to the inuention and deuise of men, yet draweth out of it, a notable morall lesson for princes, whom he admonisheth by the example of *Iupiter*, to doe good alwayes by themselves alone, and whensoever they are to hurt any, to take the aduise of many, *Hoc discant reges*, saith he. Let kinges learne this, that *Iupiters* owne iudgement suffiseth not, when he is to strike any thing with his thunderbolt. Thus saith he drawing like the good bee, the hollesome hony of a good document, out of the venomous herbe of vaine superstition. But to proceede.

Ibidem.

8. The contrariety & repugnance of their diuinations, sheweth also evidently that there was no deuine operation in them, but that they were most fond, and friuolous: For whereas the *Greekes*, and other nations, had their *Augurs*, and Southsaiers, as well as the *Romans*, their manner of diuination, was farre different, and many times very contrary, as *Cicero* declareth. The *Romans* held, that the thunderbolts which fell on the least hand were the best, where as other nations, accounted the same for the worst, and most vnfortunate, esteenning those to be the best, which fell on the right side: And the very same difference, and contrariety of opinions, may also be obserued amongst them, concerning the flying, and chaunting of birds: and what meruaile? Seeing that many times in some one consultation, the pronostications were cleane repugnāt, one to an other, as when two beasts were sacrificed at once, or one after an other, the entrails of the one, were very faire promising great good, & the other very foule, threatening great euill. As it fell out before the conflict, wherein the famous *M. Marcellus* was slaine, & *Crispinus* his fellow consul mortally wounded, by the souldiars of *Hannibal*. In the warr also, which the consul *Lucius Papirius* made with the *Samnites*, it hapned that the chickens would not eate (which signified that he should not fight) and yet at the same time a crow gaue a signe of battaile.

Cicero li. 2.
de diuinat.

Idem ibid.

Lini. Des. 2.
lib. 10.

9. But what neede I alleadge other reasons to proue the vanity of diuinations, seeing that experience did sufficiently shew by the vntruth thereof, that they were either altogether casuall, or els that they proceeded from the father of lies, as it appeared in the foresaid warr, which *Papirius* had with the *Samnites*, wherein the *Augure* being consulted concerning the issue of the battaile, belied his chickens, denouncing vnto *Papirius*, *tripudium solistimum* (that is to say, telling him that the chickens had eaten so greedily, that the sopps fell out of their mouthes which

which

*Lin. li. 1.
Dec. 1.*

*Cicero de di-
uinat. li. 2.*

Idem ibid.

*Arnob. con-
tra gentes.*

Idem ibid.

*Chap. 36.
nu. 8.*

which was counted the best signe that might be) when neuertheless they had eaten nothing at all, & yet *Papirius*, giuing battaile had a notable victory. And king *Deiutarius*, who, as *Cicero* testifieth, would doe nothing without the consent, & counsell of the Augurs, had all the honourable presages, that could be wished, when he went to assist *Pompey* in the ciuill warres, as also *Pompey* himselfe, was assured of the victory by all the Augurs, & Southsaiers of *Rome*, & yet they were both overthrowne, & *Deiutarius* lost his kingdome, & afterwards *Pompey* his life. Also a principall Southsayer, pronosticated to *Iulius Cesar* very ill successe if he passed into *Africa* before winter, which neuertheles he did with very good fortune to himselfe, & great dommage to his enemies. And before the famous bataile at *Cannae*, betwixt *Hannibal*, and the *Romans*, the Southsaiers promised victory to *Paulus Aemilius* the consul, who neuertheles lost his life, & almost all his army, with the greatest disgrace, and detriment to the common welth, that the *Romanes* euer received. And *M. Atilius Regulus*, not with standing the favourable predictions of the Southsaiers, & Augurs, was overthrowne, taken prisoner, cruelly tormented, & murdered by the *Carthaginians*. Finally many other examples may be alleadged, to shew that many times the deuinations of the Augurs & Southsaiers, either had no successe, or els fell out cleane contrary to their predictions: so that it may well be said, that when they proved true, it was either by chance, or els because almighty God for a iust punishment of the superstition of the *Romans*, suffered them to be deluded by the deuill, who being author of these deuinations, did sometimes, for continuance, & encrease of their authority, more cunningly insinuate himselfe into them: foreshewing such presages, as might be verified, with the euents, which he foresaw, were most like to follow: whereby he drew them also very oft, into great calamities, as may appeare by the examples alleadged. And as for the meanes how the deuill may foresee, or know things to come, I haue sufficiently declared them, in the first part of this treatise. This then being so, let vs consider alittle what benefit the common welth of the *Romans*, might reape by these deuinations. Can any man with reason imagin, that it could be profitable, or conuenient to their state, that their most important consultations, and affaires of peace and warre, should depend, not vpon the mature counsell, and deliberation of wise men, and oportunities of tyme, and place, but vpon such vaine royes, and trifles, as these were, and vpon meere chance? For seeing there was not any deuine operation in these pronostications (as it is euident) what else may

be imagined therein, but either casualitie, and chance, for the most parte, or els otherwhiles some diabolicall illusion, as I haue said, which could neuer tend to anie good, but to miserie, ruine, and destruction in the end? And therefore trulie, if we consider how seriouſlie foolish, or rather how solemlie mad, the wise *Romans*, and *Greekes* were, to gouerne their greatest affaires by thinges so vncertaine, and casual, we cannot but see, and acknowledge, how weake, and vaine al humane wit, and vnderstanding is, without the light of Gods grace: especiallie, seeing that the wiser sort, as well of the *Romans*, as *Greekes*, saw the vanitie of those diuinations, and yet thought them conuenient to be continued in their common welths.

Cicero and *Seneca* reiected, and derided them, as you haue heard, and the *Cicero lib. 1. de diuinat.* Philosophers *Xenophanes*, *Dicaarchus*, *Cratippus*, and *Panetius* (as *Cicero* testifieth) did the like: and the wise *Caro* was wont to say, he meruelled that two Southsaiers, did not laugh one vppon an other, whē they mett, to thinke how they cosened the world. Therefore would a man thinke it possible, that anie of these should thinke it necessarie for the common welth, to retaine the vse of these diuinations, which they held to be so ridiculous? Neuertheles *Cicero*, after he had sheewed the vanitie of them, by many notable arguments, concludeth, that, *ad magnas tamen reip. vtilitates, retinendum ius augurum, & collegij autoritas*: yet in respect of the great profit of the common welth, the right, and power of the *Augurs*, and the authority of their colledge, is to be maintained. and in his lawes he ordaineth thus. *Auguribus qui non paruerit, capitale esto*. He which doth not obey the *Augurs*, let him be punished with death. And therefore speaking also of the consul *P. Claudius*, who was condemned, and executed, because he disobeyed the *Augurs*, he saith. *Parendum fuit religioni, nec patrius mos tam pertinaciter repudiandus*. He should haue obeyed religion, neither was the custome of his contrie to be so obstinatie refused. Thus saith he. *Idem l. 2. de diuinat.* *Idem l. 2. de leg.* *Idem de diuinat. li. 2.*

But what trow you might be the great profit, and publik commodities for the which *Cicero*, and the rest of the *Romans*, thought the vse of these diuinations necessarie? Marrie forsooth, because they were perswaded, that it might redound to the preiudice, and discredit of all their religion, yf this custome (which had bene religiouslie, and generally obserued for so manie hundreths of yeares) should be abrogated. Which reason might haue bene of some consideration, if these graue wise men had not thought, and knowne, that the same was altogether vaine, superstitious, and consequentlie irreligious. Yea, but say you these men perhaps were Atheists, and beleued that there was no God, and therefore holding that religion was necessarie for the common welth, only

for reason of state, they had reason to permit and tolerate some such vanities, as were crept in to their religion, and generallie receiued, rather then to abolish them, with the disgrace of their whole religion. Where to I answer that albeit this reason might passe amongst Atheists in some cases, (as when the permission of such vanities could not draw with it anie great detriment, or inconuenience to the state) yet in this case, their follie could not be excused: for that, retaininge as they did, all the vse, & practise of their fayned religion, for the benefit of their states, they permitted neuertheles, and vsed such thinges, as were contrarie to all reason of state, and pernicious to their common welth: as it was, to suffer their most weightie, and important matters to be gouerned, as I haue said, by chance, and, as it were, by dice-play, or drawing of cuts. seeing that the crying of a Crow, or the flying of an Eagle, or the falling of a thunder bolt, on the right side, or on the least, or the sacrificing of a beast, with faire, or foule entrails, or such other like thinges, where on the deuiners grounded their predictions, were no lesse casuall, euen in *Cicero* his owne opinion, then the chance of the dice, or of lots, or of cuts, or such like.

13 Therefore when the *Romans* suffered their affaires to be guided by such casualties, they were as wiselie occupied, as a certain prince, who, as I haue heard, vsed for his sport, and recreation, to determine of the suits of his subiects, by playing at crosse, and pile, with his fauourits, to resolue which memorial should be graunted, and which denied: though to say trulie, the follie and fault of the *Romans*, was farr greater, then his, in respect that it redownded to the damage, not so much of perticuler persons, as of the whole common welth, and state: which was sett thereby, as a man may say, vpon six & seauen: wheras it is a knowne rule of state, and was punctuallie practised by *Tiberius Caesar*, (as *Cornelius Tacitus* witnesseth) *Non omittere caput rerum nec se in casum dare. Not to omit the first occasions, or opportunities of things, nor to expose himselfe, or his actions to chance*, as I haue declared in the first part of his treatise, where I haue also largelie shewed how vnfit it is for a wise man, to leaue anie thing to chance, which may be assured by wisdom, and counsel.

14 What reason then had *Cicero* to thinke, that it could be profitable to the common welth, that the election of magistrats, the resolution of peace, or warre, the giuinge of battaile, and the execution of other important designemets, should depend vpon the casuall crying of a Crow, or the flight of an eagle, or such like? Had it bene anie profit to the *Rome* common welth, that *Lucius Papirius*, of whom I haue spoken before being readye to giue battaile to the *Samnits*, and requested by his sonne to forbear, because the chickens of the *Augurs* would not eate, had it, I say, bene

Chap. 32.
num. II.

Linus Dec.
1. li. 1.

it is now further to be considered, that although in some of the simple sort of the common people, it wrought perhaps no other effect, then superstition, and corruption of manners (their simplicities, and credulities moving them to the first, and the example of the vicious liues of their Gods, leading them to the latter) yet in the wiser and more considerate sort of men, it could not but breede an extreme contempt of their Gods, and auersion from all religion. Wherevpon grew those poetical fictions of the Warrs of the Gods, not amongst them selues, (which *Homer* describeth at large) but also with men, and how they were wounded by them, as *Iuno* and *Pluto*, by *Hercules*; *Venus* and *Mars*, by *Diomedes*. Also here *Iupiter* transformed himselfe into a swan, into a dragon, to a goulden shouwer, and to the shape of a man, to satisfie his lust with *Leda*, *Europa*, *Proserpina* (who was his owne daughter) *Danae*, and *Alcmena*, all which, & diuers others, he corrupted by such deuises, as the poets fained: who if they had not contemned both those Gods, and all their religion, neuer would, nor durst haue inuented, and published such things of them, and so reproched, & reuiled them in their poems, as not onlie the satirical and comical poets did, but also other of the grauest, as *Homer*, *Hesiodus* and *Euripides*. Wherevpon neuertheles it followed, that the common people turned the same to religion, or, as it may more truly be said, to a superstitious deuotion, conceiuing that they honored their Gods, by mocking and reuiling them. For whereas the simple people are wont to frame a conceit of other men, according to the simplicity of their owne good nature, and meaninge, and therefore cannot imagine, but that those, whom they admire for their wisdom, are also to be admired, and imitated for their vertue; and religion: it is no meruaile, though the common sort of painims referred to the honour of their Gods, all that which they vnderstood was written of them by the poets, who were held for the learnedst, and wisest men for manie yeares.

17 Herevpon it grew, that *Timotheus* the musician, singing the praises of *Minerva* at *Athens*, thought he praised and honoured her greatly, in saying that she was mad, furious, and out of her wits. And in like sort the plaies instituted in honour of the Gods, and to pacifie their wrath, were full of contumelious and opprobrious speeches against them (as I haue declared before): whereby it appeareth that the vanitie, and absurditie of paganisme, did breede in the wiser sort of men, nothing els but impiety, which became in time, the religion of the simple, in such sort, that scurrilitie was held for sanctitie, derision of the Gods, for deuotion, and their greatest contempt and dishonour, for their greatest honour, and seruice.

Homer. l. 20
Idem li. 5. &
Pangassus apud
Arnobium contra
gentes l. 4.

But what doe I speake of contempt of the gods, growing of paganism, seeing it is manifest, that it bred in verie manie meere Atheisme. which was well obserued by *Plutarck* in the *Egyptians*, whereby he also condemned at vnawares the religion both of the *Greekes* and the *Romans*, which he professed himselfe. The *Egyptians* (saith he) worshipping those beastes (to wit the Dogge, the Cat, the Oxe, the Ramme, the Storke, the Shornebud, the Crocodill, and other such like) did not onlie expose all religion to contempt, & derision, but also ingender in the minds of men, a certaine vehement opinion, which drew the simpler, and weaker sort of men to meere superstition, and droue the wiser headlong to beastly cogitations, & conceits full of impiety, and *Atheisme*. Thus saith he of the Religion of the *Egyptians*, and reproving in an other place, the general and common superstition of those times, he saith, that, the ignorance, or want of true knowledge of God, meeting with a rude, and hard nature, engendreth therein impiety, and *Atheisme*: and falling into a more mild, and facile condition, as into a more fertill ground, breedeth superstition, and that thereof also springeth *Atheisme*, which not onlie taketh roote therein, but also excuseth, and defendeth it selfe thereby: for that the ridiculous acts, affections, passions, and witchcrafts of the superstitious, moue many to thinke it better to beleue, that there are no Gods, then such Gods, as take pleasure in such thinges. Had it not benne better, saith he, that the ould *Gauls*, should neuer haue had anie opinion, or conceit of God, then to thinke, as they did, that he was delighted with the slaughter and sacrifice of men? And had it not bene lesse hurtfull to the *Carthaginians*, to haue receiued their lawes of *Diagoras*, and *Critias* (two notable Atheists) then of those who ordained that they should sacrifice their owne childre to *Saturne*? Thus saith *Plutarke*, taxing the abuses, no lesse vsuall, and familiar to the *Romans* and *Greekes* (though he name them not) then to the *Gauls*, or other barbarous people: seeing their superstition (I meane of the *Greekes*, and *Romans*.) was most ridiculous, absurd, and impious, aswel for the inhumaine sacrifices of men, as other beastly, and abominable ceremonyes, as may appeare by that which I haue signified before, concerning the religion of the *Romans*, which neuertheles was farre more moderate in all kind of impiety, then that of the *Greekes*.

Therefore it is no meruaile, if an infinit number of *Atheists*, did spring in time of *Paganisme*, out of these two fountaines, whereof *Plutarck* speaketh, to wit, ignorance of the true God, and the execrable superstition, of false, friuolous, and impious religion. Wherein it is to benoted, that I take Atheists, not only for those, who denie that there

*Plutarck. de
superstition.*

*Chap. 7.
nu. 21.*

is a God, but also for such, as denie the particuler providence of God in the affaires of men: who are no lesse to be counted Atheists, then the other. For he which houldeth that God is the first cause, and mouer of the heauens, & consequently of all things else: & yet doth not acknowledge him for his owne creator, cōseruator & Iudge, he may truly be called an Atheist, that is to say a man without a God: for though he beleue that there is one beginning, and one first cause (that is to say, one author of nature, or one God) yet he beleueth not in him, but graunteth a God to the heauens, and none to him selfe: confessing that there is one only God, but denying that he is his God, and so he is truly *a theos*, without a God, that is to say, an Atheist. Besides that, denying the providence of God, and the communication of his grace, he denieth that which is most proper in the diuine nature, and so consequently denieth God, as Cicero concludeth verie well in his booke *de natura Deorum*.

Cicero de
natur. Deo-
rum li. 1.

20 Thus then we see, what fruite the religion of the Romans must needs yield, to wit, extreame corruption of manners, and meere *Atheisme*, and therefore now I will shew, how preiudiciall, and pernicious such a religion is to common welth, to the end, that we may know the tree by the fruite, the mother by the child, and the cause by the effect. And because corruption of manners springeth aswell from *Atheisme*, as from false religion: I will first declare how *Atheisme* destroyeth common welth, and after speake of the other.

21 Is it possible, that the religion, which causeth the contempt of God, and *Atheisme*, should be good for common welth? No trulie. For if religion be necessary for the establishment of state, (as I haue proued, and all men confesse it to be) then the religion, which destroyeth religion, must needs be pernicious to state. Lawes are not onle conuenient, but also most necessarie, and profitable to common welth, yet the law that should ouerthrow both it selfe, and all other lawes, would also ouerthrow, and destroy common welth. For such a law, or religion might well be compared to a candle, fixed to some principall post of a house, which consuming it selfe, burneth the whole house in the end.

22 This will be euedent, if we consider what a one an *Atheist* is in a common welth, who hauing neither bridle of conscience, nor feare of God, hath commonlie no respect at all, either to his word, or to his promise, or to his oath, or to any lawes, humane, or deuine, whē he may with security, satisfie his owne desire, and pleasure: perswading himselfe, that the soule dieth with the body, and that consequentlie, it shall neither be rewarded, nor punished, for any thing donne in this life: as the holie Ghost signifieth notablie in the booke of wisdom, descri-

describ
men ha
time of
the end
from h
we sha
be dea
There
vle the
with p
our tim
there b
ouer.
part,
spare
hoarie
stice,
23 T
lie, it
ru (v
shoul
consci
he sho
fore th
infect
the pa
euerie
like, a
an oth
nor c
oath,
24
consci
nes,
robo
that
faith
then
rupt
and
descri

describing the opinion, & humour of *Atheists* in these wordes. Wicked men hauing bad thoughts, or cogitations say with in them selues, the time of our life is short and tedious, and there is no ease, or pleasure in the end of man, neither hath anie man bene knowne to haue returned from hell for we were borne, or created of nothing, and hereafter we shalbe, as though we had neuer bene borne: for our bodie shal be dead ashes, and our spirit shalbe dispersed like the thinne ayre. Therefore come, and let vs enioy the goods which we haue, and vse the creature without delay, as in our youth: let vs fill our selues with precious wine, and ointments, let vs not loose the flower of our time, let vs crowne our selues with roses before they wither, let there be no meadow, or pleasant field, which our riott shal not passe ouer. Let vs leaue euery where signes of our mirth, for this is our part, this is our lott. Let vs oppresse the poore iust man, let vs not spare the widow, nor the ancient man, nor beare respect to the hoarie haire of old age, let our strength be the law of our iniustice, &c.

23 Thus saith the wise man, in the person of *Atheists*, and how true lie, it may appeare by the doctrine of *Epicurus*, and his disciple *Mecrodorus* (which I declared in my first part) who taught, that a wise man, should not bind himselfe to the obseruation of lawes, for respect of conscience, or feare of God, but onlie to auoid punishment: and that he should in all things preferre his priuate commoditie, and pleasure, before the publike good: wherevpon it followeth, that whereas *Atheisme* infecteth the common welth, there is no more ciuill societie amongst the parts, and members thereof, then amongst brute beastes. For whiles euerie one seeketh his owne priuate good, without respect of the publike, all become for the most part treacherous, & perfidious, one towards an other: whereby there is neither anie true friendship amongst them, nor care of couenant, or promise, nor respect of fidelity, nor regard of oath, nor consequently any common welth.

24 And to the end, that this may the more euidentlie appeare, let vs consider the necessitie of oathes in comon welth: such being the weaknesses, and imbecillitie of all humaine credit, that it needeth to be corroborated, & fortified in manie cases, with the authoritie of some thing, that is esteemed more firme & holie then it selfe. Herevpon the Apostle saith, that men vse to sweare, *per maiorem se*, by one that is greater then themselves, that is to say, by almightie God: for, the corruption of mans nature is such, and the secrets of his hart so alostruse and hidden, that in matter doubtful, one man seemeth not to de-

scrue

Plutar. contra Colatam. Epicureum.

Hebr. 6.

serue credit of an other, except God, the iust iudge, who seeth the hart of euerie one, and punisheth all falshood, be called to witnes. And therefore *s. Chrysostome* saith. *Iuramentum est fidei iussio, ubi mores fidem non habent.* An oath is a suerty where mans manners haue no credit. And this may be so be confirmed by the frequent, and overcommon custome of swearing in common conuersation, wherein men acknowledge their owne want of credit, thinking that they cannot other wise be beleueed, except they sweare.

Domin. Soto 25 There fore *Dominicus Soto* doth teach with great reason, that if we had remained still in the state of innocency, there should haue bene no vse, or neede of oathes: which may also appeare, by the custome that stil passeth amongst men, seeing that commonlie oathes are not exacted of such, as are knowne to be of sincere conscience, and entire credit. And the same, as *Soto* affirmeth, was also exactly obserued in the law of nature, and *Plutarke* testifieth, that amongst the *Romans*, noble men were not put to their oaths, but onlie in steede of torment, as when they were suspected, and charged with some great delict in which case, as bondemen, or slaues were tormented, so were they forced to purge themselves by oathe, whose bare affirmation was otherwise held to be of sufficient weight, and authority: whereby it appeareth, that the vse of oathes hath growne in common welth of the imbecillity of humane fidelity, or credit.

d. Tho 22. 26 Further more the force of an oath is such, that it hath the authority of law, which the verie etimology of the latin word declareth: for *Soto de iure* (as *s. Thomas* geueth to vnderstand) *Iuramentum a iure dicitur.* An oath is so called (in latin) of *laru*, because it was first introduced, or admitted as a law, and is with all holines, and reuerence to be vsed, and obserued, and therefore some of the ould lawmakers, vsed no other law to decide causes, and controuersies, but an oath, as *Plato* testifieth of *Radamanthus*.

27 And such is the authoritie, yea, & necessity of oathes, that they confirme, and persit all lawes of nature, nations, and civil: for though the law of nature requieth that euery man obey his lawfull prince, and defend his country, yer princes doe commonly bind their subiects thereunto by oath, to fortifie thereby their naturall obligation. And although the law of nations bind princes, as well enemyes as freendes, to obserue leagues, confederacies, and covenants made amongst themselves, yet the same seemeth not to suffice, except it be confirmed by oath. Also the ciuill law hath such neede, & vse thereof, that commonly it decideth no cause without it, and holdeth it for the consummation, and end of suites, and controuersies, as the Apostle obserueth, saying: *Omnis controuersia*

Hebra. 6.

in confirmationem est inuicementum. The end of euery controuersie, for the confirmation thereof, is an oath.

28 Thus then we see, that *Atheists*, who contemne, and denie the authoritie of others doe ouerthrow common welth two waies: For first they take away that whereby law, (which *Plato* calleth the Anchor and *Plato 12. de* *leg.* *scale of the common welth*) is fortified, and confirmed: Secondly they destroy all humane fidelitie, and credit, which being of it selfe weake, and insufficient (as I haue declared) is strenghtned, and as it were vphoulden by the force and authoririe of oathes, so that if oathes were not in vse and force, common welth could not stand. For seeing that fidelitie, as

Cicero saith, is the foundation of Iustice, and Iustice the nerves, as it were, *Cicero de of-* *ficijs li. 1.* it must needs follow, that, where there is no fidelity amongst men, there can be no iustice, and consequently no common welth, as I haue amply

declared in my first part, treating of the fidelity that is necessary, as well amongst the subjects themselues, as betwixt the prince, and them. *Chap. 31. nu.* *18. sequ.*

Where I haue also shewed by manie examples, how seuerely almighty god punisheth perfidioufnes, and periurie in men; and therefore I thinke it needesse to repeat the same in this place, and onlie wish to be noted, that the lawes of all countries, doe worthily ordaine verie rigorous punishment for periury, as most pernicious to common welth.

29 The *Aegyptians* punished it by death, and amongst the *Indians* the fingers, and toes of periured persons, were cut of. Amongst the *Romans* they were for a time cast down headlong from a rocke, and afterward it was ordeined, that they should liue in continuall infamie, and shame, (which is worse then death) and therefore *Cicero* saith in his lawes: *Pernix pana diuina, exitium: humana, dedecus. The diuine punishment for periurie, is destruction, the human is ignominie, or shame.* Which is also the ordinarie penaltie thereof at this time in all Christian countries. *Alexand. ab Alexandro dieb. genial.*

30 Therefore no maruaile if *Atheists* (who reiect, and despise the sacred authoritie of oaths, and thereby supplant al humane fidelity,) were seuerely punished amongst the *Painimes*, whensoever they were discovered, as may appeare in *Plutark*, testifying, that manie cities, and common welthes in *Greece*, made lawes against all *Epicurians*, who were held for notable *Atheists*. And *Plato* in his booke of lawes, teaching that there are two kind of *Atheists*, ordaineth seuer punishments for them deuiding the first kind into two sortes of men: the one of those, who though they held that there is no God at al, yet are so subtle, and craftie, that they dissemble their opinion, being neuertheles most wicked in life, and manners: whome he thinketh worthy not of one, but of

Plutarch.

Plato 11. de lege.

many deaths: The other sort of *Atheists*, is of those, who though they thinke there is no diuinitie, yea, and publickly speake and professe it, yet are of so good disposition by nature, that they liue well, and vertuously; and for such he ordaineth five yeares imprisonment, and if they amend not therewith, that then they shalbe punished with death. The second kind of *Atheists*, are such, as though they beleene, there is a God, yet denie his prouidence here on earth, and for such he assigneth perpetual imprisonment, in such sort, that no free man, may euer haue access vnto hem, ordaining also, that when they die, their bodies shalbe caried out of the confines of the countrie, and left vnburied.

31 Hereby we maie see, how odious *Atheists* were to the Painims, in times past, and that worthily: seeing that, contemning God, as they doe, they disolue, and breake the bandes, not only of religion, but also of all humane lawes, when they can doe it with their commoditie, and securitie: Whereby they seeke (as much as in them lieth) to extirpate, and destroy all common welth, & therefore deserue to be held, for no other, then monsters of nature, & publicke enemies to mankind. For although some of them, being perhaps by nature enclined to vertue, are not altogether so pernicious to common welth, as those, whose *Atheisme* is accompanied with a vicious, & maligne inclination of nature, yet the best or rather the least euill of them, groweth in time most corrupt in manners, and consequently most pernicious to common welth.

Pro. 18.

32 For as *Atheisme* groweth of the extremitie of vice, (wherevppon the scripture saith, *Impius cum profundum venerit, contemnit. The vniuersall man, when he cometh to the depth of sinne, contemneth*) so also on the other side, extremitie of vice, and sinne, groweth of *Atheisme* (be the *Atheist* at the first, or of his owne nature, neuer so well disposed) for being giuen ouer by almighty God, to a reprobate sence, he slideth from vice, to vice, and from sinne to sinne, vntill he fall headlong at last to the verie depth and extremity of sinne, and therefore the psalmist saith of all *Atheists*. *Corrupti sunt, & abominabiles facti sunt in iniquitatibus. They are corrupted, and become abominable in all iniquity.*

Psal. 14.

33 Seeing then I haue already declared how daungerous, and pestiferous *Atheisme* (on of the children of Paganisme) is to common welth, I will now shew the like effect, of the corruption of manners, being the issue and offspring of both, whereby it will euidently appeare, that the religion of the *Romans*, being such, that it must needs fill their common welth with vice, could not but be most dammageable thereto.

that the corruption of manners, and the vice which grew of Paganisme could not but be very preiudiciall to the Roman common welth, so which end, the necessity of vertue for the conseruation of state, and the dammage that followeth of vice is declared, with diuers politicall obseruations, and rules out of Plato to the same purpose: And to the end it may appeare, how the Roman common welth could stand, and encrease, so great an empyre, as it did, with the exercise of that religion, it is signified, that as God out of his prouidence did conserue, and encrease their estate, to the end, that he might build his Church in tyme vpon the ruyns of their empyre: so also he punished the same most seuerely from tyme to tyme, for their impious religion, which appeareth in this chapter, from the foundation of Rome, vntill the expulsion of their Kings.

CHAP. IX.

TH E dammage, and destruction, that vice bringeth to all states where it reigneth, wilbe the more euident. Yf we consider the nature, and condition of common welth, and the effects that vertue worketh therein. For seeing nothing is more requisite to common welth, then that the common & publike good be preferred before the priuate commodity of any one (which the verie name of common welth doth sufficientlie declare) & againe seeing vertue doth wholly tend to a common good, and vice, or wickednes to some priuat commodity or pleasure, with the preiudice & damage of the weale publike it followeth necessarily, that nothing is more available to comon welth then vertue, nor anie thing more preiudiciall there to, then wickednes or vice: and therefore Aristotle teacheth, that the true reason of ciuill societie, or common welth, consisteth principallie, in recte viuendi communione, in the communion of those that liue well and vertuously, and that it was not onlie ordained: *ut simul homines viuant*, that men might liue together, *sed ut honeste agant*, but also that they may doe vertuously.

Aristot. politic. lib. 1.

2. This wilbe the more manifest, if we compare vertue, with vice, and consider them in men, as they are members of the common welth. Therefore whereas all morall vertue, is reduced to foure heades, to wit, Prudence, Iustice, Fortitude, and Temperance: experience teacheth that the prudent, & wise man, is not onlie profitable to himselfe, but also to others, yea, and to the whole common welth: the iust man doing wrong to no man but giuinge to euery one his owne (which is the office of Iustice) is beneficiall to all men: the valiant man defendeth not only himselfe, & his frinds, when occasio serueth, but also his coutry: the temperate man, being modest, meke, & peaceable towards al, & commanding his owne passions in al occasiōs,

is gratefull to all men, and most sociable, & therefore most fit for chaild societie. So that, where all, or most men are wise & prudent, iust, valiant, and temperat, euery one louing, comfortinge, & helping an other: there must needes be, the best, and most flourishing common welth: but where on the contrary side, sinne, and wickednes reigneth in all, or most men, where, I say, magistrats, and subiects are generallie imprudent, vniust, cowardlie, avaricious, ambitious, ryotous, and lasciuious, euery one censuring, and deceyuing his neighbour, robbing, and spoiling, and seeking in all thinges his owne particular gayne, or pleasure, with the iniurie of others, there the common welth being most wicked, is with all most miserable, or rather no common welth at all.

3 Further more who knoweth not, that wickednes, & vice, is, as I may tearme it, an internall disease, or pestilence, which corrupting the common welth, doth consequently ouerthrow it, no lesse the externall force. For euen as it may litle auaille vs to arme our selues from top to toe, to resist the attempts of our enemyes, or to decke, or trym our persons with rich Iewels, and sumptuous clothes, except we haue also care of our inward healths: so it litle helpeth anie cittie, or common welth, to be neuer so stronglie fortified against forraigne force, and inuasion, or externallie beautified, and adorned with gorgeous buildings, trophies, and triumphant arkes, if it be not also preserued from the inward sicknes of vice, and iniquitie: which the comickall poet expresseth elegantlie, speaking of a cittie, which seemed to be verie strong, being, with all replenished with vice:

Plautus in
Persa.

*Si incola bene morati, pulchrum arbitror
Perfidia & peculatus ex urbe, & avaritia si exulans,
Quarta inuidia, quinta ambitio, sexta obreptatio,
Septimum periurium, octaua indiligentia,
Nona iniuria, decimum, quod pessimum ag gressus scelus.
Hæc nisi inde aberunt, centuplex murus rebus seruandis parum est.*

That is to say, if the people be well manered, and vertuous, if perfidiousnes, fraud, extortion, coueteousnes, enuy, ambition, detraction, perurie, idlenes, iniuries, and lastly if all kind of pernicious wickednes be banished out of the towne, or cittie, I thinke it notable well fortified, but otherwise, a hundred walls wilbe to litle to preserue it. Thus saith he.

4 For this cause, all those which haue eyther written of commo welth, or instituted anie, haue endeouored nothing more by their lawes, then to exclude from thence all kind of vice, and to shake away, and preuent all occasion thereof. Wherefore Zaleucus made a notable law, to forbid all companie, and fellowship with wicked men, which law I wish were in

Diodor. si-
cul. li. c.

force.
that v
ly me
perni
touch
For
welth
as I h
end, a
welth
parell
and m
Anim
mind
permi
and d
quere
them
nes,
saith
vohil
glorie
6 T
mans
occa
silue
ple,
char
the
and
tran
and
to th
7
all
of t
rish
par
ma
wa
force

force, and v're in Christian common welth: seenig experience teacheth, that vice is no lesse contagious then the plague, and that manie towardly men, and of vertuous disposition, are onlie with euill companie most perniciouslie corrupted: for, *Qui resigitur pice, inquinabitur ab ea.* He which toucheth pitch, shalbe defiled with it.

For the same cause, *Aristotle* forbiddeth, in his written common welth, not onlie vn honest and wanton talke, but also lasciuious pictures (as I haue declared before in the first part of this treatise): & to the same end, and purpose, lawes were ordained in times past in all good common welths, against other occasions of vice, and sinne, as against excesse in apparell, diett, playe, and al kind of delicacie, by which the gate is opened, and matter ministred to all wickednes, and as *Valerius* saith, verie Well: *Animi, & corporis vires expugnantur.* The force, and strength, as of well of body, as of *Valer. Max. lib. 9. c. 1.* mind, is beaten downe, in so much, saith he, that, it is hard to say, whether is more pernicious to the common welth, to be taken by the enemye, or to be posselt by pleasure and delicacy. And therefore King *Cyrus*, hauing with great difficultie, conquered the *Lidians*, who were a most warlike, and valiant people, drew them by litle and litle, from labour, and the exercise of armes, to ydlenes, sports, and pleasures, loose, and delicious life, and by that meanes, saith the storie: *That industrious, potent, and strong nation, growving vwithin a while effeminate, both in body, and mind, utterly lost their old vertue, pro vesse, and glorie.* *Iustin. li. 1.*

This was well considered by *Licurgus* the lawmaker of the *Lacedemonians*, who therefore prouided by his lawes, to take away the matter, & occasions of vice in his common welth: for he forbad all vse of gold and siluer, and equally deuided the landes of the countrie amongst the people, he prohibited bankets in priuat houses, prescribed the maner, and charges, of publike feastes: allowed to yonge men but one garment for the whole yeare, not permitting one to be better appareled then an other, and ordaining that the youth of the cittie, should be at a certaine age transported in to the country, & there accustomed to continuall labour, and exercise, and to sleepe vpon the bare ground, and not to returne in to the cittie, vntill they were men.

These, and other such lawes, *Licurgus* ordained to the end, to shutt vp all the passage, and entrance to vice, & wickednes in the common welth of the *Lacedemonians*: and so long as they liued in that discipline, they flourishied no lesse in moral vertue, then in armes, and dominion ouer other partes of *Greece*: vntill at length, hauing ouercome, and spoiled the *Athenians*, they brought in to *Lacedemonia*, the delicacy of *Athens*, together with the riches, and welth thereof. For with the possession of riches, en

Aristot. li. 7. politic. ca. 17
Chap. 8.
num. 13.

Idem li. 1. & Plutar. in Licurgo.

Plutar. in Licurgo & Lisandro.

tried avarice, and couetousnes: and of the vse thereof, grew ryot, and excessse, of avarice, followed vsurie, cozenage, and deceit, periuie, iniuries, rapine, all kind of iniustice, and lastly tumult, and sedition. Of riot, and excessse, followed droukenness, surfett, sicknes, diseases, idlenes, debt, pouerty, effeminate maners, and finallie all dissolution, and wickednes: whereby that notable common welth, fell to vtter ruine, & decay within few yeares.

8 The like may be obserued in *Liuij* of the *Campam*, a people in *Italy*, whose cheefe cittie was *Capua*, held for power, & magnificence, to be equall with *Rome*, or *Carthage*, before the great warrs betwixt the *Romans*, and the *Samnites*. But such was the abundant fertilitie of their territorie, and so great their owne delicacie, by the occasio thereof that they grew in time, to be idle, & effeminate, & had neither power, nor courage to defend theselues against the *Samnites*, their neighbours, in somuch, that they were faine, to giue theselues, & their whole state to the *Romans*, vpo condicion, to defend them. And afterwards, when the *Roman* army, was sent to *Capua*, to winter there, it was within a while so corrupted with the pleasures, and delicacies of the cittie, and country, that it became indisciplinable, and fell to conspiracies, and rebellion. And againe afterwards when *Hannibal* possessed it in the the time of his warrs with the *Romans*, one winter in *Capua* weakened his armie, more the all his former warrs. For as *Liui* saith, *Quos nulla mali vicerat vis, perdidere nimia bona, & voluptates immodice*. Superfluity of welth, and immoderate pleasures, ouerthrew them, whom no force of enemy, nor misery could ouercome: in somuch that afterwards, *Hannibal* rather stood by the fame of his former victories, then by his present prouises. Thus saith *Liui*.

9 But farr more shamefull, and miserable, was the calamitie, and fall of the *Folstinians* in *Tuscan* by the same occasion, of whom *Valerius Maximus* recounteth; that they maintained themselves many yeares in great reputation, both of vertue, and valour: vntill at length they opened the gate to all kind of pleasure, & consequently to vice, whereby they fell in to the greatest, & most ignominious seruitude, that hath bene read, or heard of. For they grew to be so effeminate, that their owne slaues, tooke courage against them, & first presumed to demaunde place, and voice in their senate: and after tooke vpon them to gouerne the common welth: married their maisters daughters: & ordeined that no wills, or testaments should be made without their consents, & approbation: forbad all assemblies, but of theselues: made a lawe, not only that adulterie should not be punished in them, but also that no maid should be married to a free man, but that some of them should abuse her first, and finally banished their maisters.

*Liui. dec. 1.
li. 7. ann. ab
urb. cond. 412*

Ibid. an. 413.

*Idē dec. 3. li.
3. an. ab ur.
cond. 539.*

*Valer. Max.
li. 9. ca. 1.*

who
had
punis
to
the la
Hann
fallin
ces th
vertu
ting,
great
them
liued
at the
there
as Han
n T
are, w
of hu
kind
hold
kind
vs co
theet
like,
com
then
12 T
there
cond
licity
vice
13 F
mag
with
man
are r
este
such
min

who craving aide of the *Romans*, were after much miserie, which they had sustained, restored to their former states, & their slaues suppressed, & punished, according to their deserts.

*Orosius li. 4.
c. 5. an. vrb.
cond. 480.*

to I omit infinit other examples of ancient times, to speake of one in the last age, to wit, of the lamentable ouerthrow, and conquest of the *Hungarians*, who hauing florished a long time in warr, and peace, and falling at length into excesse of drunkennes, and pleasure, and of the vices that accompanie the same: did so farr degenerat, from their former vertue, that their nobilitie, and people would not leaue their banquetting, and drinking, to attend to their owne defence, against *Soliman* the great Turke: who therefore very easely subdued them, and brought them to that miserable seruitude, wherein the most part of them haue lined euer since. Whereuppon a noble man of that country, and court, at the same tyme, sayd pleasantly (as *Strabo* reporteth) that he beleued, there was neuer so mighty, rich, and potent a kingdome so merily lost, as *Hungary* was.

*Str. comment.
an. 1541.*

11 Thus then we see, how pernicious to common welth those vices are, which many hold either for vertues, or at least necessarie supplemēt of humane felicitie, I meane riotous, and delicious life, and excesse of all kind of pleasure. What then shall we thinke of other vices, which all mē hold for wickednes, as fraud, & deceit, peiurie, murders, rapyns, and all kind of iniustice? Shall not they vtterly destroy, common welth? For, let vs conceyne a companie of men, cōsisting of cosenoers, periured persons, theeues, robbers, parricids, murderers, extortioners, adulterers, and suchlike, who haue no other respect, but euerie man to his owne particuler commodity, or pleasure, can there be any ciuil society amongst thē, more then amongst as many beares, & tygers, or cats, and dogs?

12 This is so euident to common sense, that it needeth no further proofer: therefore I thinke good to conclude this chapter with certaine political condicions, which *Plato*, requireth to the perfect establishment, and felicity of all states, whereby we may see the force, & effect of vertue, and vice in common welth.

13 First he requireth, that all the members of the common welth, as well magistrats, as subiects, doe seeke, and possesse, three kindes of goods, to wit, of fortune, of the bodie, and of the mind, in due, and ordinate manner: that is to say, that they preferre the goods of the mind (which are religion, vertue, and knowledge) before all others: & then that they esteeme the goods of the bodie (to wit, beautie, strength, health, and suchlike) so farr forth onlie, as they may serue to aduāce the goods of the mind: and lastly, that no other acōunte be made of the goods of fortune

*Plato Ep. 8.
ad Dionis ar-
micos.*

which

which are honour, dignitie, and wealth, then as ministers, and seruantes to both the other, that is to say, so farr forth, as they may be auailable to the conseruation or encrease, first of the goods of the minde, & secondly of the goods of the body: & what law soeuer, saith *Plato* doth effectuall this, it is a good and perfect law, and maketh a happie state.

Ep. 8. ad amicos Dion. Li. 3. de legib 14 An other condition is, that the citizens content themselves with moderate libertie, and the magistrats with moderate commaunde, and authoritie: For, seruitude, and liberty, saith *Plato*, are both of them good, and necessarie for the common welth, so long as they are conserued in due measure: but if they grow to excesse, they are dangerous, and manie times pestiferous to state. For ouergreat seruitude, incenseth the mindes of the subiects against the prince, and state: and to much libertie, breedeth insolencie, and contempt of the lawes, and of the prince.

Li. 4. de legib 15 Also that they be contented with moderate wealth, as neyther to be ouer rich, nor too poore, because great inconueniences grow to common welth, as well by excesse of riches, as by the extremitie of pouertie: for of the first groweth pride, ambition, effeminacie, and riot: and of the latter, proceedeth theft, robbery, discord, & seditions, which ouerthrow common welths.

Li. 5. de legib 16 That they doe not apply themselves to vsury, and vnlawfull gaines, which are of their owne nature infamous, and vnworthie of mans generosifity, yea, and dangerous to common welth: for that they corrupt mens manners, making them couereous, deceirfull, & perfidious. Besides that vsury impouerisheth, and in time, beggereth the common welth, drawing the substance, and riches thereof, in to the handes of a few, to the generall damage, and discontent of all men, whereupon arise tumults, seditions, rebellions,

Ep. 8. ad Dionis amicos. de leg. li. 8. 17 That euerie citizen, or member of the common welth, preferre the publike, and common good, before his owne particular: for nothing is more contrarie to reason of state, and common welth, or sooner subuerteth it, then priuate commoditie, procured with publike damage.

Li. 4. de rep. 18 That euerie man perswade him selfe, that foure vertues are most necessarie for the happy direction of his life, in respect as well of his particular, as of the publike good. Those vertues are *Prudence*, *Temperance*, *Fortitude*, and *Iustice*. And although *Plato* teach, that all these vertues are necessary in euery member of the common welth, yet he requirerth that some of them be more eminent in some men, then in others: as *Prudence* in magistrats, and *Fortitude* in souldiars, and that there be a perfect mixture of *Fortitude*, and *Temperance* in euery man, to the end, that being balanced

Li. 3. de rep.

lanced

lined with an equal temperature of both, he may neither feare to much *Li. 1. de leg.*
nor dare to much; but that by *Fortitude*, he may first ouercome him selfe
(which *Plato* teacheth to be the cheefe victorie) and after repell both pri-
uate, & publike iniuries, and by *Temperance* may abstaine from doing in-
jury, and that as *Fortitude* may moue him to honest, vertuous, and noble
exploits, so *Temperance* may withhold him from vicious, wicked, and
base actions.

19 And further he thinketh, the vertue of *Temperance* (as well in dyet, as
in other pleasures of the bodie) so important for the good of common
welth, that he affirmeth riotous, and lasciuious life to be a speciall cause
of the destruction of Kingdomes, and states, because it consumeth both *Li. 3. de leg.*
the bodies, & substance of men, and maketh them effeminate. And there-
fore he forbiddeth the vse of wine to magistrats, to Iudges, when they *Li. 2. de leg.*
are to giue sentence, to souldiars in the campe, to slaues, and to weomen;
allowing it to none, but onlie at publike feastes, and with great mode-
ration. And further he ordaineth punishemēt for the sinnes of the flesh,
as for adulterie, fornication, incest, sodomie, and such like, giuinge nota-
ble rules of continencie, and chastitie, whereof I shall haue occasion to *Li. 8. de leg.*
speake heare after. *Chap. 30.*

20 Moreouer he calleth the vertue of *ciuill Iustice* the solide, and sound
foundation of common welth, and the principal propp, and stay, of state, *Li. 4. de rep.*
for that by the meanes thereof, God is duly honored, & the prince obedi-
ed, & euerie one hath his due: vertue is rewarded, vice punished, amity
conserued, fraud and iniurie abolished, and euerie one liueth in his voca-
tion, according to the rule, and law of nature, referring all his actions, ra-
ther to the publike, then to his own priuate good, whereby the common
welth, must needs flourish, in great peace, and tranquillitie.

21 And therefore *Plato* aduiseeth, that euerie member in the common
welth, doe labour perfectly to vnderstand, and know his dutie in his de-
gree, and vocation: to which purpose he describeth the office, or dutie of
all sorts of men (as of priuate persons, magistrats, & princes) in diuers parts
of his woorkes, thus in substance.

22 That priuate men ought so readily, and willingly to obey the ordi-
nances, and commaundements of the magistrats, that it may appeare, they
are moued thereto onlie by their owne vertue, and not by compulsion,
or necessitie of the law.

23 That magistrats ought alwayes to haue in mind, that they are not
lodes, but ministers of the law, and tutors, or publike gardians of the
common welth. For the state (saith he) cannot stand long, where the law is *Li. 4. de legib*
gouerned by the magistrats, and not the magistrats by the law.

- In Gorgia.* 24 Also that they endeavour to enrich the common welth, rather with the goods of the mind, then with the goods of fortune: that euerie one of the attended seriously to his owne chardge, without intermedlinge in the offices of other mē, & all of them specially respect the publike good.
- Ep. ad Dionis omicos.* 25 That euill men be not admitted to publike offices, for he (saith *Plato*) *vvho cannot gouerne himselfe, is not fitt to gouerne others.* And lastlie that offices be not bestowed vppon them, that ambitiouſlie seeke them, or haue not sufficient wisdome, experience, and other talents well to discharge them.
- Plato ad Dionem ep. 4.* 26 In the prince, *Plato* requireth these conditions following. That he labour as much to excell all other men in iustice, veritie, magnificence, temperance, clemency, prudence, & religion, as indignity, & authority.
- Ibidem.* 27 That he shew himselfe in deede such a one, as he would seeme to be, that is to say, that he be truly vertuous, & not verteous onlie in shew, and appearance.
- Ibidem.* 28 That he alwayes remember, & well consider, that all mens eyes are fixed vpon him, and that therefore neither his vices, nor defects, be they neuer so litle, can be long hid, nor that he can with meane vertue, satisfie the expectation of all men.
- Ibidem.* 29 That he assure himselfe, that the beneuolence and loue of his subiects, is most necessarie as well for the good gouernement of them, as for his owne security, and that the same can neuer be gott or conserued, but by humanitie, and clemency.
- Ep. 2. ad Dionisum.* 30 That he seeke to ioine perfect prudence, and wisdome, with the soueraintie of his power. For, as wisdome is weake, or lame without power: so power is pernicious without wisdome. And therefore *Plato* doth not onlie aduise princes, to haue alwayes wise men about them, but also exhorteth wise men to attend vppon princes, & to assist them with their counsell: for, happy, saith he, *is the familiaritie, or friendship that groweth betwixt wise and potent men.* But more happy is the vnion of wisdome, and power in one man, and therefore most happie is that common welth, where the prince is both wise, and potent, or as *Plato* speaketh, *vvhere philosophers reigne, or kinges become philosophers.*
- De rep. dial. 5.* 31 Furthermore he requireth, that the prince labour to almighty God, whose place, and person he representeth amongst men, and this similitude or likenes, he saith cannot otherwayes be had, *but by iustice ioyned with prudence, and sanctity of life.* And therefore he aduiseſh princes, first to compose theſelues, according to the modell of the deuine iustice, innocency, and other deuine vertues: and then to frame their families, and subiects, according to the same rule, and paterne. And furthermore he proposeth

And them, the consideration of the rigorous and seuerer iudgement of God, which they are to passe after their death, & that they are to be punished for their sinnes, farre more grieuouly then priuat men.

32 Also, that they vnderstand, and consider well, the necessity of Gods helpe, & assistance, for the gouernment of their states, seeing that no man can without it, well gouerne himselfe, and much lesse a common welth, which consisteth of so manie and different members, and partes, and is subiect to so manie casualities.

33 That like to good pilots, they neuer withdraw their eie, nor their hand, from the sterne. For as in a shipp, so also in common welth, or state, a litle negligence may some tymes ouerthrow it.

34 That they permit nothing in their states, which may breede corruption of manners, although neuer so great encrease of power or wealth, may in the opinion of men, be like to follow thereof, For as in mans bodie, so also in common welth, the internal corruption doth easily ouerthrow it, though it flourish neuer so much externally for the time.

34 Finally, that the scope of all their actions, & gouernement, be to procure, partly by good lawes, & partly by their owne example, that all vertue may flourish in their common welths, and that their subiects doe not ouermuch esteeme the temporall and false prosperity of this transitorie life. And not so much to desire, and endeouore, that the state may long stand, so long as it standeth, it may be truly vertuous, and religious, for, *Hic finis legum est*, saith Plato, &c. *This is the end of all good lawes, and of common welth, that wee may attaine to perfect happynes, Dei cultu, & vita puritate, by the worship of God, and purity of life.*

36 Thus much I haue thought good to collect onlie out of Plato, concerning the necessitie of perfect vertue, & religion in the common welth, for the happy state, & gouernment thereof: whereby it may appeare, how prejudiciall, and pernicious, the religion of the Romans must needs be vnto their state, seeing that it could not but produce, and engender therein Atheisme, and all kind of vice, and wickednes, as I haue largely proued before in the two last chapters.

37 But now, for asmuch, as there may arise here, no small doubt, how it came to passe, that the Roman common welth grew to so great an empire, as it did, with the continuall vse of their religion, if it were so pernicious to their state, as I haue here affirmed it to be: I must therefore for the satisfaction thereof put thee (good reader) in mind of twoo things, which I haue aply proued in my first part. The one is, that the prouidence of God disposeth of princes states, & (as I alleaged out of Daniell the Prophet)

change of times, & ages, translateth, & ordained kingdomes at his pleasure, where of I also shewed the experience, as well in the accomplishment of *Nabuchodonosors* vision, and *Daniels* prophesye, of the foure Empires (to wit, the *Assyrians, Medians, Greekes and Romans*, which were to succede one another) as also in declaring the causes, why almighty God, giueth dominion, and kingdome, rather to one man, then to another, and for what finnes he punisheth princes, and common welths, and subuerteth their states.

Chap. 17. nu.
10. & sequ.

Nu. 21. &
sequent.

Chap. 36.
nu. 23.

Ierem. 15.

4. Reg. 10.

Chap. 36.
num. 27.

38 The other point, which I proued, and wishe here to be remembred, is, that almighty God, doth some times absolutely, determyne to destroy a prince, or state (as when he said of the people of *Juda*, that though *Moses*, and *Samuel* should pray for them, yet would he not spare them) so also otherwhiles, he determineth, as absolutely to conferre a state for a time (as when he promised to *Iehu*, that his posteritie should succede him in his kingdome to the fourth generation) in both which cases, I shewed, that no endeouour of man, by good, or bad pollicy, could vphold or ouertrow the state contrarie to the will of God; yea, and that in the latter case (I meane when God doth absolutely determyne to conferre the state) he serueth himselfe, euen of the bad pollicies of wicked princes, to produce the effect, which he designeth: though neuer the lesse in the meane time, he punisheth the same otherwife, both in the prince, & in the state, with warrs, plagues, famins, and other afflictions, and in the end (the time of his præordination being expired) he powreth vpon them, the extremitie of his wrath, and vengeance, to their vtter subuersion.

Dan. 2.

39 This I emplified in the kingdome of *Israell*, and will now also make manifest in the *Roman* common welth, and empyre, which notwithstanding the bad effects, that their absurde, and impious religion produced (to wit *Atheisme* in verie manie, and extremitie of vice in the most part) was to grow, and stand so long, as almighty god had determined to vphold it, and as it was foretold by the Prophet *Daniel*, to wit, vntill a stone should be cut out of a hill without handes, that is to say, vntill our Saniour *Christ* should be borne of the *Virgin Mary*) without the helpe of man, yea, and should haue planted the seate of his empyre, and kingdome vpon the ruyns thereof: though in the meane time, God executed his iustice vpon them for their Idolatry, and sinne, in such sort, that the continuall course of warrs famine, pestilence, seditions, & mutations, where with they were miserably, and perpetually afflicted, might haue vtterly ruyned their state sundry tymes, if God had not preserved it for the end afore said, as in his wisdome he had preordained.

And that this may appeare, let vs consider the punishment that God layed vpon them, from tyme to tyme, euen from the verie foundation of their cittie, first vnder their Kings, secondly vnder their *Consuls*, *Dictators*, *Decemvirs*, and other magistrats, and lastly vnder their Emperors, vnto the tyme of *Constantine* the great, whē Christian religion was generally receiued: though neuerthelesse it is to be considered, that for the first three hundredth, or foure hundredth yeares after the foundation of *Rome*, their best histories are so breife, or rather barren of matter, by reason of the great antiquity, and rudenes of those tymes, that *Liui*, and other Historiographers, complaine greatlie thereof. And therefore it is no maruaile, that we find no mention for manie yeares, of diuers great punishments of God, which appeared to be verie ordinarie afterwards, when their histories were written with more diligence, and greater particularitie: and yet we may easely gather, by those generalities, which are mentioned, how continuare were their calamities, and miseries, euen in their verie begininges.

Liui. Dec. 1.

Dionisi. Halicar. antiq. Roman. li. 1.

41 First then, for the times of their Kings (who were but seauen in all) it is to be understood, that when the two bastard brethren, *Romulus* and *Remus* (sonnes of the vestall virgin *Rhea Siluia*) had killed their great vncle *Amulius*, restored their grandfather *Numitor* to his Kingdome of *Alba*, and laid the foundation of *Rome*: *Romulus* not brooking the companie, & fellowship of his brother *Remus* in his new intended Kingdome, embred his handes in his blood: and to the end he might the better people his new cittie, he offred by publike proclamation, free acceffe, and habitation to all the malefactors, that would repaire thither, from anie place what soeuer, whereby it was replenished with in foure, or fve yeares, with theeues, murderers, outlawes, and the outcasts of all *Italy*, and then partly by force, and partly by fraude, he spoiled the *Sabins*, and other his neighbours of their daughters, contrarie to all lawes humane, & deuine, hauing inuited them together with their parents, to certaine publike feastes, celebrated in *Rome*, in honour of their Gods. Where vppon he had bloudie warrs some yeares with the *Cenineses*, *Antennates*, *Crustumiani*, and the *Sabins*, of whome he ouercame the three first, but the last, to wit, the *Sabins* entred *Rome*, beseegeed, and tooke the *Capitoll*, gaue battaile to *Romulus*, greuiousslie wounded him, and slew a great part of his armie, when the daughters of the *Sabins*, which were married to the *Romans*, interposed themselues betwixt the two armyes, & procured them to come to composition: whereby it was agreed, that the *Romans* and *Sabins*, should ioyne not onlie in amitie, but also in the societie, and fellowship of one common welth, and that *Tatius* the King of the *Sabins*, should

Liuius Dec. 1. li. 1.

Plutar. in vita Romul. An. urbis Roma 1.

An. urb. 3.

reigne

reigne ioyntlie in Rome with Romulus.

Plutarc. in
Romulo.

42 But within a while *Tatius* was slaine (not without the priuie, and consent of *Romulus*, as it was thought) and shortly after (as *Plutark* testifieth,) there fell a prodigious raine of blood in Rome, pronosticating, as it seemed, a most cruell famine, and strange plague, which presently followed, and killed great numbers of men, and women suddenly to the astonishment of all men: and during this plague, the *Camerini* also made warr vpon the *Romans*, and after them the *Vesentes*, though *Romulus* had the victorie in both: whereby he grew so insolent, and proud, that he became an insupportable tirant, which moued the senators in the end, to conspire his death, and to kill him in the senate, & to institute a new forme of gouernment of tenne men, who ruled by turnes, euerie owne five daies, which also gaue so litle repose, and contentment to the people, that it lasted but a yeare,

An. urbis 16

Idem ibid.

Ann. ur. 37.

Ann. ur. 38.

Linus Dec.

1. li. 1.

Plutarc. in
Numa.

43 After this *Numa Pompilius* was chosen king, who though he reigned fortie three yeares in continuall peace yet being most superstitious, and fanning to haue familiarity with a certaine Nymph, or godesse called *Aggeria*, introduced infinit superstitions into the *Roman* common welth, deuising all that forme of religion, which they obserued euer after: and thereby infected them with a spirituall plague, farre worse then any temporall, seeing it exposeth them to the continuall wrath of God, which neuer ceased to scourge, & afflict them after his daies. In so much, that whereas he ordained, that the temple of *Ianus* should be allwayes shut in time of peace, it could neuer after, for the space of six hundred yeares be closed, but onlie once. And during the raighe of the kings his successors who were but five in number (to wit *Tullus*, *Hoftilius*, *Anco Martinus*, *Tarquinius Priscus*, *Seruius Tullus* and *Tarquinius Superbus*) the *Roman* state was perpetually garboyled with no lesse then a ciuill warre: seeing that fight was with their neere neighbors, yea their allyes, and kinsmen, I meane the cities so neare adioyning vnto them, that they contracted mariages, & kindred with them.

44 This may appeare by the warre betwixt the *Albans* & the *Romans*, vnder *Tullus Hoftilius*, wherein vpon agreement of both armies, the decision of their quarrel, being remitted to a combat betwixt three brethren, called *Horatij* on the *Romans* part, and three other brethren called *Curiatij* on the part of the *Albans*, and the victorie falling to the *Romans*, for that one of the *Horatij* (his two brethren being slaine) killed all the *Curiatij*, the victor *Horatius* returning triumphantly to Rome, slew his owne sister publickly in the streete, because shee wept for the death of one of the *Curiatij*, to whom shee was fianced, & promised in marriage whereby

Linus Dec.
2. li. 1.

where
were
hund
In al
mile
confe
ream
ren,
ambit
had n
lamit
45
gouen
viol
lie of
Serui
time
on fir
by his
wars
ueng
goues
donne
Tullia
as it l
four
nie, a
ter in
hatre
auth
lishe
46 B
then
cont
ditiō
mish
Roma
abor
furl
also

whereby, I say, it may appeare, how ciuill, & domestical these their warrs were, which continued alwayes more or lesse, for the space of twoo hundreth fourty foure yeares, to wit, vntil the expulsion of the kinges. In al which time, they could neuer dilate their dominion fully fixeteene mile from *Rome*, so that their warres were euer at their owne gates (and consequently accompanied with continuall effusion of their blood, extreame cares, feares, and sorow for the losse of parents, children, bretheren, knisfolke, and freendes) which yet had bene more tolerable, if ambition amongst themselues, & the vnfortunate end of their kinges, had not ministred further matter to the encrease of their domestical calamities.

Eutrop. li. v.

Plutarc. in
uita Numa.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

Ann. vr 115.

45 For of the five Kings, which succeeded *Numa*, three came to the gouernement by intrusion, and all five as *Plutark* testifieth, died either violentlie, or at least in banishment: though others affirme it onlie of foure of them, that is to say of *Tullus Hostilius*, *Tarquinus Priscus*, *Lucretius*, *Seruius Tullius*, and *Tarquinus Superbus*, of whom *Tullus Hostilius* in a time of great plague was burnt in his owne pallace, which was sett on fire from heauen with a thunderbolt. *Tarquinus Priscus* being made by his predecessor *Anius Martius*, tutor to his children, and hauing afterwards defrauded them of the kingdome, was killed by a sheaphard in reuenge thereof. *Seruius Tullius* hauing cunningly intruded himselfe into the gouernment, was in the end deprived thereof, and also of his life by his sonne in law *Tarquinus Superbus*, with the consent of his owne daughter *Tullia*, who caused her chariot to be driuen ouer her Fathers dead body, as it laie cast forth in the markett place, and finallie *Tarquinus* being the fourth of the aforementioned, & the last king of the *Romans*, was for his tirannie, and his sonnes (who rauished *Lucretia*) expelled the citie, and died after in exile in *Tusculum*, within twelue miles of *Rome*. And such was the hatred, that as well the people, as the senate had conceiued against kingly authority, for the tirannie of their former kinges, that they vtterly abolished the same, and instituted twoo consuls.

Ann. vr. 244.

46 But what did they enioye thereby anie more happines, peace, or rest then before: Nothing at all: for, such was their miserie afterwards, & so continual the entercourse, or counterchange of externall warrs, ciuill seditions, plague, famins, and other strange kinds of calamities, that the punishment of God was most euident vpon them. And therefore seeing the *Roman* histories are from this time forward, more particular, cleare, and abundant of matter, then in the former ages vnder the kinges, and still the further they goe, the more particular, and plentiful: and that I find also such a perpetuall connexion, and concatenation of calamities,

throughout

throughout the whole state of the *Romans* vntill the time of *Constantine*, the great, that I may by the relation thereof, with some litle addition of circumstances, now and then, giue thee (good reader) a perfect epitome of all the Roman historie, and imagining that I shall doe therein a worke gratefull, vnto thee, whether thou hast read the *Roman* histories or noe, (for if thou hast read them, thou maist perhaps be content to renew the memorie of them, by a breife suruey of the substance of the whole, and if thou hast not read them, I make account thou wilt be glad to see in two, or three chapters, the summe of the most notable and remarkable matters, which the Historiographers of the *Romans* relate in large volumes, for the space of aboue eight hundredth yeares) vpon this conceit, I say, I am content for thy pleasure, and profit, to take the paine to giue thee an abridgement of the Historyes of the *Romans* during that tyme.

47 Neuertheles, I thinke good to auertise thee, that if thou be not so much delighted with historicall matters, and desirest to take a shorter course, then to read these three chapters following, thou shalt find the conclusion thereof, in the fourth chapter, from this (which is the thirteenth of this booke) wherein thou shalt see, not only the inferenees, that I meane to draw out of the whole, but also the substance of the same breiefely touched, to present vnto thee, the course of the deuine providence, in conseruing, encreasing, and aduancing the Roman common welth, on the one side, and his iustice on the other side, in scourging, and afflicting it from time, to time, with such continuall, and exemplar punishments, as the like perhaps hath not bene read, or heard of in anie state, that hath still stode, & beene conserued, and much lesse in any that hath bene so much amplyfied, and encreased, as the *Romayne* empire was.

A continuation of the same matter, to shew the severity of Gods iustice in punishing the Romans, from the expulsion of the Kinges, vntil the first vvarr of Carthage, with a perfect Epitome, or abridgement, of the Roman history during that tyme.

CHAP. X.

1. **T**HE verie first yeare of the cōsuls was no lesse, vnfortunate to them, then to the common welth. For *Iunius Brutus*, who expelled the tyrant, and was one of the first two consuls, put to death two of his owne sonnes, and two of his wiues brethre, for conspiring the reduction, and restitution of the tyrant. He also depriv-

Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus his companion in the consular, and forced him to depart out of the cittie, only because his name was Tarquinius, whereas he him selfe was nephew to the tyrant (to wit his owne sisters sonne) and in steed of Lucius Tarquinius, was chosen P. Valerius Publicola: Finallie Iunius Brutus being slayne the same yeare in battaile, by Aruns Tarquinius, the tyrants sonne (whom he also slew) Spurius Lucretius succeeded him in his office, and died within a few dayes, in whose place Marcus Horatius was chosen.

Linus Doc.
1. li. 2.
An. urb. 245

So that there were five consuls in one yeare, of whome one was killed in battaile, an other deprivied, and the third died in his consular. Besides that the same yeare, there begane an other most cruel warr, betwixt the Romans, & the tyrant Tarquinius, who was supported by Porfenna King of the Clusins in Hetruiria, (now called Tuscan) & by the Satyni, which warr continued at the very gates of Rome three yeares, with so great danger to the Romans, that Linus saith, *Non unquam alias ante tantus terror Senatum inuasit: The senate was neuer before that time feared with so great feare.*

Lim. ibid.

And in this warre passed the famous acts of Horatius Cocles, and Mutius Scaevola, of whome the first defended the entrance of a draw bridge, against all Porfenna his armie, vntill the bridge was cut downe behind him and then he lept into the water, and swamme to land. The other, to wit, Mutius Scaevola, entered into the campe of Porfenna, killed his secretarie in steede of him, and being taken, & threatned with torment, put his owne hand voluntarie in to the fire, and there held it vntill it was consumed, to shew how litle he feared torments, or death it selfe, protesting also, that three hundred yong Romans had vowed to attempt the death of Porfenna in like manner. Wherevpon Porfenna being strooken with admiration of his vallours dismissed him, and made peace with the Romans: for assurance whereof, manie hostages were geue him, amongst whom were diuers maides of accout, and namely the famous Clelia, vnder whose conduct all the other maydes escaped away ouer the riuer of Tyber through the enemies army, and although she was restored to Porfenna vpon his demaunde, yet for the great admiration he had of her courage, and other good partes, he not onlie dismissed her againe, but also at her request, discharged al the bardlesse youthes that were amongst the ostages, for the which the Romans honoured her with an image, representinge her on horsebacke. And thus ended their warre with king Porfenna. Presently after, there ensued no lesse dangerous, and bloody warres with the Sabins, Aequi, Volsci, and the Arunci, & though the Romans, had diuers victories, yet they bought them with much more blood on their owne part, and especially in their warre, with the Arunci, who miserably spoiled all the

Idem ibid.

An. urb. 248

Idem ibid.

An. urb. 252

Roman territorie, ouerthrew their armie, and almost killed one of their Consuls. Besides that certaine townes that were colonies of the Romans rebelled against them, and yelded to their enimies.

Ibidem.

An. urb. 253.

4 And thus continued their dangers, feares, & troubles, vntill the same were redoubled by a new league of thirty principall cities against them, in fauour of their former king *Tarquinius*, in so much, that they were forced to make a *Dictator*, (that is to say, one soveraigne gouernour for the space of six monethes) which they neuer did, but in some extreame danger of their state. And though in this warre also the Romans had the victorie in the end, yet they had so litle repose thereby, that they were

An. urb. 260

faine in respect of new dangers, to make a new *Dictator* within a while, & in the meane time, the people also being consumed with puerrie, and oppressed with debts, grew to be tumultuous aboue measure. For, whereas they had vntill that time, serued in all the former wars vpon their owne charges, and by reason of the continuance thereof, and the ordinarie plagues, and famins had bene forced to borrow much money of the noble men, or Senators, and not being able to pay either the vsurie, or the principal, were miserablie afflicted with imprisomets, giues, and fetters, yea and some with whipping, & torments: their bodies being adiudged by the magistrats to their creditors for satisfaction of their debts) they assembled themselves on the holie hill three miles from Rome, or as some writte vpon mount *Auentin*, within Rome, & there fortified themselves. And although *Menenius Agrippa*, being sent vnto them fro the senate, pacified them with a fable, which he told the (of a muteny & conspiracy of all the partes of mans bodie against the belly, whereby the whole bodie pined away) yet the senate was faine to grant them, siue *Tribunes*, to be chosen out of the people themselves, to serue them for a counterpeyse against the Consuls, & to defend the against the Senators who oppressed the, wherevpon there grew afterwards many great incoueniēces, & continuall troubles in the common wealth, as shall appeare hereafter.

An. urb. 261

Ibid.

5 This seditiō being appeased, there followed the very next yeare, another much worse, accompanied also with an extreame famine, in which seditiō, the people banished the worthy *Martius Coriolanus*, notwithstanding his great seruice donne to the comon welth, & his famous victories: who fled to the *Volscians*, & being made by the their captaine generall, besieged Rome with a great armie, whereby the Romans were so terrified, that first they sent the priests of the cittie, & afterwards *Veturia* his mother, & *Valurnia* his wife, with a great multitude of matrons, and other women to appease him, by whom he was entreated at last to raise his seige.

6 And before two yeares were fullie past (the wars still continuing

with the *Volsi*, *Aequi*, and *Hernici*) there arose new seditions, not onlie betwixt the Senatours, and the people, but also betwixt the two Consuls *Ann. vr 163*
Publius Virginium, & *Sp. Cassius*, of whome the latter aspired to a tiranny, by the propositiō of a law called *Agraria*, (for the deuision of laudes amōgst the people) & was notwithstanding afterwards condemned, & executed. *Idem ibid.*
 And yet neuertheles new tumults grew euery yeare for a lōg time, by the means of the Tribunes, feeding the humour of the people, & irritating them against the Senat, with the propositiō of that law: & though some times they were forced to intermit their domesticall diuisiōs, & animosities, to attēd to their defence against the forraigne enimies (as in the cōsulare of *Lucius Aemilius*, & *Cæso Fabius*) yet within two yeares after, their seditions so reuiued, that *Livy* saith. *Non signior discordia domi, & bellum foris arduum fuit: The discord at home was no lesse, then it was wont to be, and the warre abroad farre more cruell.* *Ann. 169.*

7 In these warrs, which they had some yeares with the *Volsi*, *Aequi*, and *Veientes*, first their consul *Marcus Fabius*, & after three hundred, & six *Fabij* *Ann. 174.*
 (of one familie hauing obtained of the Senate to be employed in that warre were al in one battail slaine by the *Veientes*, assisted by the *Hetrusci*, *Ann. 177.*
 who made warre at the verie gates of *Rome*: and hauing taken the mount *Ianiculus*, so spoiled the cōuntry round about, that the *Romans* were almost famished, untill their consul *Sp. Sernilius*, & *A. Virginius* after much losse, & diuers foiles, slew the greatest part of their enimies, & put the rest to flight. This warr was no sooner ended, & their famine releued, but the Tribunes beganne againe to make new stirres, propounding the law *Agraria*, aboue-mencioned & irritating the people, not only against all the Senatours in generall, but also against euerie on of them in particuler: in so much that they caused *T. Menenius*, who had benne Consul, to be wrongfullie condemned, & accused also *Sp. Sernilius*, consul the yeare before, who hardly escaped. *Idem.*

8 This domestical storme being somewhat appeased, there arose another the same yeare from abroad, by a new warre of the *Veientes*, *Sabini*, *Volsi*, & *Aequi*, & presently after, the next yeare, the discord, & seditions, betwixt the Tribunes, & the Cōsuls, & betwixt the people, & the senate, *Ann. vr 180*
 grew to such violēce, that the officers of the Cōsuls were abused the enignes of Iustice brokē, the Consuls theselues forced to saue theselues by flight, & the senat cōstrayned in the end, after 2 yeares tumultuous cōtētiō, to exclude theselues from the election of the Tribunes, & to grāt the same wholly to the people, to the ēd they might prouide for the dēfēce of the cōmon welth, against the *Volsi*, & *Aequi*, who renewed their former wars, wherein the *Romans* receiued a most shameful ouerthrow, vnder the *Ann. vr. 183.*

Consul *Appius Claudius*.

9 And such was the entercourse of warre abroad, & sedition at home, that if I should vndertake to make particular relation thereof, I should doe nothing els, but write the whole story of the *Romans*; seeing that whensoever there was anie litle peace, or repose, the same was (saith *Lini*) *semper sollicita certamine patrum, & plebis*. Alwayes full of care, and trouble, by reason of the contention betwixt the Senate, and the people, and as *Dionysius Halicarnassus*, saith, *Sic in orbem redibant vicissitudines*, &c. Such was the course, and counterchange of vvarre, and sedition, that they went round, as it were in a wheele, in so much, that peace bredd sedition; & vvarre brought them againe to composition; which was also (as *Eutropius*, & *Orosius* note) so intermixt with frequent pestilence, that their cruces, which were verie rare (saith *Orosius*) were made either by reason of some great plague, or accompanied with it, whereby infinit numbers perished, as in the consulate of *Q. Servilius*, and *Spurius Posthumus*, when (as *Eutropius* saith) a great part of the people died of the plague. And againe foure yeares after, not onlie the most part of the souldiars, and a great number of the common people, but also the two Consuls *T. Ebutius*; and *P. Servilius*, and verie manie Senators, died in like maner of the same contagion: though during these times, they had also great warrs, with their ancient enemies, yea, & with their owne slaues, and fugitiues, who being conducted by *Herdennus the Sabyn*, assailed *Rome*, burnt the Capitoll, and killed *Valerius* the Consul, whiles neuertheless the Tribunes of the people, continued their wonted furie (as *Lini* witnesseth) in stirring the people to sedition, and incensing them against the Senate.

10 And the next yeare after, as *Eutropius* and *Orosius* say, (though according to *Lini* it should be two yeares after) the *Aequi*, & *Volsi*, discomfited a great armie of *Minutius* the Consul, and besieged him within twelue miles of *Rome*, vntill *Q. Cincinnatus* (being fetcht from the plough) was made Dictator, who releued him, when he was brought to great extremitie: whiles also in the meane time they had benne miserably distracted, and deuided in *Rome*, by their turbulent Tribunes, seeking to extinguish, or at least to diminish, the authoritie of the Consuls. Besides that, they were terrified with most prodigious accidents of terrible earthquakes, strange noyses, and horrible sights in the ayre, and showers of great peeces, or gobbets of flesh, whereof part was seased on by the birds, and they fell to the ground, and the rest that fell lay many dayes vncorrupted: all with prodigious signes, and diuers others, which I omit (threatninge as the deuines denounced ruin to the common welth for their seditions) being also seconded with famine, and continuall danger of for-

Ibidem.

Dionys. Halicar. antiq. Roman.

Oros. l. 2. c. 12. Eutrop. li. 1.

An. vr. 288. Eutrop. ibid.

An. vr. 291

An. vr. 294. Linius Dec. l. 1. 3.

An. vr. 296. Idem ibid.

Ann. v. 198

An. 300.

Ibidem.

An. 301.

An. 302.

Idem Ibid.

An. 303.

Ibidem.

An. 306.

Ibid.

nine warrs, sufficed not neuertheles to temper, and intigate the mindes
 of the Tribunes, who propounded new lawes in fauour of themfelues,
 incensing the people continuallie against the Senate, & Consuls. Where-
 vpon their tumults still encreasing, & new contentions daile growing
 (concerning the validitie of the new lawes) to the manifest, & extreame
 danger of the common welth; it was at last agreed, to send embassadours
 to Athens, to fetch a coppy of Solons lawes, and other ordinances of the
 Grecians, whereby they might reforme theirs. And although during the
 absence of their embassadours (which was not about two yeares) they
 enioyed some repose, as well from tumults at home, as warrs abroad; yet
 their affliction ceased not, for as *Liuij* saith: *Duo simul mala ingentia exorta*,
 &c. Two great mischeifes grew amongst them, at once, to wit, famine,
 and pestilence, wherewith infinit numbers, not only of men, but also of
 cattle were consumed, in so much, that. *Urbs, saith he, assiduis exhausta fune-*
ribus, multa & clare lugubres domus, multiplici clade fedatus annus. The city was
 exhausted with continuall deaths, manie noble houses where replenished with
 mourning, and all that yeare was disgracefull, by reason of manie calamities.
 The next year, which was the three hundredth, and two, after the
 foundation of Rome, the embassadours being returned from Greece, the
 Romans changed their forme of gouernment, chosing in steede of two Co-
 suls, tenne gouernours called *Decemuiros* to whose charge it was com-
 mitted, both by the Senate, & people, as well to make new lawes, as also
 to administer iustice, euery one of them in his turne, euery tenth day;
 who conspiring together the second yeare of their office, and binding
 themfelues by oath to maintaine one an other, opprest the commo welth
 two yeares, and vsed great tirannie, committing all kind of iniustice: in
 so much that one *Virginus* publicly slew his owne daughter, to deliuer
 her from *Appius Claudius* one of the *Decemuiros*, who, to the end he might
 deslower her, had not onlie caused a dependant of his owne to claime
 her for his slaue, but also had giuen sentence against her. Wherevpon
 there arose such a tumult of the people, and souldiars, that the *Decemuiros*
 were forced to leaue their office, and two Consuls were chosen after the
 old maner, and *Appius Claudius* being committed to prison, killed him-
 selfe: an other of the *Decemuiros* died also in prison, & the rest were banis-
 hed, and their goods confiscated.
 During this tirannicall *Decemuirat*, the *Sabins*, and *Aequi* making
 warre in the territorie of the Romans, gaue them two shamefull ouer-
 throwes, and put the citie of Rome in no lesse danger, then feare.
 And if I should proceede in this manner, to recount particulerlie, al-
 their domestick diuisions, & other calamities ensuing thereof, (where-

with they were continuallie afflicted, whensoever they had any little truce, or surceasse from forraine warrs) I should occupie, and imploy the whole volume of this treatise in the relation thereof, & therefore I wish it for the present to be noted, that from the time of this *Decemvirat*, to the verie ouerthrow of their commo welth, by *Iulius Caesar* (which was foure hundreth yeares after) their ciuill tumults, & consequently their afflictions grew dayly greater, by reason that the Senate, after the deposition of the *Decemviri*, were forced, for the further satisfaction of the people, not onlie to renew their former officers called Tribunes, but also to encrease their number to Tenne; yea, & with in a while also to grant, that in steede of the two Consuls (who were chosen onlie out of the ancient nobility) there should be other magistrats, called Tribunes of the souldiars, who should haue the authoritie of Consuls, and be chosen partlie out of the plebeians, and partly out of the patricians.

Ibidem.

An. 310.

And so seditious, and furious commonlie were the Tribunes of the people, in stirring the vp against the *Senat*, that the Senatours, were faine to seeke some times, the most dangerous remedies that might be, to wit, the occasion of some great warr, euen at their owne gates (I meane with their next neighbours not manie miles from Rome) *Adeo vel infelix bellum*, saith *Liuij*, *ignominiose paci praeferabant. So farr they were faine to preferre an vnfortunate warre, before an ignominious peace.* Which neuertheles sufficed not manie times, to quiet the turbulent humours of the people, and their Tribunes: in so much that otherwhiles, when they were most pressed by their enemies, they had, as *Liuij* saith, *Plus belli domi, quam foris.* More warre at home, then abroad, whereby the senate was constrained to endure manie indignities.

Dec. 1. li. 4.

Ibid.

14 This therefore being vnderstood, to haue passed continually in the Roman state, not onlie before the election of the *Tribuni militum*, (which was in the yeare of three hundred and tenne, after the foundation of Rome) but much more euerafter, I will henceforth for breuities sake, touch onlie their most notorious calamities, and afflictions, whereby it shall sufficiently appeare, how seuer, and continuall was the scourge, and punishment of God vpon them for their wickednes.

An. 310.

15 These Tribunes of the souldiars, being chosen, and composition made thereby for the present, betwixt the people, and the Senate, (to the end they might attend to the defence of their state against the *Aequi*, *Volsi*, and *Veientes*) the said warrs were no soner ended with good successe to the Romans, but succeeded the vnfortunate Consulats of *Proculus* *Ceranius*, *Macerinus*, and *L. Menenius Lanatus*, Notorius, saith *Liuij*, for the manifold calamities, dangers, famin, seditions, and almost perpetuall losse of liberty, in so much

An. 315.

Dec. 1. li. 4.

(saith

(saith he) that if there had bene anie externall warre at that time, *Vix opem omnium resisti potuisset.* All the Gods could hardly haue conserued the state. The occasion was, that there being so great a famine, that manie drowned themselves in *Tiber*, to auoid the torment of hunger, *sp. Melius*, hauing at his owne charges, greatlie releued the people with corne, & victuall: aspired to make himselfe Kinge, and had so farr gained their good wills thereto, that the Senat was compelled to make *Lucius Quintus Dictator*, by whose meanes (with the helpe of *Quintus Seruilius* Master of the horse) *sp. Melius* was in the end slayne, and the people pacified. Ann. vr 316.

16 The yeare following beganne a most dangerous warre, by the rebellion of the *Fidenates*: who were not aboue eightene miles from *Rome*, & had at the instance of the *Veientes*, rebelled against the *Romans*, and killed foure of their Embassadors, which were sent vnto them, to vnderstand the cause of their defection. In so much, that the Senate (*ve in trepidis rebus*, saith *Linij*, as their custome was in time of feare, and danger) made a Dictator, to wit *Mamercus Aemilius*, and though he ouerthrew his enemies, and had a notable triumph, yet his victorie was counterpeised, with such terrible earthquakes, and plagues, that the *Romans* were in feare of viter desolation, as well to the cittie, as to the countrie: besides new wars presentlie after with the *Fidenates*, and *Veientes*, who approached with a great armie to the walls of *Rome*, wherewith, *trepidatum*, saith *Linij*, *non in agris magis, quam in Vrbe*, There was no lesse feare in the cittie, then in the fields abroad. And therefore they made a new Dictator, to wit *A. Seruilius*, who repelled the enimie and toke the cittie *Fidena*. An. 317.
Idem ibid.
Eutrop. li. 1.

17 And other wars arising the next yeare (wherewith they were also forced to make a new Dictator) there followed another pestilence, which made great destruction both of men, and cattle, in the cittie, and country. And within foure, or five yeares after, the *Veientes* made new wars, which were also accompanied with extreame drought, wherewith followed verie great contagion, & death of men, and beastes: and shortly after, the *Veientes* gaue an ignominious ouerthrow to the three Tribunes of the souldiars, who gouerned that yeare: and *Rome* it selfe was in such feare, that it kept watch, and ward vpon the walles, and was, as *Linij* saith, *more like a campe, then a cittie*: and within three yeares after the Consul *Sempronius* was also shamefullie ouerthrowne, by the *Volsci*. Not long after againe, another armie of the *Romans* was defeated by the *Lanicans*, and *Aequi*, and the wonted seditions growing daily greater at home, passed also fro the people in the cittie, to the souldiars in the campe. An. 328.
An. 327.
An. 329.
Ibidem.
An. 332.
An. 337.
An. 342.
An. 343.

who

who killed *M. Porcius Cato* their generall; and presently after followed a great pestilence, and famine, whereby the citie was for a time left as it were, desolat, and desert whiles the common sort perished, and the Senators and others of wealth & account, went abroad to seeke remedie against the hunger and contagion.

18 And thus continued for some yeares this successiue change of seditions, plagues, famine, and warre (where in also the Romans amid some victories, receiued many disgraces, and ouerthrowes) vntill the great, & long seige of *Vejentum*, which dured tenne yeares, winter, and somer, after seauenteene yeares warre, that it had made against the Romans: who, though they tooke it in the end (to wit in the yeare three hundredth fiftie nine) vnder the conduct of *M. Furius Camillus*, yet had bene foyled, disgraced, & beaten by it, not onlie oft before, but also diuers tymes during the seige; in which time also they were pestred with almost continuall wars, by other their neighbours, and with seditions at home more then euer, and finally with that notorious pestilence, which happened in the yeare three hundred fiftie six, whereof I haue spoken in the seuenth chapter; for remedie whereof, they made their first *Lectisternium* to pacifie the wrath of their gods.

19 And how pernicious their ciuill dissentions, and seditions in Rome it selfe, were also to the common welth, it appeared shortlie after, when the famous *Furius Camillus*, was wrongfully banished by the Tribunes of the people: in punishment whereof, *Plutark* supposeth, that God sent the Gauls to Rome, who the next yeare after, ouerthrew *Fabius Ambustus*, & his whole army, not farr from Rome, with great slaughter of the Romans, and entred the citie, sacked, spoiled, and burnt it, killed a great number of Senators in their owne houses, and put all to the sword, except such as fled to the Capitol, which they also besieged, though they were in the end expelled, & ouerthrowne by *Camillus*, who being banished (as I haue declared) releued, and repaired the wracke of his vngratefull country.

20 This dangerous, and terrible tempest being ouerblowne, new stormes of wars presently arose from the *Volsi*, *Aequi*, *Sarini*, & *Prænestini* of whom some encamped themselues at the verie gates of Rome, whereupon saith *Luuij*, *Ingens in vrbe trepidatio: There was exceeding great feare, and trembling in the citie.* And although the Romans ouerthrew, & conquered them all in the end, by the valour of *Furius Camillus*, and *T. Quintus Cincinnatus* (whereby also they enlarged greatly their dominions in Italy) yet they were in the meane time continuallie molested, and vexed with their wonted calamities: as some times with disgraces, in warres, some times

An. 350.

Idem Dec. 1.
li. 5.

An. 356.

An. 364.

Plutark. in
Furio Camil
An. 365.

An. 366.

Linus Dec.
3. li. 6.

with
down
the p
first
of L
roge
and
for
fully
witt
bur
21
whi
and
peo
in v
sign
22
to d
Rom
thei
in th
thin
self
yea
by
23
say
dist
fre
an
ciu
yea
of
the
suc
it n
mi
for
24

with plague and famine, and other whicles, or rather continually, with domesticall diuisions, and tumults: partlie by reason of the pouerty of the people, loden, and opprest with debts, and partlie by the ambition, first of *Marius Manlius*, who aspired to make himselfe King, and after of *Lucius Stolo* and *L. Sextius* Tribunes of the people, who for five yeares toger, hindered the election of all other magistrats, but them selues; and forced the Senate in the end, to graunt that one of the Consuls, should for euer after be a *Dilebeian*, and yet before this dissention could be fully composed, the *Gaules* returned againe with a huge army and came within foure mieles of *Rome*, destroyning all the country roundabout, but were within a while defeated by *Turinus Camillus*. An. 372.
An. urb. 369
An. 379.
380. 381.
382. 383.
Ann. ur. 388.

21 Shortly after there grew a strange plague, of contagious diseases, which continued some yeares, and destroyed infinit numbers of people, and amongst the rest, there died *Turinus Camillus*, three Tribunes of the people, a *Censor*, and an *Edil*, for remedy wherof, they absurdlie brought in ye, their filthy staghe plaies, to pacifie the wrath of the Gods, as I haue signified in the seuenth chapter. Linus Des.
1. li. 7.
An. urb. 390

22 Within twoo yeares after or somewhat more, the earth opened vnto the verie bowels thereof, in the midst of the greatest market place in *Rome*, and so remained some dayes, to the extreame terrour of all men; their deuines cōcelled them to throw in what soeuer was most precious in the cittie, wherēvpon the matrons cast in all their Iewells, but nothing auailed, vntill *Marcus Curtius* being armed on horsebacke cast himselfe into it, which being donne it closed within a while; and before the year was fully ended, *L. Genutius* the Consul was ouerthrowne & slaine by the *Hernici*. An. 393.
Idem ibid.

23 From this time forward, vntill the warr of the *Samnits*, that is to say, for the space of twentie two yeares, the *Romans* were so contiunally distressed, either with rebellions of their subiects, or defections of their freendes, and confederates, or new inuasions of the *Gaules* (who gaue the an other bloody battaile, at the verie gates of *Rome*) or finallie with their ciuill discord amongst themselues, that they were forced almost euerie year, to make a *Dictator*, in respect some times aswell of Domesticall, as of foraine dangers: and although they had manie notable victories, yet they receiued with all so manie disgraces, with such losse of blood, and such spoile of their territories, and such oppression of the people, that it may trulie be said, they liued all that while in continuall affliction & miserie, the particularities whereof, where to long to recount, & therefore I wil passe to the warre of the *Samnits*. Ibid.
An. 395.
An. 405.
An. 394.
395. 367.

24 In the year after the foundation of *Rome* foure hundred & twelue, An. 412.

Ibid.

the *Romans* denounced warre to the *Samnits* in fauour of the *Campanians*, who not being able to defend themselves against the *Samnits*, gave to the *Romans*, not onlie their cittie, *Capua*, (which was then held equally in greatnes, or magnificence with *Rome*) but also themselves, and their whole state, vpon condition that the *Romans* should defend them.

An. 475.

25 The *Romans* therefore vndertaking this warre in defence of the *Campanians*, as of their owne subiects, had prosperous successe, and notable victories, for three, or foure yeares, aswell against the *Samnits*, as the *Latins* their neighbours, who breaking their ancient league, made warre vpon them: in which time passed those famous actes of the two Consuls *T. Manlius Torquatus*, and *Publius Decius*: of whome the first, to conserue the authoritie, and integritie of militarie discipline, put to death his owne sonne, for accepting an importunate chalège of combat without his order, though he valiantlie slew the enimie: and the other Consul *Decius*, seeing his armie put to the worse, and like to be ouerthrowne, vowed, and with manie ceremonies (which *Livy* declareth) consecrated himselfe as a sacrifice to the gods, to obtaine the victorie, which his armie obtained, though he himselfe was slaine.

*Livy Dec. 1. li. 8.**An. 476.*

26 But the next yeare after, one of their consuls being a Plebeian, and the other though a Patrician, yet disgusted with the Senat (because it would not grant him a triumph) cōspired together in fauour of the Tribunes, and people, and making one of themselves *Dictator*, ordained such lawes, that, as *Livy* witnesseth, their common welth received more detriment, by the malignitie of their seditious Consuls, and *Dictator* at home, then good happ, or felicitie by their victories abroad. And these warre cōtinuing yearelie, they were also infested with strange plagues, & mortalitie, especiallie in the foure hundred twentie and third yeare, after the foundation of *Rome*, at what time, an incredible, and most horrible conspiracie of the matrons of *Rome*, to poison the cittie was detected, by one of their women seruants, after that verie manie principall men, and a great number of the meaner sort, had bene made away, dying strangellie, and suddainelie all after one manner: besides infinit others, who being more able to resist the force of the poison, languished miserablie, and pined away, vntill the matter being discouered (as I haue said) and examined, three hundred and seauentie matrons (as *Orosius* and *Entropius* witness) were condemned, and executed for it: no other moriue, or cause of their wicked act being euer discouered,

*An. 423.**Ibidem.*

but onlie a phantassical, and malicious madnes, which had surpris'd them.

*Oro. l. 3 c. 10
Entrop. li. 2.*

17 A few yeares after this, the warre with the *Samnits* being renewed, the *Roman* armie conducted by the twoo Consuls *T. Veturius* and *Sp. Postumius*, was driuen to such a strait; that they were forced to sell their liues, with losse of their honour, passing vnder the yoke (as it was termed) that is to say, vnder three lances set vp in gallows wise, spoiled of their armes, and clothes, with such conditions also of peace, as it pleased their enimies to impose vpon them: for the assurance whereof, six hundred *Roman* Gentlemen were left for hostages. And this the *Samnits* held for a greater victorie, then if they had put them all to the sword, as they might haue done, if they would.

An. 431.
Linus Dec.
1. li. 9.

Eutrop. li. 2.

An. 438.
Linus Dec.
1. lib. 10.

Num. 25.

An. 461.
Linus Dec.
1. li. 10.

For the remedy of this
Esculapius
was sought
from Epi-
daurus.

18 And from this time forward, they had continually for many yeares, verie cruel and bloudie warrs, partly with the *Samnits*, and partly with other their neighbours, and though they had diuerse notable victories, yet they bought them manie times so deare, that they had small cause to reioyce thereat: partlie by reason of their owne losses, and partlie for the frequent plagues which occurred. In so much, that *Eutropius* speaking of these times saith thus; *It is to be understood, that the peace, and repose of the Romans, was euer interrupted with externall warrs, and the warrs againe with infectious, and contagious plagues, so that they were on euerie side miserable molested.* Thus saith he, vpon the occasion of a most greuous pestilence, which ensued a victorie, that *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, had against the *Samnits*, and *Gaules*, though with the losse of seauen thousand *Romans*, and of his fellow Consul *P. Decius*, sonne to the other *P. Decius*, who vowed, and dedicated himselfe, as a sacrifice to the Gods, in a battaile against the *Latins* (as I haue signified before) whose example his sonne also followed in this battaile, and with his death purchased the victorie for the *Romans*, as they were perswaded.

19 The same yeare, this plague, and warre was also accompanied with manie prodigious euent, as that it rained earth, and manie were slaine in the armie of the *Romans* with thunderbolts: besides that the *Gaules* also intercepted, and slew a whole legion of the *Romans*, whereof not one man escaped, and the warrs with the *Samnits*, stil continuinge with great losse on both parts (though the *Romans* commonly had the victorie) there fell within three yeares after such a plague in *Rome*, and such a murrein, and destruction of carle in the countrie, for three yeares together, that (as *Liuy* witnesseth) it was portento similis, like a monstrous wonder. And during the same time, the *Samnits* also ouerthrew the Consul *Q. Fabius Gurges*, who saved himselfe by flight, hauing lost three thousand

An. 463.
Eutrop. li. 2.

thousand of his souldiars, though within a while (after fortie nye
yeares warres, and manie bloudy battailes as *Eutropius* witnesseth) they
subdued the *Samnites*, & destroyed their cheefe citie called *Samnium*. And
about the same time, also grew such a sedition in *Rome*, that the people
rooke armes, and rebelled, requiring that plebeians might be admitted
to marry with the nobilitie.

An. 470.

30 Presently after, there followed new wars with the *Sabins*, & then
with the *Lucani*, *Brutij*, *Toscanti*, and *Galli*, with whom the *Samnites* had made
league, with intent to rebell: and the *Romans* thinking to withdraw the
Gauls from them, sent Embassadors vnto them, whom the *Gauls* kil-
led, and shortlie after discomfited also an armie of the *Romans*, and slew
their general *Cecilius* the Prætor, seauen Coronels, and manie noble men,
besides twentie eight thousand common Souldiars, as *Orosius* testi-
fieth.

Epitome T.
Linius li. 12.

Oro. l. 3. c. 22

Eutrop. li. 2.

Oro. li. 4. c. 1

An. 471.

31 The next yeare after, they beganne an other warr with the *Taren-
tins*, who had also assailed, and spoiled a nauie, of theirs, killed their
Captanes, and their most seruiceable souldiars, sould the rest, and abus-
ed also their Embassadors, who were sent to complaine of the iniurie.
And this warr so pressed them, that they were faine to arme their *Pro-
letarij*, who being of the poorest sort, were such as had benne before ex-
empted from warre, to the end they might stay at home, and attend to
procreation for encrease of the common welth.

Epi. Liu. l. 12

Ibid. li. 13.

An. 473.

Plutarc. in

Pyrrho.

32 By the occasion of this warr, the *Tarentins* called *Pyrrhus* King of *Ma-
donie*, and *Epyrus*, into *Italy*, to assist them against the *Romans*, betwixt
whome there passed three cruell, and bloudie battailes, whereof the *Ro-
mans* lost the first, after a whole daies fight, vnder the Consul, *Leuius*,
though the slaughter of their enemies was so great, that *Pyrrhus* said, *That
such an other victorie, would send him home without souldiars*. The *Romans* lost
in that battaile fourteene thousand, eight hundred & fourescore foot-
men, and two hundred forty six horse, besides eight hundred and two
horse and fote, which were taken prisoners, and those which escaped by
flight, were strangelic terrified, with horrible, & prodigious thunder, and
thirtie foure of them killed with thunderbolts, and twentie two left
halfe dead, in so much, that it seemed the verie heauens fought against
them.

An. 474.

Idem ibid.

An. 475.

33 The *Romans* wanne the second battaile, and slew twentie thousand
of their enemies, with the losse of siue thousand of their part. In the third
battaile, the famous Consul *Fabritius* (who discovered to *Pyrrhus* the trea-
son of his phisician which had offered to poison him) ouerthrew him:
And then *Pyrrhus* being called into *Sicily* to assist *Agathodes* king thereof,
depar-

departed for a time, and returning againe afterwards, was overthrowne by the Consul *M. Curius Dentatus*, and forst to leaue *Italy*, fifteene yeares, after his first arrivall there, as *Eutropius* testifieth.

*Liui. li. 14.
in Epist.
An. 479.
Eutrop. li. 2.
An. 477.*

34 And in the meane time also, the *Romans* were cruelly infested; in the second consulat of *Fabius Gurgus*, with a verie strange plague, which killed the children in their mothers wombes, and yong cattel in like sort in their dames bellies, so that it was feared (as *Orosius* witnesseth) that the succession, and offspring both of men, and beastes, would haue vtterlie failed,

Oros. li. 4. c. 2

35 There followed shortlie after, new warres with the *Tarentyns*, who rebelled with the helpe of the *Carthaginenses*, not withstanding that the said *Carthaginenses*, where then in league, with the *Romans*. But the *Romans* overthrew the both, which the *Carthaginenses* reuenged afterwards with manie yeares warre, as shalbe declared after a while.

*Idem ibid. ca. 3.
An. 482.*

36 The next yeare after this warr with the *Tarentins*, a whole legion of the *Romans*, hauing cruellie murdered all these people of *Regiū* (to whose succour they were sent) and possessing themselues of the towne, were beseged by the rest of the *Roman* forces, taken, and sent to *Rome*, where they were al put to death, so that the *Romans* themselves killed so manie of their owne souldiers, that if they had bene slaine by the enemie, it would haue bene held for a publike, and common calamitie.

*An. 483.
Idem ibid.*

37 Presentlie after, followed manie prodigious signes, and amongst the rest, a maruelous eruption of fire out of the ground, which burned for three daies together, consuming the corne, and trees neere about it, and the yeare following, there passed a most bloody fight, betwixt the *Picens*, and the *Romans*, notwithstanding that when they were ready to ioyne battaile, there was vpon a suddaine, such a horrible earthquake, with such a roinge noise (which issued out of the earth) that as (*Orosius* and *Eutropius* doe witnes) it might well be thought, that the earth it selfe trembled, & mourned, for the aboundance of humane blood, that was presentlie to be shed in that battaile, wherein neuertheles, the *Romans* had the better.

An. 484.

*Oros. l. 4. c. 4.
Eutrop. l. 2.
An. 485.*

38 The verie next yeare after, there were other no lesse prodigious signes, as to omitt diuerse others, aboundance of blood flowed out of the earth, preteding no doubt, the bloody warts, which presentlie folowed. First with the *Salentini* and *Brundusini*, and shortlie after with the *Carthaginenses*. Besides that, the *Romans* were also about the same time, miserably afflicted with twoo yeares pestulencoe, which did so depopulate the citie, and country, that afterwards, when it ceased, they made a cense, not so much to see how manie were dead, as how many remained

Idem ibid.

*Cic. de. 487
Oros. l. 4. c. 5.*

mained aliue.

39 But seeing we are now come to the first warrs of *Carthage*, and that this chapter is already growne long, I will prosecute the rest in the chapter followinge, and touch only the most important matters, to auoid prolixitie.

The epitome of the Roman Historie is continued, and the exemplar punishment of God vppon the Romans, further obserued, from the beginnunge of the first warre of Carthage, untill the ouerthrow of their common vvelth, & the birth of our Saviour Christ, vnder Augustus Cæsar, the first Roman Emperour.

CHAP. XI.

1. **T**HE Romans hauing passed, (as I may tearme it) an essay of their warre with the *Carthaginienses* in *Italy*, by the occasion of the *Tarentins*, (as I haue already signified) beganne afterwards to play their maine prize in *Sicily*, in the consular of *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, and *Quintus Fulvius Flaccus*, in the foure hundredth eighty third yeare after *Rome* was built, as *Eutropius* affirmeth, though according to *Glareanus* (whose exact chronologie I rather follow) it was the yeare foure hundredth eighty eight. The occasion was, that the *Mamertini*, a people of *Sicily*, whose cheefe cittie was *Messina*, craued the ayde of the Romans against *Hieron King of Syracuse*, assisted by the *Carthaginienses*, whom the Romans ouerthrow in two great battailes, and the warre extending it selfe, first into *Sardinia*, and within foure, or fve yeares, from land to sea, the Romans were forced, to build, and furnish a naue, of on hundred and thirtie shippes, which they did with incredible speede, to wit in threescoore dayes, but *Cornelius Asina* the Consul, who had the charge thereof, was taken prisoner, & slaine by the elder *Annibal*, with the pretence of a false treatie of peace, which was presently after reuenged by the other Consul *C. Duillius*, with the slaughter of three thousand men, and with an other ouerthrow, which *Caius Florus*, and *Lucius Cornelius* gaue them also by sea, the yeare followinge.

2 But this their good fortune, beganne presentlie to be checked, with a most dangerous conspiracy of three thousand slaues, confederat with so manie sailers, who had surprised *Rome* (which by reason of these great warrs was destitute of al gard) if the consul had not in time discovered, & preuented it. Whereby it may appeare, how much the Romans were pressed, and greued with this warre, notwithstanding their good fortune therein, seeing that *Rome* it selfe was drawne so dry of souldjars to defend

Ar. 483.

Eutrop. li. 2.
Oros. l. 4. c. 7.
An. 488.

An. 493.

Eutrop. li. 2.

An. 494.

Idem ibid.

that so few slaues durst attempt to surprize it.

3 And within two yeares after, *M. Atilius Regulus* the Consul, hauing passed into *Africke*, and slaine in battaile eightene thousand of the *Carthaginienſes*, and taken by composition foureſcore and two cities, was taken prisoner himſelfe by them, with the helpe and conduct of *Xanippus* King of *Lacedemony*, at what time also thirtie two thousand of the *Roman* armie were slaine, and siue hundreth principall men taken prisoners.

4 This is that *M. Atilius Regulus*, whose memory is so highlie celebrated by *Cicero*, and other *Roman* autors, for returning to *Carthage*, to discharge his oath, whereby he was bound, either to procure the liberty of the *Carthaginians* that were prisoners, or els to returne himſelfe to prison, which later condition he willingly performed, hauing himſelfe dissuaded the senat to deliuer the other, for the which he was cruellie slaine at his returne.

5 And albeit this great disgrace of *Atilius Regulus*, was presently after recompensed, with two great ouerthrowes giuen to the *Carthaginienſes* by sea, wherein they lost 134. ships, and 44. thousand men, and afterwards also 20000. were slain by the Consul *Metellus* by land, yet the two Consuls *Aemilius Paulus*, and *Sernius Fulvius*, returning into *Italy* with their victorious naue of three hundred saile, loaden with the spoile of the *Carthaginienſes*, made a miserable shipwracke, and lost two hundred and twentie of their ships, and hardly saued the rest, with casting ouerboard all their goods. And the like fortune had two other Consuls *Cn. Serrilius Capio*, and *Sempronius Blasus* shortlie after, who hauing also made a prosperous voyage by sea, and gott a great spoile of the *Carthaginienſes*, were in their returne cast vpon the rockes, and lost a hundred and fiftie ships of great burthen, wherevpon *Orosius* saith verie well. *Apud Romanos numquam diuturna felicitas erat &c.* The *Romans* were neuer long together fortunate, but euerie good successe of theirs, was presently ouerwhelmed with a heape of woes.

9 This appeared to be true at this time, whereof I now treat, for, the prosperous successe, whereof I haue spoken, was seconded with diuers disgraces, and calamities, as with the ouerthrow of an other *Atilius Regulus* surnamed *Caius* and *Manlius Volſus*, both of the Consuls, with their naue of two hundred saile, and foure legions in it, and of an other naue of a hundred and thirtie saile the yeare followinge, vnder the Consul *Claudius*, who hardly escaped with thirtie ships, the rest being either taken, or drowned, with eight thousand souldiars slaine, and twenty thousand taken, besides that *Caius* or *Lucius Iunius* the other Consul, lost also his whole flecte by shipwracke the same yeare.

An. 496.

Oros li. 4. c. 9
Eutrop. li. 2.Cicero 2. de
finib. & li. 3.
officio. & de
senectute.
Valer. Max.
li. 1. ca. 2. li. 2.
cap. 4.Eutrop. li. 2.
Oros li. 4. c. 9.

An. 498.

An. 500.

Oros li. 4. c. 9

Idem ibid.
cap. 10Eutrop. li. 2.
An. 503.

An. 504.

Ibidem.

An. 505.
Idem ibid.

7 And the yeare following, a fleet of the *Carthaginienſes* paſſed into *Italy*, and ſpoiled diuers parts thereof, & thus continued theſe waits with harde varietie of fortune, and ineſtimable loſſes to both parties, until *Lucatius* the Conſul, had a notable victorie ſome foure, or five yeares after in *Sicily*, where he ouerthrew *Hanno*, the Generall of the *Carthaginienſes*, ſlew foureteene thouſand ſouldiars, and tooke thirtie two thouſand priſoners, whereby the *Carthaginienſes* were ſo broken, and diſcouraged, that they were forced to demande peace, which was granted them, and ſo ended the firſt Punicke warre, after it had laſted twentie three yeares.

An. 517.
Eutrop. li. 2.

Oroſ. l. 4. c.
10. & 11.

An. 512.

8 But was the ioy of this victorie, and peace (thinke you) cleare to the *Romans*, without their wonted counterchange of calamities? No truly, for the very next yeare after, as they were preparing for their triumph, there

An. 513.
Eutrop. li. 2.

was ſuch an inundation of the Riuer of *Tiber*, and it laſted ſo long, that it deſtroyed al the lower part of the citie, and preſently after, a fire alſo which tooke in the higher partes of the cittie, (no man knew how) conſumed not onlie innumerable houſes, and the temples of the Gods, but alſo a great number of men, and ſuch ſtore of riches, and welth, that, as *Oroſius* ſaith. Many forraine victories could not recompence the loſſe that the *Romans* receiued thereby,

Oroſ. l. 4. c. 11

An. 513.

Idem ibid.
cap. 12.

Eutrop. li. 2.
An. 514.

9 In this meane while, there aroſe new troubles of wars from the *Alibiſi*, the *Gauls*, and the *Sardinians*, who rebelled by the ſolicitation of the *Carthaginienſes*, which wars laſted ſome ſiue, or ſix yeares, with ſo little gaine to the *Romans*, eſpeciallie againſt the *Gauls*, that though they had the victorie, yet their loſſe was ſo greate with al, that the Conſul *Valerius* could not obtaine the honour of triumph: but in the end, all theſe tumults being appeaſed, and the *Carthaginienſes* vpon humble ſuite, by diuers emballaſſes pardoned, there was ſuch an vniuerſall peace, that the Temple of *Ianus* was ſhutt vp the firſt time, after *Numa Pompilius*, that is to ſay, after foure hundreth & threſcore yeares of continuall warre, beſides the other afflictions of plagues, domeſtical diuiſions; and other miſeries, wherewith they had bene many times brought almoſt to utter deſolation, as I haue ſignified before,

An. 518.
Oro. l. 4. c. 12

10 This peace continued only one yeare, which being ended, there aroſe new quarrels, and cruell warres with the *Ilirini*, for killing certaine emballaſſadors of the *Romans*, & preſently after with the *Gauls*, in puniſhment (as *Oroſius* and *Eutropius* note) of a moſt inhumane ſacrifice, which the *Romans* made of two *Gauls*, a man, and a woman, whome they buried aliue together, with a *Gracian* woman, after which there followed with in a while, ſuch an inundation of the *Gauls*, aſwel of thoſe which dwell in *Italy*

Oroſ. l. 4. c. 13
Eutrop. li. 3.

Italy, as also of the others beyond the *Alpes*, that the *Romans* were forced to arme eight hundred thousand men, vnder the conduct of their two Consuls, *Publius Valerius Flaccus*, and *Caius Attilius Regulus*, of which huge host, fourscore thousand were slaine by the *Gauls*, with the Consul *Attilius*, and all the rest put to flight; though neuertheles afterwards, the *Romans* ouerthrew them in three battailes vnder diuerse Consuls, & lastlie killed their King *Viridomarus*, and tooke *Millan*, the cheefe cittie of the *Gauls*, called *Cisalpinus*. But how much blood these three victories cost them, it may easily be imagined, & ere that warre was fullie ended, they were forst to prepare for an other against the *Istri*, whom also they subdued ere long, but *multo Romanorum sanguine*, with much blood of the *Romans*, as *Orosius* witnesseth.

11 But now, who can sufficientlie expresse the miseries, and calamities, that fell presentlie vpon them by the second Punicke warre, when *Hannibal*, seeking occasion to breake peace with them, beseiged the cittie of *Saguntum* in *Spaine*, which was their confederat, and so faithfull vnto them, that hauing endured extreame famine some moneths, & seeing no possibilitie of succour, refused *Hannibals* offer of capitulation, and burnt their cittie, with all their goods, and themselves. And warr being there vpon denounced by the *Romans*, against *Carthage*, *Hannibal* marched towards *Italy*, with a hundred thousand footemen, as some write, and twentie thousand horse, leauing also his brother *Asdrubal*, with great forces in *Spaine*. And passing the *Alpes* with incredible difficultie, and speede, to wit, in fiftene dayes (notwithstanding that he was forced to open his way through the maine rocks, with great industry, dissoluing them with vinager, and fire) he descended into the champion countrie about *Turin* in *Piemont*, where encountring with the Consul *Scipio*, he ouerthrew him, and killed almost all his armie, and *Scipio* himselfe being greueously wounded, escaped hardly by the valorous helpe of yonge *Sipio* his sonne.

12 And shortlie after this, *Annibal* gaue an other ouerthrow to *Sempronius* the other Consul, by the riuer called *Trebbia*, with no lesse losse, & disgrace to the *Romans*, then in the former, for the consul lost the greatest part of his armie, and hardlie saued his owne life by flight. And though *Hannibal* being wounded in that battaile, & so distressed afterwards with the extreame cold of the winter, that he lost one of his eyes, and great number of his souldiars, yet he gaue an other battaile in the beginninge of the spring to *Flaminius*, the Consul, whom he killed, with twenty fye thousand *Romans*, and tooke six thousand prisoners, neere to the lake called *Thrasimenus*, not farr from *Perugia* in *Tuscan*.

An. 538.
Idem ibid.
Plutar. in
Hannibal.

13 After this againe followed the famous battaile at *Canna*, where *Hannibal* slew the consul *Paulus Aemilius*, & forty foure thousand foot, three thousand, five hundred horse, twēty of the most principall personages of *Rome*, who had bene Consuls, & thirtie Senators, with three hundred other men of mark, either slaine, or takē: & the other consul *Terentius Varro*, sauēd himselfe by flight, with only fiftie horse. And finally, such was the slaughter of principall men, that *Hannibal*, sent to *Carthage*, (as *Orsius* witnesseth) three bushels of gold rings, taken from the hands of the *Roman* gentlemen which were slaine, & such was the astonishmēt, & fright of the *Romans* by this ouerthrow, that if *Hannibal* had followed his victory, & gone directly to *Rome*, he had by al likelyhood surprisēd it, and utterly ouerthrowne the *Roman* state. For al *Campania*, or rather as *Orsius* saith, almost al *Italy*, yielded to him, & the Senators theselues were in such despaire, that many of them deliberated to leaue *Italy*, and had donne it, but that yong *Scipio* being then a Coronel, drew his sword, and protested that he would kill whosoever should consent vnto it, & procured in the end, that they all tooke an oath with him to defend their country.

Oro. l. 4. c. 16

Oro. ibidem

T. Lini. Dec.
3. li. 2.

14 Furthermore, such was the want of souldiars, for the maintenannce of the warre, that *Linus Decius* being made Dictator, was faine to follow the example of *Romulus*, and to grant impunity to al malefactors, that would come, and serue in that warre, whereby he shortly assembled fiftie thousand men, and further made vp foure legions of rag, & rag, giuing libertie to such slaues as were thought most seruiceable, taking armes out of the verie temples to furnish them, and the common treasure was so exhausted, that the *Romans* were forced to supplie with new contributions.

Oro. l. 4. c. 16

Linus Dec.
3. li. 2.

Idem Ibid.
li. 7.

An. 542.
An. 546.

An. 543.

15 And though both before and after this, *Hannibal* receiued some ouerthrowes, namely by *Fabius Maximus*, before the battail of *Canna*, and afterwards by *M. Claudius Marcellus*, yet he gaue manie more, as to *Sempronius Gracchus*, to *Centenius Penula*, to *Gneus Fulvius* the Prætor, whom he put to flight, and slew fiftene thousand of his men. And lastlieto the two Consuls *Crispinus*, and the afore said *Marcellus*, both whome he slew by a traine. And comming once within three mile of *Rome*, to the great terrour of the *Romans*, he presented them battaile twice, and as they were ready to fight, there fell both times such a terrible storme of raine, and haile, that both the armies were forced to returne into their camps, in so much that *Hannibal* himselfe ascribing it to the will, and worke of God, retired himselfe, saying. That God did not giue him some times the will, and some times the power to assaile *Rome*: wherein I note by the way, that which I wish to be obserued throughout al this discourse, concerning the *Romans*, to wit,

Oro. l. 4. c. 17

to wit, on the one side the seuerie iustice of almightie God, in punishing them for their horrible idolatrie, and impietie: and on the other side, his maruelous prouidence, in preferuinge, and augmenting their state, to so great an empire, as after he gaue the, to the end it might serue for a foundation to the biulding of his Church.

16 But to conclude concerninge *Hanniball*, he remained in *Italy* for the space of sixteene yeares, to the incredible affliction, and molestation of the *Romans*, for as *Polibius* testifieth, he gaue order to his souldiars, that they should spare neither man, woman, nor child, but put all to fire, and sword, which they executed with al rigour, and destroyed nineteene notable, and famous cities, and killed also in that time, aboue two hundred thousand of al sorts of people, as may appeare by the censuses made before and after.

17 And this continued, vntill at length *Scipio* (who was called afterwards *Africanus*) hauing overcome *Hanno*, and *Asdrubal* in *Spain*, and subdued it wholly from the *Pyrene* mountaines, vnto the *Ocean* sea, was made Consul, and passed by order of the senat into *Africk*, thereby to draw *Hanniball* out of *Italy* to the defence of his owne country, and such was his successe, that *Hanniball* after fourteen yeares warre, which he had made in *Italy*, was forced to returne to *Carthage*, to defend it, and was shortlie after ouerthrowne by *Scipio*, wherevpon the *Carthaginien*es, craued peace, and obtained it with hard conditions, as that their nauy of sixe hundred saile, should be burnt, which was performed, and so ended the second *Punick* warr, and *Scipio* remained with the honorable title of *Africanus*.

18 And yet I cannot omitt to note, that in this meane time, the *Romans* had also great losses, and disgraces otherwere, as by the *Gauls* who killed *Lucius Posthumius* the designed Consul, and all his armie of twentie five thousand men, the yere after their ouerthrow at *Canna*. Besides that the two *Scipios* father, and vncke to *Africanus*, were slaine in *Spain* by *Asdrubal*, *Hannibals* brother, who afterwards passing into *Italy*, to the succour of his brother *Hannibal*, was killed himselfe in battaile with sixty three thousand *Africans*, *Spaniards*, and *Gauls*, by the two Consuls, *Caius*, *Clodius* *Nero*, and *M. Linius Salinator*.

19 Also the *Romans* were forced during these their afflictions, and miseries in *Italy*, to maintaine warres in *Macedonie*, against *Philip* king thereof, and in *Sardinia*, and *Sicilie*, where there passed also in this time, the surprise of *Syracusa*, by *M. Claudius Marcellus*, who was afterwards slaine by *Hannibal* (as I haue already declared) and this sege of *Syracusa*, was famous by the notable endeouours of the great *Geometrician* *Archimedes*.

O ij

who

who with his admirable engines, defended the citie a long time against *Marcellus*, so that it is hard to say, whether the *Romans* were more to be pittied for their distressed, and miserable state, or to be admired for their courage, and power in that they were able to sustaine, and passe through so great, and continuall calamities, and doubtles they could neuer haue done it, if God had not, as I haue said, verie particularlie protected, and assisted them, for the erection of their Monarchie, to the which his diuine Maiestie beganne now at this time (I meane at the end of the second warre of *Carthage*) to open a great gate: propagating greatly their dominion in diuers parts, and yet so, that their scourge, and punishment euer accompanied, or speedelie seconded their good successe, and encrease of empire, as shall appeare throughout all the ensuing discourse.

20 Now then, a few moneths after the end of the second warre of *Carthage*, first the Consul *Servius Sulpicius Galba*, and shortlie after *T. Quinctius Flaminius*, were sent into *Macedonie*, where, with manie cruel battailes, and great losse of his owne souldiars, *Flaminius* constrained *Philip* the King to craue peace, which he graunted him with hard conditions, as to render all his galleis to the *Romans*, except fiftie, & to pay them foure thousand weight of siluer, for tenne yeares space. And by this meane he deliuered also the *Grecians* from the oppression of King *Philip*, and restored them to their ancient liberty, for the which he gained great honour, and fame in *Greece*, and had after wardes a glorious triumph in *Rome* for his victorie.

21. But this good fortune was counterpoysed with the great disgrace, that an other *M. Claudius Marcellus*, receiued presentlie after of the *Boian Toscan*, who ouerthrew him, and killed a great part of his armie, though after wards they were also vtterly vanquished by him, and by his fellow Consul *L. Furius*. And about the same time, *Sempronius Tuditanus* was discomfited in *Spaine*, and slaine with al his Army, besides that *Rome* it selfe, and diuers partes of *Italie*, were greatly infested with frequent earthquakes, and inundations, especiallie in the yeare fise hundred sixtie one, at what time *Bozins* affirmeth, (according to the opinion of diuerse, as he saith) that the great deluge happened, whereof *Pliny* speaketh, which drowned twenty three townes in a part of the *Roman* territorie called *Pontinum*, and that *Rome* was greatly endammaged the same yeare, with twelue seuerall inundations.

22 The yeare before, to witt fise hundred and threescore, beganne the *Sirian* warre, by reason that *Hannibal*, vnderstanding that the *Romans* sought to haue him deliuered into their handes, fled from *Africa* to *Andalusia*

An. 554.

An. 556.

Oro. l. 4. c. 20.

Eutrop. l. 4.

Plutarc. in

Quin. Flam.

An. 557.

An. 558.

Oro. l. 4. c. 20.

An. 561.

Boz. de nouo

G. ant. Ital.

Plin. natur.

lib. li. 3. c. 5.

Bozins ibid.

num. 91.

An. 560.

King of Syria, &c perswaded him to passe out of Asia, into Europe, to make warre vpon the Romans, and Antiochus after diuers bloudie battailes (in one of the which the Consul M. Accilius Glabrio put to flight, and slew fortie thousand of his souldiars) was finallie ouercome both by sea, and by land, by L. Cornelius Scipio, with the helpe of his brother Scipio Africanus who was content to be his liutenant generall in that warre. For which victories Lucius Scipio had the title of Asiaticus, as his brother had of Africanus.

Oro. l. 4. c. 20

An. 563.

23 And during this warre, the Romans had also other warres, with the Ligures in Italy, and with the Celtiberians, and other people in Spaine, but not with like good successe. For Publius Dicitius the Prator, lost almost all his armie in Spaine, &c Lucius Aemilius the Proconsul, was not onlie slaine himselfe, by the Lusitanians, but also all his armie cut in peeces. And Lucius Bebius, passing towards Spaine, was also killed by the way, with his whole armie, by the Ligures, in such sort, that there remained not one man of them aliue, to carrie the newes to Rome, where it was first vnderstood from Marsilia, and Quintus Martius, the Consul thinking to be reuenged of the Ligures, for the slaughter of Lucius Bebius, was put to flight, with the losse of foure thousand men, and hardlie saued himselfe, and the rest of his armie.

Idem ibid.

An. 563.

24 At this time also was detected, the beastly, and abominable abuses of the Bacchanalia, (which as I haue declared in the seauenth chapter) were certaine feastes celebrated in the night, by men, and women, in honour of the God Bacchus, wherein Adulteries, Incest, Sodomie, Murders, and al kind of mischeefe, were partlie executed, and partlie continued, and of this confraternitie were discovered aboue seauen thousand in Rome, of whome verie many both men, and women were put to death, and the rest fled.

Num. 19.

Linus Dep.

4. li. 9.

An. 568.

25 And here I cannot forbear to put thee in mind, good Reader, of another calamitie, wherewith (as I haue declared before) the Romans were continuallie vexed, more or lesse, though I haue not spoken thereof in these latter times, to wit their domesticall diuisions, which at this time, whereof I now treat, grew to such extreame malignitie, that the famous Scipio Africanus/ notwithstanding his great merits, was falsely accused, to haue defrauded the common welth, and forced by the malice of calumniators, to lead a banished life, at Linternum, where he died three yeares after, to wit, the same yeare, that Hannibal his competitor in martiall glorie poisoned himselfe, fearing that Prusias King of Bithinia, would deliuer him to the Romans. And in like manner, the other Scipio his brother, called Asiaticus, was condemned to prison vpon pretence, that he

An. 567.

Linus Dep.

4. li. 8.

An. 571.

Idem ibid.

Valer. Max.

li. 5.

also had defrauded the common welth, for his owne priuie commoditie.
 26 The next yeare after the death of *Scipio Africanus*, and *Hannibal*, they fell in *Rome* a prodigious rayne of blood two dayes together, beside diuers other feareful presages of some future calamity, which as it seemeth foreshowed a most cruel plague that presently followed, as well in *Rome*, as ouer all *Italy*, & lasted a boue three yeares, in which time it almost dispeopled the citie, and cuntry, and amongst others, died the Consul *Calpurnius Piso*, and manie woorthy, and notable men, to the greate damage of the commo welth. Neuertheles it may be obserued here, that almighty God punished the *Romans* at home at this time, so he dilated, & amplified their empire abroad, namely in *Spaine* where *Fulius* the *Prator* ouerthrew in battaile 23. thousand men, & tooke 4000. of the prisoners, *Lucius Postumius* defeated 40 thousand, and *Gracchus* the *Prator* tooke 200. rounes, and citties, and slew 22. thousand *Celiberians*.

27 With in a few yeares after succeded one of the greatest warrs that the *Romans* euer had for the time it lasted, to wit the second warr of *Macedony* against king *Persus*, who gaue the *Romans* many great ouerthrowes, both by lād, & sea, slew greate numbers of them, sould many of the for slaues, & kept many in captiuitie, and seruitud in *Macedony*, though in the end he was subdued with incredible facility, & speede, by *Paulus Aemilius*, who lead him, and his children prisoners to *Rome*, and triumphed there most magnificently, hauing not onlie made *Macedonia* a prouince of the *Romans*, but also much encreased their treasure by the spoile thereof, in so much, that the people had no neede to pay any tribut (as in former times they were wont to doe) vntil the cōsulat of *Hircius*, & *Pansa*, in the beginning of the raigne of *Augustus Caesar*, which was about a 100 yeares after.
 28 And now vpon this occasion I can not forbear, good Reader, for thy further satisfaction to represent vnto thee the forme of a *Roman* triūphe, & to exemplify the same in the triumph of this *Paulus Aemilius*, which lasted three dayes with no lesse pompe, and magnificence, then varietie of gratefull shoues and spectacles in this manner.

29 The first day, there were lead through the citie, 200 fifty carts, or waines, loadden with most excelent images, & pictures of all sorts, brought from *Macedony*, which were so manie, that al that day was spent in their passage. The second day there passed in like manner al the richest, & fairest armour of the *Macedoniās*, notably wel furbished, together with their bucklers, shilds, targets, swordes, pikes, quiuers of arrowes, *Thracian* hatchets, & other weapōs, tied loosely together, in such sort that they made a horrible noyse with their motion, & the shock of one of them against an other, thereby to represent the terrour, & horreur of warre, as well to

An. 372.

Linus Dec.

4. li. 9.

Idem ibidem

li. 10.

An. 374.

Eutrop. l. 4.

An. 374.

Oro. l. 4. c. 20

An. 375.

Linus Dec.

4. li. 10.

An. 386.

Linus Dec.

5. li. 4. & 5.

Oro. l. 4. c. 20

Plutarc. in

uita Pauli

Aemil.

Plutarc. ibid

the care as to the eye. And after followed also the same day, seauen hundred fiftie vessels, euery one capable of three talents, wherein was caried an admirable quantity of coined money, & siluer medals, by 3. thousand men, that is to say foure to euery vessel, which they bore vpon their shoulders, besides that others carried in their handes, siluer cupps, goblets, bowles, basins, and ewers, no lesse remarkable for their sundry strange fashions, then for their quantitie, and greatnes.

30. The third day early in the morninge, there passed al the trumpets of the army, sounding after the manner of warre. And after them a hundred & twentie bulls, with their hornes gilt, & garlands vpon their heades, were lead, by as manie gallant yong men to be sacrificed, and others bare the bowles, and cups of siluer, and gold, which were vsed in sacrifice, and presently after followed three hundredth, and eight men, bearing seauentie seauen great vessels full of gold coine, (foure men to euery vessel) in the same manner that the siluer was caried the day before, and after this there was caried a cuppe, dedicated by *Paulus Aemilius*, to the gods, which cost tenne talents of gold, being richly sett with gemmes, & precious stones; and next after went all the rich plate of gold, that King *Perses* had taken from *Antigenus Seleucus*, and other princes, and was wont to vse in his most sumptuous bankets.

31. Then followed the chariot, & armour of King *Perses*, together with his royall crowne, and after went his children, lead prisoners, being two boyes, and a girle, but so yonge, that they had no apprehension of their owne miserie, and therefore moued the behoulders to greater compassion: with them went also a multitude of their officers, schole-masters, and seruants, all of them turninge on euerie side towards the people, as they went, and houlding vp their handes to them in forme of suppliants, which they also made the Kinges children to doe.

32. After them followed King *Perses* himselfe on horseback, reuclted in his royall robes but so dismaied, and astonished with the consideration of his owne miserie, that he seemed to haue lost his wits, being accompanied with a dolefull troope of his cheefe nobility, counsellours, freendes, & fauorits, houlding downe their heads, & yet casting other whiles such pitifull glancing lookes vpon their King, that they seemed more to lament his fortune, then their owne. And after al this, there were caried foure hundred croffnes of gold, which had bene sent, and presented by generall citties to *Aemilius* to congratulate his victorie, who followed the same himselfe vpon a most sumptuous chariot appareled in purple, embrodered with gold, carying in his right hand a bough of bayes, or lawrel, & secóded with al his army, crowned with garlands of bayes,

who

who being deuided into squadrons, followed his charriot, singing his praise with all ioy, and exultation, whereto the people applauded with incredible contentement.

33 Thus ended the triumph of *Paulus Aemilius* in whom *Pharuchobolus* ueth notable the inconstancie of al humane felicity, in that his triumphant glorie, was checked with the death of his two sonnes, of whom the one died fīue dayes before his triumph, and the other three dayes after, which neuertheles he bore with admirable constancie, & patience, assembling the people after the buriall of his second sonne, and vsing vnto them a most prudent, and magnanimous speech, wherein he admonished them of the frailty, and instabilitie of all humane things, signifying vnto them, that from the beginnunge of his *Macedonian* warr, he had greatlie suspected the extraordinarie successe, first of his prosperous passage into *Macedony*, and after of the incredible speede of his victorie, hauing taken the king, and his children prisoners within fifteene daies, after his arriual there, in which respect he euer feared, as he said, some frowne, or check of fortune, which might obscure the glorie of his conquests, with some publike disgrace, but now seeing, that the disaster was fallen onlie vpon himselfe, and his owne familie, he hoped that the felicitie of his victory would remaine cleare, stable, and assured to the common welth, which he would hold for a sufficient comfort, and recompence of his priuat calamitie. Thus saith this wise, and magnanimous *Roman*, which I could not omitt to touch by the way, to serue for a holosome document, of the small trust that ought to be repofed in humane happines.

34 And now to proceede. After this immediatlie followed a most dangerous warre with the *Celtiberians* in *spaine*, which was so terrible to the *Romans*, that no man durst vndertake to goe thither, either as a souldier, or as *Emballadour*, vntill at length, yonge *Scipio*, who afterwards razed *Carthage*, offered himselfe to the enterprise, and happilie performed it, whiles neuertheles in the meane time, *Sergius Galba* the prætor, lost his whole armie in a battaile with the *Lusitanians*, and verie hardlie escaped himselfe with a few.

35 Then followed the third, and last warre with the *Carthaginians*, vpon breach of couenants on their part, wherevpon the *Romans* beleaged *Carthage*, which was twentie miles about, and defended it selfe foure yeares with great bloudshed on both partes, and great disgrace to the two *Roman* Consuls *L. Censorius*, and *M. Manlius*, whom the *Carthaginians* defeated. But the fourth yeare *Scipio*, (who was therefore called *Africanus*, no lesse then the former) partlie burned it, and partly razed it, and

Plutar. ibid.

An. 603.

Idem ibid.

An. 605.

Oros. ibid. c.

22. & 23.

Eutrop. li. 4.

the very same yeare the Romans also tooke and destroyed the famous citie of Corinth; And during all these great warres in Macedonia, Syria, Spaine, and Africk, they had also diuerse other with the Etolians, Histrians, Gallonians, or Gallathians, & the Ilirians, al which warres so farr from home, with what great paine, & difficultie, extreame charges and oppression to the common welth, and continuall losse of blood they were sustained amidst so many great ouerthrowes, and disgraces, as I haue signified, anie man may casely iudge.

36 Neuertheles these former times may seeme verie tollerable in respect of those, which are to follow, for presentlie vpon the destruction of Carthage, I meane the very same yeare in the consulat of Lucius Cornelius, and L. Mumius, one Viriatus, a Lusitanian, or Portugues (as now we call them) being basely borne, first beganne to robb vpon the high wayes, and after assembling other theeves, infested whole prouinces, and within a while grew so strong, that he was able to make warre vpon the Romans, & presumed to beare the ensignes of the Consuls of Rome, ouerthrew Caius Vellius the praetor, and killed almost al his armie, and then discomfited Caius Plautius in manie battailes, and shamefully disgraced Claudius Primumus, with the slaughter of al his army, wherein consisted the greatest force of the Romans at that time. Finallie he continued to molest, and trouble the Roman empire, for foureteene yeares together, vntill at length he was slaine by his owne souldiars, hauing killed in warre about threescore thousand Romans, as Florus testifieth.

An. 908.
Oros. l. 5. c. 4.
Eutrop. li. 4.

37 Also at the same time, Appius Claudius the Consul, receiued a great disgrace by the Gaules, with the losse of tenne thousand of his souldiars, and the next yeare followinge, Rome was visited in the old manner, with a most strange, & horrible plague, which made such destruction of people therein, that there were not men inough aliue, to burie the dead, nor heires to be found to enherit ample, and great patrimonies, and finallie the stinck of the dead bodies, & the corruption of the aire was such, that no man could endure of a long time to come neere the cittie.

Florus li. 3.

38 The next yeare after, beganne the warr with the cittie of Numantia in spaine, which resisted all the force of the Romans foureteene yeares, with only foure thousand men, and first ouerthrew the Consul Q. Pompeius, & after C. Hostilius Mancinus, forcing them to make two dishonorable, and shamefull peaces, though Mancinus had in his armie thirtie thousand me, and albeit the senate allowed the first peace, yet they refused to admit the latter, & therefore caused their consul Mancinus to be deliuered to the Numantins naked, with his hands bound behind him, who was left so by the Romans before the towne of Numantia, a whole day together, and yet

An. 611.
Oros. l. 5. c. 4.
Eutrop. lib. 4.
An. 612.
Idem ibid.

An. 617.
An. 613.
Orosius c.
Eutrop. ibid.

Oros. lib. 5.
ca. 6.

the *Numantins* would not receiue him. In conclusion the towne being afterwards long besieged by *Scipio Africanus*, & the inhabitants finding themselves not able longer to resist, they burnt themselves, and their towne, in such sort, that no one of them could be taken prisoner, to be caried in triumph to *Rome*. About the same time *Lepidus* the proconsul, receiued a shameful ouerthrow of the *Vaccei*, a people in *Spain*, & lost 6000. *Romans*, in punishment as it may be thought of the iniust warre, which he made vpon the *Vaccei*, against the expresse order of the Senat: But this disgrace was recompensed in an other part of *Spain*; with the victorie of *Brutus*, who slew in battail 50. thousand *Gallians*, & took 6. thousand prisoners.

An. 619.
Orosius li. 5.
c. 5.

Eutrop. li. 4.

39 In the meane time there arose in *Sicily* a great rebellion of seauentie thousand slaues, who foiled diuers great armies of the *Romans*, & by their exaple, many thousands also of slaues tooke armes in diuerse other prouinces, who in the end were either killed, or crucified. And in *Rome* there grew the famous sedition, of *Tiberius Gracchus* Tribune of the people, who to be reuenged of the senat, for that it charged him to be some cause of the shamefull peace made with the *Numantins*, stirred vp the people to sedition, with the proposition of new lawes for the equal diuision of the legacy, which *Attalus* the king of *Pergamus*, had giuen to the common welth of *Rome*, in which sedition *Tiberius Gracchus* was slaine with two thousand of the people, that tooke armes in his defence.

An. 622.
Oros. li. 5. c. 8.

An. 623.
Oros. li. 5.
ca. 10.
Eutrop. li. 4.

40 And presently after this, the Consul *P. Licinius Crassus*, being assisted with the forces of the kings *Nicomedes* of *Bithinia*, *Mithridates* of *Pontus*, & *Armenia*, *Ariaratus* of *Capadocia*, and *Philomenus* of *Paphlagonia*, was ouerthrowne, & a great part of his army slaine by *Aristonicus* brother to the king *Attalus* in *Asia*, and *Crassus* himselfe flying was killed by a *Thracian*, whom he chauced to stricke in the eye with his riding rod, whose death and disgrace was after reuenged by the consul *Perpenna*, & *Aristonicus* taken, & sent to *Rome*, where he was strangled in prison. And the yeare following the famous *Scipio Africanus*, (who destroyed *Carthage*) hauing bene forced to plead publikelie for his honour, and life, in answer of certaine calumniations imposed vpon him, by the malignitie of his aduersaries was found the next day in the morninge dead in his bed, which *Orosius* and *Eutropius*, do reckon amongst the other infelicities of the common welth, and for an example of the great ingratitude of the *Romans*, and a lamentable effect of their ciuill dissensions.

An. 624.

An. 625.

Idem ibid.

Oros. li. 5. c. 11
Eutrop. li. 4.

41 About this time also there came flying into *Africke*, such innumerable swarms of Locusts, that they destroyed all the fruit of the earth, and there followed such an vniuersall pestilence in all those parts, that there died thirty thousand *Roman* souldiars, who were in garrison at *Pica*, and there

there about for the guard of the country, besides a million and eighty thousand of all sorts of people in *Africk*. *An. 629.*

42 Shortly after followed in *Rome*, the sedition of *Caius Gracchus*, brother to *Tiberius*, who following his brothers example, made the like, or rather a greater tumult, & was slaine with about two hundred & fifty of the people, which tooke his part, besides that *Opimius* the consul did put to death, for the same cause 3. thousand others, of whome manie were innocent. *An. 633. Oros. l. 5. c. 12. Eutropius li. 4. Orosius cap. 13. & 14.*

About the same time *Metellus* subdued the Ilands of *Maiorica* & *Minorica*: *Gneus Domitius* slew 20000. *Sauoyans*, and *Fabius* the Consul, ouerthrew a huge armie of *Bituitus* king of a part of *France*, in which battaill 50000. *Gauls* were partly slaine, and partly drowned.

43 Ere long after beganne the warre of *Iugurthina* king of *Numidia* in *Africk*, who hauing ouerthrowne *Aulus Posthumius*, & his armie of forty thousand men, drew al *Africk* from the obedience of the *Romans*, & being confederat with *Bocchus* king of the *Moors*, was after many bloody conflicts with *Caius Marius*, put to flight, with his confederat *Bocchus*, who betrayed, and deliuered him to the *Romans*. *An. 643. An. 644. Orosius eod. l. c. 15. Eutrop. lib.*

44 This warre was not ended, when the *Cimbri*, *Tentones*, *Tigurini*, and *Ambroni* people of *Gallia* (now called *Fraunce*) & of *Germany*, conspired together to assaile *Italy*, to ouerthrow the *Roman* state: And being encountered by *Caius Manlius* the consul, killed him, his two sonnes, & a hundred twentie thousand of his men, in so much that there was but only tenne left aliue of all his armie, which filled al *Rome* with no lesse sorrow then feare. But in the end, the Consul *C. Marius*, hauing had two yeares doubtfull and bloody warre with them, killed three hundred and forty thousand of them, and tooke a hundred and forty thousand prisoners, besides an innumerable company of women, who fought no lesse then the men, & rather then they would be takē aliue, killed theselues, & their childre. *An. 649. Orosius ibid c. 16. Eutrop. li. 5. an. 653.*

45 But who can sufficiently expresse, the calamities, that presently followed vpon this victorie, when *Caius Marius* being returned triumphar to *Rome*, & chosen Consul the sixt time, conspired with *Saturninus* the Tribune of the people, and *Glaucia* the prætor, against the worthy *Metellus Numidicus*, whom they banished to the great discontent, and sorrow of al good men, and after fell to variance amongst themselves, *Marius* taking part with the better sort against *Saturninus*, wherevpon there grew a great warre in the citty, and horrible slaughter of a great number of the people, and manie principall senators, and amongst the rest, of *Saturninus* and *Glaucia*, with diuers others their friends. *An. 654. Oros. l. 5. c. 17 Eutrop. li. 5.*

46 After this succeded such prodigious things in diuers parts of *Italy*, that all men were astonished therewith, and did easilie pronosticar some

Plinius natural. hist. li.
2. cap. 83.

Oros. l. 5. c. 18
Eutrop. li. 5.

Idem Ibid.

An. 664.

Ibidem.

An. 666.

Oros. l. 5. c. 19
Eutrop. li. 5.

some great miserie to the common welth : for to let passe many other things, two mountains in the territory of *Modena* ranne one against the other diuers times, with a terrible noyse, and in the end retired to their places againe, whilst also in the meane time, great flames of fire, and a boundance of smoke issued from betwixt them, and with this conflict of these two hills, diuers villages, and great store of cattle, which were betwixt them, were ouerwhelmed, and destroyed in the sight of manie *Romans*, and other passingers, who at the same time were traueiling that way. Also all kind of cattle, and beastes, aswell domestickall, as other fell mad, and ranne howlinge, and roaring vp, & downe the fields, & woods, not suffering anie man to approach them. All which was seconded with a generall league of the *Picentes*, *Vestini*, *Marfi*, *Peligni*, *Marrucini*, *Samnites*, and *Lucani*, who tooke armes to deliuer themselues from the dominion of the *Romans*. *Pompey* the *Prator* being sent against them by the senate, was ouerthrowne by the *Picentes*. *L. Iulius Cesar*, was likewise put to flight by the *Samnites*, and his armie cut in peeces. *Rutilius* the Consul was himselfe slaine by the *Marfi*, with many noble men, and eight thousand *Romans*. *Capio* with his whole armie, had the like successe, by an ambushment of the *Vestini*, and *Marfi*, al which caused such lamentation, & feare in *Rome*, that the senators, and all the citizens put on mourning apparell, and although in the end, all those confederats were vtterlie vanquished by *Marinus Silla*, *Cn. Pompeius*, *Porcius Cato*, and other *Roman* Captaines, yet the citie of *Rome* was reduced to such penurie and necessitie, that they were forced to take from the *Augures*, *Bishops*, and *Flamini*, many houses, and possessions, which they had about the *Capitoll*, and to sell them, to buy corne for the publike prouision.

47 And before this warre was ended, beganne not only the warrs, with the great King *Mithridates*; but also the ciuil warrs betwixt *Marinus*, and *Silla*, whereof it would be to long to relate the occasion, with all the lamentable effects, but to say some what of both. It being vnderstood in *Rome*, that *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, and *Armenia* the lesse, did not onlie make warre vpon *Nicomedes* king of *Bithinia* (who was confederat with the *Romans*) but also had in one daie caused a hundreth and fiftie thousand *Roman* citezens to be killed in *Asia*, where they partlie dwelled, and partlie negotiated, and traueyled as passengers, it was resolued by the senat, that the Consul *L. Cornelius Silla*, should goe against *Mithridates*, and he being already on the way with his army, but somewhat detained in *Campania*, to end the foresaid warre of the confederats (whereof there was yet some relicks there) he vnderstood, that *Marinus* in *Rome* practised to be made Consul, the seauenth time, and

to haue the honour and charge of the warre against *Mithridates*, where
 oppon *Silla* returned in furie with his armie to *Rome*, and being resisted,
 and encountred by *Marinus*, and his freinds, put *Marinus* to flight and then
 marched forward into *Greece* against *Mithridates*, *Marinus* flying in the
 meane tyme, and being taken escaped out of prison, assembled a great
 number of fugitiues, and ioyning him selfe with *Cinna*, who was then
 one of the Consuls, and with *Sertorius*, and *Carbo*, ouerthrew *Plantius*, and An. 667.
 his whole armie, and spoyled diuers cityes, and committed horrible
 cruelties in theyr way towards *Rome*, and *Pompey* being in the meane
 tyme called by the senat to ioyne with *Cn. Octavianus*, the other consul,
 and hauing had an vnfortunat conflict with *Sertorius*, was killed with a
 thunderbolt, and all his armie consumed with the plague.

48 *Marinus*, and *Cinna* entring *Rome*, filled the citty with blood, and kil- Florus l. 86.
an. 668.
 led, saith *Florus*, all the nobility, delighting and recreating themselues
 with the horrible spectacle of the heads of the senatours, which they
 caused to be brought into their banketts, and sett vp in diuers parts; and Orof. lib. 5.
ca. 19.
 so barbarous was their crueltie, that it sufficed for the death of anyman yf Eutropius
li. 5.
Marinus did not offer him his hand to kisse, or gyue him good coun-
 tenaunce, when he came to salute him, which the souldiars obserued,
 as a signe, or watchword, for the slaughter of manie noble men, where-
 upon those few senatours which escaped fled into *Greece*, with *Sillas* wife,
 and children to craue his ayde for the defence of the common welth,
 whiles in the meane time, *Marinus* (hauing made himselfe consul, the sea-
 uenth tyme, with *Cinna*) died, and *Cinna* hauing also satiated himselfe
 with the blood not onlie of the good, and innocent, but also of the eight
 thousand fugitiues (which came to *Rome* with *Marinus*) was killed by
 his owne souldiars.

49 *Silla* hauing ouerthrowne *Archelam* capitaine of *Mithridates*, in three Orof. li. 6
ca. 2.
 battayles, and killed in the first aboute a hundred thousand of his eni-
 myes, with the losse of only thirteene souldiers of his owne, and in the
 second battaile, fiftie thousand, and in the last the whole armie of *Ar-
 chelam*, forced *Mithridates*, to craue peace, which he graunted, to the end
 he might bend his forces, against yonge *Marinus* sonne to the other, and
Carbo who being then at *Rome*, and both of them consuls, sent forth their
 captaines to encounter *Silla*, and to hinder his passage, who vanquished
 them with great bloodshed, and when he came to *Rome*, he fought a-
 most cruel, and bloudie battaile with yong *Marinus*, wherein were slaine
 on the part of *Marinus* fourescore thousand men, and entering into the
 citie he killed, three thousand, some say foure thousand, which had
 yealded them selues vnto him, vpon his promise of security. And so ge-
 ncrall

Orof. li. 5.
ca. 20.
Strabo. li. 5.

nerall was the slaughter which he made there, of good, and bad, innocent, and nocent, that nine thousand of his owne freendes were killed amongst the rest.

50 Then followed the most infamous, and cruel proscriptions, or outlawries, that euer were heard of, for, aboue fourescore thousand men in *Rome*, and abroad, were proclaimed outlawes, their goods to be confiscate, and themselues to be slaine, which was also executed vpon as manie of them, as could be found, yea, and great slaughters were committed in diuers parts, and especially in *Preneeste*, and *Sulmo*, in both which cities, all the citizens were condemned by *Silla* to be slaine, as though they had bene but one man, which was also performed, and the citties sacked by the souldiars, onlie because they had fauoured *Marius*. In like manner, he vtterlie destroied the cheefe cittie of the *Sannits*, and manie other in their iurisdiction, and deuied diuerse parts of *Italie* amongst a hundred tenne thousand of his souldiars, partly killing, and partlie expelling the ancient inhabitants.

51 To conclude, yt is noted by the historiographers, that in the space of tenne yeares, to wit, during these last two warrs of the confederats, and this ciuill warre, there were slaine aboue one hundred fiftie thousand *Roman* souldiars, twentie foure principall men, that had bene consuls, six that had bene praetors, three score which had bene *Aedils*, and almost two hundred senatours, besides an infinit number of people throughout *Italy*.

52 So that I thinke a greater miserie of a countrie cannot be imagined, especiallie if yt be considered withall, that the fyre of this ciuill warre, was but, as yt were, raked vp for a while in ashes, and shortlie brake forth againe into new flames, which burned manie yeeres, for *Silla* hauing of his owne free will, to the wonder of all men deposed his dictatorship, and ended his daies in a priuate state, whereas he might easilie haue made himselfe monarch (which no doubt he did not because the time, which God had prefixed for the erection of the monarchie was not yet expired) certaine freendes of *Marius*, namely the consul, *Lepidus Brutus*, and *Sertorius*, made new broyles, and although the two former were in one sommer suppress (but with much bloodshed) yet the last, to wit *Sertorius*, held warres in *Spain* against *Metellus*, and *Pompey* eightene yeares, and gaue them manie great disgraces, and ouerthrowes, vntill at last he was killed by his owne men.

53 In the meane tyme, there arose foure other great warrs, to wit, in *Macedony*, *Dalmatia*, *Pamphilia*, and the infamous warre of the fugitiues

Eutrop. li. 5.

Orosius. li. 5.
c. 21.

Flor. li. 89.
Appian. li. 1.

Oros. ibid.
c. 22.

An. 675.
Idem ibid.

Idem c. 23.
Eutrop. li. 6.

An. 681.

vnder
Finan
profe
male
his c
threw
the se
and i
and d
as th
to R
they
milci
Roman
batta
and
Germ
54
they
spok
ere t
with
to th
uert
Publ
final
last
Lucu
Mich
thrid
cam
of h
Arr
men
own
forc
slau
and
not
55

under *Spartacus* the Gladiator or fensor and his companions *Chrizzo*, and *Tismao*, who being in prison in *Capua* with seauenty one other of their profession, brake out, and assembled so manie rogues, vagabonds, and malefactors, that first they put to flight *Clodius* the prætor, and spoyled his campe, and after procuring aide of the *Gaules*, and *Germans*, ouerthrew *Gneus Lentulus* the consul, and after that againe defeated both the same *Lentulus*, and the other consul *Lucius Gellius* his companion, and in their fourth battaile they killed *Caius Cassius* the proconsul, and discomfited, all his armie, with no lesse terroure to the *Romans*, as the *Historiographers* report, then when *Hannibal* made his approach to *Rome*: and finallie ranging vp, and downe *Italy* three yeares, they committed infinit cruelties, spoyles, rapes, and all kind of mischeefe, vntill at last hauing giuen seauen ouerthrowes to the *Romans*, they were cut in peeces by *M. Licinius Crassus*, who in three battailes killed, and tooke prisoners, a hundred thousand of them, and their confederats, of whome thirtie thousand were *Gaules*, and *Germans*.

*Oros. li. 5.
c. 24.
Eutrop. li. 6.*

An. 682.

*Oros. li. 5.
ca. 24.
Eutrop. li. 6.*

An. 684.

54 And yet whiles the *Romans* were thus miserable vexed in *Italy*, they were faine to maintain those other great warrs (whereof I spoke before) in *Spainy*, *Macedony*, *Dalmatia*, and *Pamphilia*, and ere the warre in *Macedonie* was ended, *Mithridates*, also broke peace with them, and renewed his former warrs, with redoubled forces to the great terroure, and danger of the *Roman* state, all which neuertheles was after a few yeares prosperoullie ended, by *M. Lucullus*, *Publius Seruilius*, *C. Scribonius*, *Lucius Lucullus*, brother to *Marcus*. And finallie by *Gneus Pompeius*, surnamed the great, of all which the two last left eternal memorie of their prowesse to all posterity; for *L. Lucullus* gaue manie notable ouerthrowes to the two potent kings, *Mithridates*, and *Tigranes*, aswell ioyntlie, as seuerallie. He put *Mithridates* to flight, and cut in peeces all his armie at the citie *Cyricam*, and ouerthrew him againe in *Pontus*, and slew sixty thousand of his souldiars, he discomfited also *Tigranes* king of the greater *Armenia*, and put to the sword a hundred thousand of his footemen, and almost all his horse, with the losse of onlie syue of his owne men, though he had not the twentieth part of his enimyes forces: finallie he put them both to flight in *Armenia*, with an incredible slaughter of their huge armie, and had vndoubtedly subdued them both, and fully ended that warre, if a great mutinie of his owne souldiars had not hindred the prosecution of his victory.

*Oros. li. 5.
ca. 23.*

*Oros. l. 6. c. 2.
Plutar. in
vita Lucull.*

55 But what wanted on his part, was after supplied and performed by

by

*idem in
Pompeio.*

by *Cneus Pompeius*, who succeeding him in his charge, vtterly vanquished them both, and depriued them of a great part of their states, and kingdomes, and made them tributorie for the rest to the *Romans*. Besides that he subdued also twentie other kings, and tooke aboute a thousand castells, and fortresses, nine hundred cities, and eight hundred saile of shippes, to the great glorie of the *Romans*, and encrease of their dominions ouer all *Asia*, and manie other countries (eastward, as also *Iulius Caesar*, had thelike successe in fiftie battailes which he fought with the *Gauls*, *Heluetians*, and *Germans*, of whom a million, and a hundreth nintie, and two thousand were slaine by the *Romans* vnder his conduct.

Caesar in comen. belli gall. li. 1. 3. 6.

Plut. in Iulio Cesare.

Eutrop. li. 6.

Dan. 2.

An. 684.

56 For now the tyme approching, which almighty god had in his infinit wisdome and deuine prouidence, appointed for their aduancement, to the monarchie of the world (according to the prediction of the prophets), he gaue them a continuall course of victorious conquests, for the propagation of their empire, fifteteene yeares together, I meane, from the warre of the fugitiues, which ended in the yeare fixe hundred eightie foure, vnto the second consulat of *Pompey*, and *Crassus*, which was in the yeare fixe hundred nintye nine.

An. 688.

Plutarc. in Pompeio.

57 Wherein neuertheles yt may be noted, that the execution of Gods iustice, was no losse notorious in their punishment at home, then the effects of his prouidence in their prosperitie abroad: For ere foure yeares were fully past, after the warres of *Spartacus*, and the other fugitiues, theré brake forth the warre of the pirats, who being but a few in the beginning of the ciuill warrs betwixt *Marius*, and *Silla*, grew by litle, and litle, to such number, strength, and audacious pride, that they not onlie spoyled all passengers without exception, but also tooke whole Ilandes into their possession, and manie townes, and cities vpon the sea coast, to the number of foure hundred, whereof they fortified manie, hauing their *Arsenals*, and different nauyes, in different parts, mounting to the number of a aboute a thousand sayle.

Idem ibid.

58 And such were their riches, and pompe, that they had golden masts, oares of siluer, and sayles of purple, their insolencie, and impietie was such, that they committed all kind of villanies in rapes, murders and sacriledge, hauinge spoyled a hundred, and seauenteene of the most principall, and famous temples of the gods, that were in those dayes. Finallie they made so litle account of the power of the *Romans*, that they tooke their *Prators*, and magistrates prisoners, and put them to ranfome, abusing them, and all the *Romans* which fell into their handes, with great indignities, contempt & derision, to the incredible disgrace & detriment of the *Roman* state, wherupon *Cneus Pompey* being then of the greatest fame,

and

and reputation in *Rome*, and newlie returned from the *Spanish* wars, was *An. 688.*
 chosen Generall against them: and within three moneths vtterlie ouer-
 drew them.

59 Within two, or three yeares after, *Cicero* being Consul, discouered
 the conspiracie of *Catelin*, which was already growne to that ripenes, & *An. 691.*
 danger to the common welth, that *Catelin* being expelled out of *Rome*, by *Oros. l. 6. c. 6*
Cicero, gaue battaile to *Caius Anthonius*, the other Consul, who slew him, *Entrop. l. 6.*
 and ouerthrew all his armie.

60 Furthermore the old disease of the *Roman* common welth (I meane
 their domesticall diuisions, betwixt the Senate, and the people, yea and
 betwixt the Senatours themselues) was now growne to be so exorbitant
 that all good order in the election of magistrates, and the exercise of ius-
 tice, was turned vpside downe: in so much, that neither vertue, nor wis-
 dome, nor great merits, towards the common welth were respected in
 any man, as might appeare by the banishment of *Cicero*, at the suite of *An. 698.*
 the wicked *Clodius*, and by the wounding of *Cato*, when he resisted the *Plutarch. in*
 violent election of *Pompey* and *Crassus* to their second consular, which they *Cicerone.*
 procured with the terrour of armed men, and lastly by the league, which *Ide in Pom-*
Pompey, and *Crassus* made with *Iulius Caesar*, deuiding the prouinces, and *peio & Crass.*
 publike charges amongst themselues, and their freendes. *An. 699.*
Iulio Caesar.

61 And thus continued this feuer, as I may tearme it, of dissention with
 daillie encrease of dolefull effects, and mortall signes, of a remediles ruine
 speedelie to follow, vntill the flame of ciuill warres growing of *Casars* *An. 700.*
 ambition, ruined the common welth, whereto the ouerthrow, and *Ide in Crass.*
 slaughter of *Crassus*, and his whole armie by the *Parthians*, serued for a la-
 mentable preamble: besides that, the casuall burning of a great part of
Rome shortlie after, was a pittiefull presage, or pronostication thereof. *An. 702.*
Entrop. lib. 6
Oro. l. 6. c. 14.

62 And now to come to the vpsot, I meane the vtter ouerthrow of the
Roman common welth, and change thereof into a Monarchie, it is to be
 vnderstood, that *Iulius Caesar*, returning from *France*, with his victorious
 armie, and being vpon the suspicion of his ambitious designements, pro- *Plutarch. in*
 hibited by the senate to come to *Rome*, except he dismissed his forces (yea *Iulio Caesar.*
 and *M. Antonius*, and *P. Cassius*, tribunes of the people, being also, for the *Oros. l. 6. c. 15*
 fauour they bore him, suspended from their offices, and fled to him from *Entrop. lib. 6*
Rome) he marched forward with his armie, pretending onlie to restore *An. 704.*
 his freendes the tribunes to their offices, wherewith the senate was so
 terrified, that they departed from *Rome* towards *Greece*, recommending
 the protection of themselues, and the common wealth, to *Pompey*, where *An. 705.*
 vpon *Caesar* arriuing at *Rome*, made himselfe Dictator, and possessing him-
 selfe of the publike treasure, which he tooke by force (because it was
 denied

denied to be deliuered him) departed thence shortly after to make war against Pompey, who was not onlie himfelfe in armes, but alfo had sent his captaines with forces to all parts of the Roman empire, for the conseruation thereof. But Caesar after manie bloodie victories, which he gained against Pompeys freendes in diuerse partes, addrest his forces against Pompey himfelfe, with whome he fought two battailes, and being ouerthrowne in the first, gained the latter, wherein he slew fifteen thousand souldiars, and forced Pompey, to abandon the field, who flying to Alexandria in Aegipt, was there slaine by the order of yonge King Ptolemus.

Idē Auctores
ubi supra.

An. 707.
Plutarc. in
Pompeio.

Oro. l. 6. c. 16
Eutrop. li. 6.

63 And although Caesar found afterward great difficulty, and resistance, aswell by the same Prolomus in Aegipt, as also by Pompeys children in Spaine, and his other freendes in Siria, and Africk; yet he ouercame them all in the end, contrarie euen to his owne expectation. For first in a conflict with Achilles, captain of King Prolomus, he was put to flight, and forced to escape away by sea, and to saue his life by swimminge: and againe in his last bataille with Pompeys children, at a towne called Munda in Spaine, he was brought to such an exigent, that hisould souldiars beganne to fly, and he himfelfe was in great feare to be ouerthrowne, and taken, in so much that he was once resolued to kil himfelfe, when presentlie his enemies beganne to runne away, and leaue him both the field, and the victorie, which he prosecuted, vntill he had slaine Sextus Pompeius, Titus Labienus, and Accius Varus, with thirty thousand of their souldiars.

Idem ibid.

An. 709.

Plutarc. in
Iulio Cesare.
Eutrop. li. 6.
Orosius li. 6.
c. 17.

An. 710.

64 This bataille was fought iust the same day foure yeares, that Pompey fled with the senat out of Rome. And Caesar returning thither shortly after, tooke vpon him the title of perpetual Dictator, and the absolute gouernment of the common welth. For the which he grew so odious to the senate, that Brutus, and Cassius with two hundredth sixty Senators, and Knights of Rome conspired to kill him, which they performed in the senat it selfe, giuing him twenty three wounds.

Oros. ibid.
ca. 18.

65 And although the senatours aspiring now to their former libertie, meant to shake of the yoke of seruitude, and therefore beganne againe to take vpon them the gouernment of the common welth, yet the time being come, that God had ordained for the erection of the monarchy, al their endeouour serued to no other purpose, but to redouble their owne calamities, & to produce those effects, which God had in his infinit wisdom praordained. For whereas M. Antonius, being then one of the most potent in the Roman state, had, of his owne priuat authoritie, assembled an army to besiege Decius Brutus in Modena, for reuenge of priuar quarrels

betwixt

betwixt them, the senate sent not onlie the two Consuls *Hircius*, and *Pansa*, but also yonge *Octavianus Caesar*, nephew, and heire to *Iulius Caesar*, with equall authoritie to repress the insolencie of *Antonius*.

Eutropius
li. 7.
An. 711.

Oros. l. 6. c. 18
Eutrop. li. 7.

Idem ibid.
Plutarc. in
M. Antonia.

Plutarc. in
M. Antonio.
Petro Mexim
in vit. Imper
in Augusto.

Dio in Aug.

66 And so it fell out by Gods special providence (no doubt) that though *Antonius* was defeated, and put to flight, yet the battaile was so bloudie on both parts, that *Hircius* one of the Consuls was killed, and *Pansa* the other consul died shortlie after of a wound, whereby the legions which serued vnder them both, came to the cōduct of *Octavianus Caesar*, who hauing enherited no lesse his vncles ambition, then his goods, and being also desirous to reuenge his death, determined to auail him selfe of the oportunitie offred him, and of the great forces, that he had then in his hands. And for as much as *Antonius* was then fled to *Lepidus* (who had ben one of *Iulius Caesars* most confident freendes, and by him placed in the gouernēt of *Fraunce*) *Octavianus* resolued to make freendship with them both, which he performed, and vpon conference, they agreed not onlie to deuide the *Roman* empire amongst them, but also to proscribē, or outlaw almost all the Senat, selling the liues of their nearest kinsfolkes, or dearest freendes one to another, to the end, that euerie one of them might be reuenged on his enimies. And therefore *Antonius* yelded to the proscription of his owne vnclē, and *Lepidus*, of his brother, and *Octavianus* of his tutor, *C. Toranius*, and of *Cicero* his greatest friend, whome he vsed to call father, in respect that he had bene the speciall meanes of his advancement.

67 And this being secretlie determined amongst them, they came to *Rome* with all their forces, and without resistance vsurped the gouernment of the common welth, vnder the name of a *Triumuirat*, beginninge presentlie to put in execution their barbarous proscription, or outlawry, with greater crueltie, and bloodshed of the *Roman* nobility, then had passed vnder *Marius*, or *Silla*: for, three hundred senatours were put to death, and their landes, and goods confiscat, and two thousand other principall *Romans*, were also exposed to the like crueltie, and yet neuertheles they commanded by publick edict, that al men shuld reioyse and show publicke signes of ioy, as *Dio* witnesseth. Wherein I thinke good to note by the way, that, which I haue vpon diuers occasions represented in the first part of this treatise, to wit the course of Gods secret, & iust iudgement, in the execution of his iustice, vpon the senat by a grosse error of the senatours theselues, in that they gaue so great power, & authoritie, as they did, to *Octavianus Caesar*, in whom they might with great reason suspect, and feare, that either the desire to reuenge his vnclē's death, or els his ambition (seconded with the confidence of a stronge

party, by his vncles friendes) might moue him to seeke, for the soueraignty, if euer opportunity should be offered him.

68 And whereas perhaps, they thought him sufficientlie counterpeised, with their two Consuls, it may appeare hereby how short is the sight of the wisest men some times, and how easilie God dissipateth their counsels, & designements, by accidents neuer dreamt of, as he did in this case, by the death of both the Cōsuls, whereby all their power, yea, & the force of the senate, and common welth, fell into the hands of *Octavianus*, contrarie to their expectation, and turned to their vtter ruin, and to the establishment of his Monarchie, though it pleased God to dispose, for the greater affliction, and iust punishment of all the *Roman* state, that there passed first twelue yeares of most bloudie and cruell ciuill warre, which *Octavianus*, and his two Collegues made in diuers parts: first with *Brutus*, and *Cassius*, who were the cheefe conspiratours against *Iulius Caesar*: secondlie with *Lucius Antonius*, who being Consul in *Rome*, sought to ouerthrow their *Triumuirat*: thirdly with *Sextus Pompeius*, who had posselt himselfe of *Sicily*: and lastlie amongst themselves, in which warre *Lepidus* being abandoned by the most part of his souldiars, submitted himselfe vnto *Octavianus*.

Oros. l. 6. c. 18
Eutrop. li. 17
Ibidem.

An. 720.

Plutar. in
Anton.

Idem ibidem
Oro. l. 6. c. 19
Eutrop. li. 7.

Zachar. 6.
Vide Ribera
in 6. c. Zach.

69 About the same time as some suppose, a towne called *Pisaurum* (a colonie of *Antonius*) was whollie swallowed vp by the earth, neere vnto the place, where *Pesaro* (called also in latin *Pisaurum*) now stādeth, which prodigious, and disastrous accidēt, was shortlie after seconded with the vtter ouerthrow, and ruine of *Antonius*, whom *Octavianus* defeated in a nauail battaile at *Actium*, and pursued to *Alexandria* in *Aegypt*, & there ouerthrew him againe by land, wherevpon both *Antonius*, and also *Cleopatra* Queene of *Aegypt*, killed themselves, and all *Aegypt* became subiect to the *Romans*, who then began their empire, as it was foretold by *Zacharias* the Prophet, when he said, that the pyde, and strong horses in the fourth chariot, (signifying the *Romans*) went forth into the South, that is to say, into *Aegypt*, giuing to vnderstand the fourth Monarchie (to wit the *Roman* empire) should then beginne, when the Kingdome of the *Grecians* (that is to say all the successors of *Alexander* the great) should be vtterly ouerthrowne, which was fullie accomplished at this time, when *Octavianus Caesar*, made *Aegypt* a prouince of the *Romans*, by the ouerthrow, and death of the Queene *Cleopatra*, who was the last that the *Romans* subdued of all the successours of *Alexander*, whereby the empire of the *Grecians*, was vtterlie extinguished, and the Monarchie of *Augustus Caesar* began.

70 For after this victorie, *Octavianus* returning triumphant to *Rome*

was w
lured b
mitted
roure,
yeares
were l
couer
terie,
his fo
of, as
clogu
were

71
did:
fame
grea
and

I
the
foll
raig
dre
of
too
72
ple
lie
of
bl
on
sa

was with the common consent, and vniuersall applause of the senat, *sa-*
luted by the name of *Augustus*, which he euer after retained, and trans-
mitted to his successors, remaining from that day forward sole empe-
rour, and Monarck of the *Roman* empire, which he gouerned for thirtie
yeares, with such crueltie, and tirannie, that verie manie principall men
were forced to kill themselves: and to the end he might the better dis-
couer practises against himselfe, he vsed to corrupt mens wiues by adul-
terie, as *Suetonius* testifieth, & finally deuided a great part of *Italy*, amongst
his souldiars, with the destructiō, or banishmēt of the inhabitants there-
of, as *Dion* witnesseth. Whereto also the poet alludeth in his pastorall E-
clogue, representing the lamentable complaint of the husbandmen, that
were expelled from their ancient dwellings.

An. 725.
Oro l. 6. c. 20
Estrop. li. 7.

Sueton. in
August. c. 69

Dio in Aug.
Virg. Eclog. 1

At nos hinc alij sitientes ibimus Afros,
Pars Scythiam, & rapidum Creta veniemus Oaxem
Et penitus toto diuisos orbe Britannos, &c.
Impius hæc tam culpa noualia miles habebit?
Barbarus has segetes. &c.

71 And notwithstanding this crueltie of *Augustus*, almightie God
did also laie his heauie hand vpon the *Romans* diuerse wayes, during the
same time, partlie by great inundations of *Tiber*, partly by fire (whereby a
great part of the citie of *Rome* was consumed) and partlie by stormes,
and tempests, whereof *Horace* seemeth to speake, when he saith.

Iam satis terris niuis, atque dira
Grandinis misit Pater, & rubente
Dextera sacras iaculatus arces

Horat. li. 1.
Ode 2.

Terruit urbem, &c.

Besids that the plague was so great in *Rome*, and throughout *Italy*, that
the ground was generallie left vtilld for some time, wherevpon also
followed great famin: And finallie in these first yeares of *Augustus* his
raigne (to wit the sixt of his Monarchie which was the seauen hun-
dredth twentie and nine yeare after the foundation of *Rome*) a huge armie
of the *Romans* perished in *Arabia*, by a maruelous strange diseale which
tooke them in the heades, and suddenlie killed them.

Solinus ca. 2

An. 729.

Dio in Aug.

72 And thus continued the scourge of God vpon the *Romans*, vtill it
pleased his deuine maiesty, to take vpon him our humanitie, and not on-
lie to be borne in the *Roman* empire, but also to be registred for a citizen
of *Rome*, and a subiect of *Augustus*, whose latter daies were therefore
blessed, with a speciall priuiledge of prosperitie, and peace, our Sautiour
ordaining out of his deuine prouidence, that the same should be vniuer-
sall at the time of his birth: and therefore *Augustus* hauing then sub-

An. 751.

Oros. lib. 6.
ca. 21. & 22.
Eutrop. li. 7.

LUC. 2.

duced the *Asturians* and *Cantabrians* in *spaine*, and conquered many fierce, and warlike people in *Germany*, laid downe armes, and shut vp the temple of *Ianus* in signe of an vniuersall peace, which continued for the space of twelue yeares. And no maruaile if the author, giuer, and prince of peace, vouchsafing to come into the world, brought with him both temporall, and spirituall peace, imparting the temporall to all nations in generall, and the spirituall to his elected seruants, according to the heauēlie proclamation published at the time of his birth by the Angels, when they song; *Gloria in excelsis Deo, & in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis. Glory be to God on high, and in earthe peace to men of good will.*

73 But seeing I am now come to the birth of our Sauour Christ, and the establishmēt of the *Roman* Monarchy vnder *Augustus Caesar*, I thinke good to prosecute the rest of his raigne, and of the pagan emperors his successours, in an other chapter.

A prosecution of the same matter, with a continuation of the abridgement of the *Roman Historie*, from *Augustus Caesar*, vntill the empire of *Constantine the great*, the first Christian emperour. Also the extreame tirannie of the pagan Emperours, their persecutions of the Church, how long euery one of them reigned, and in what manner, and yeare they died, and finallye the horrible calamities, and miseries inflicted by Gods iustice vpon them, and the *Roman* empire during their raigne.

CAP. XII.

1. **H**OW hast hetherto seene, good Reader, the manifold afflictions, and calamities of the *Romans*, for the space of seauen hundred, and fiftie yeares, that is to say, from the first foundation of their cittie of *Rome*, vntill the birth of our Sauour Christ, and the change of their gouernment from a popular state, to a monarchie, vnder *Augustus Caesar*: wherein I doubt not, but thou hast obserued the concurrence of Gods iustice in their continual punishment, and of his prouidence in the amplification of their dominion, and empire: & therefore now it resteth, that I procede to manifest vnto thee, the course of Gods seuerer iudgements vpon the Emperours and the empire, for the space of 300. & eightene yeares, which passed frō our Sauours birth, to the time of *Constantin* the great, after the ouerthrow, & death of *Licinius*.

2 And first to make an end of the raigne of *Augustus*, I haue already declared, how cruell, and tirannical he was, for thirtie yeares, & although he became afterwards a most clement, and benigne prince, & was the

fore greatly honoured, and beloued of the people, and held for, *Pater patriæ*, the father of his country, yea, and that our Sauour, as I haue signified before, blessed him, and his empire with extraordinarie peace for some yeares, yet it cannot be denied, but that aswell the *Romans* his subjects, as also he him selfe in his owne person, paid continuallie the penaltie of their idolatrie, and abominable impietie diuerse wayes.

As first, for the *Romans*. *Dio Nicæus*, witnesseth, that they were much afflicted with earthquakes, in the yeare seauen hundredth fiftie seauen, after the foundation of *Rome*, which was the seauenth yeare of our Sauour, & those earthquakes caused, as *Cassiodorus* in his chronicle affirmeth, great destruction of houses, & people in *Rome*, for eight dayes together: besides that *Tiber* made such an inundation, that al the lower parts of the cittie was nauigable, for seauen dayes. There was also great famin about the same time, and a miserable slaughter of *Quintilius Varus*, and his whole army, in *Germany*, where with *Augustus* was so afflicted, that he ranne his head against a wall, and cried out, *Quintilinus, restore me my legions*: & whereas al men were surpris'd with such feare, that no man would be prest for a souldiar to supplie the losse, he caused euerie fift man, that was vnder the age of thirtie fife yeares, and euerie tenth man about that age, to be drawne out by lot, and to be spoiled of his goods, and made infamous, & put manie to death for the same cause. Also he had in pay at the same time, three and twenty seuerall armies, to the great oppression of the people, imposing vpon them great extraordinarie taxes for the maintenance thereof. Besides, that *Eutropius* testifieth, that there was neuer before that time, greater damage donne by casuall fire in *Rome*, then in the yeare seauen hundredth and sixtie, which was the tenth yeare after our Sauours natiuitie: in so much, that *Augustus* was forced, to contribute largely out of his treasure, to the reparation of the damage: & in this meane while also, there was such a cruel famin throughout *Italy*, that great numbers of people were banished *Rome*, and forced to depart almost a hundredth miles from the cittie, for the ease, and releefe thereof, and of the countries adioyning.

4. Finally, the *Dalmatians* greueouslie infested al the sea coast of *Italy*, from the yeare seauen hundredth fifty eight, vntill the yeare seauen hundredth sixty foure, that is to say, vntill within two yeares before the death of *Augustus*, which was seconded, saith *Solinus*, with an extreame dearth, & penurie of all things.

Thus much for the calamity of the *Romans* in the last yeares of *Augustus*.

And as for his owne person, it is to be considered, that besides his continuall affliction of a sickly bodie, he was most vnfortunate both in his issue,

*Sent. Aureli.
Victor in
Augusto.*

*Dio Nicæus
in August.
An. vr. 757.
An. Domi. 7.
Cassiodorus
in Chron.
Dio in Aug.*

*Eutrop. li. 7.
Sextus Aur.
Victor in
Augusto.
Dio in Aug.*

Idem ibid.

*Eutrop. li. 7.
An. vr. 760.
An. Do. 10.*

*An. vr. 764.
An. Do. 14.*

Solin. ca. 2.

Ibid. cap. 1.

Sueton. in
Augusto.

issue, and also in his end, according to the opinion of some) for although he had foure wiues, yet he had no other children, but only one daughter, called *Julia*, who was also infamous for her dishonest, & lasciuious life, & though shee was married thrice, & had sonnes by her second husband *Agrippa*, yet two of them died before *Augustus*, and the other called *Agrippa*, so much disliked him, that he banished him, and adopted for his sonne, and successor *Tiberius*, the sonne of his wife *Linia*, and married his daughter *Julia* to him. And *Linia* vnderstanding after wards, that he was determined to recall *Agrippa* from banishment, & fearing least it might turne to the preiudice of *Tiberius* her sonne, hastened the end of *Augustus* as some authors affirme, by poisoned figgs in the fiftie seauenth yeare of his empire, whereof he had reigned twelue yeares in companie of *Lepidus* and *Antonius*, and fortie foure yeares alone. Thus much concerning *Augustus*.

Vide Sextum
Aurelium
Victorem in
Augusto.
An. vr. cond.
767.
Zu. Dom. 17

6 But now who can sufficientlie expresse, the miserable state of the *Romans*, from his time vntill *Constantin*, through the extreame tirannie of their emperours, I meane not in respect of the cruell persecutions raised by a cleuen of them against the Christians, (for that some of those persecutors, were held by the Painims for good emperours, as *Traian*, *Marcus Aurelius*, *Decius*, and *Dioclesian*) but in respect of their extreame crueltie towards all men, and especially towards the senate, and men of the greatest vertue, for the which the Paynims themselues held them for most barbarous, and cruell, as *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudius*, *Nero*, *Galba*, *Virellius Domitian*, *Hadrian*, *Commodus*, *Septimius Seuerus*, *Caracalla*, *Macrinus*, *Heliogabalus*, *Iulius Maximinus*, *Gallienus*, *Aurelianus*, *Carinus*, *Maximianus*, *Maxentius*, *Maximinus* surnamed *Iouius*, and *Licinius*.

Dio in Tibe.

7 And to say somewhat breefelie of the crueltie, and other enormities of euerie one of these. It is written of *Tiberius*, that he killed so manie of the senate, and other men of worth, that for lack of fitt men to employ in the offices, and charges of the common welth, he was faine to continue the Prator three yeares, and the Consuls six in their offices, which were wont to be annuall, besides that he condemned whole families, suborned accusers, against many principal men, and assigned rewards for such as would accuse any man, and sometimes also for witnesses. All testimonies were admitted, all offences made capitall, no day so holy, that it was free from the punishment, torment, and slaughter of men, whereof such particulars are declared by the historiographers, that it is lamentable to read, which I omitt for breuities sake:

Sueton. in
Tiberio c. 61

8 And to speake a word, or two of his coueteousnes, and excessiue rapins, he killed manie rich men, onlie to haue the spoile of their welth, he confiscated

confiscated
for suc
some
of the
9 An
his Ki
himse
& slai
he wa
men,
he co
concl
pire o
in all
guish
ranni
to H
then
fied,
tiabl
me,
time
the f
some
tinu
11 F
sand
num
then
part
prin
dria
All
cōf
spoi
crim
ian
so h
exce
wh

confiscated the goods of diuers princes in *France, Spaine, Siria, and Greece*, *Sueton. in Tiberio c. 49* for such trifles, and with such an impudent manner of calumniatio, that some were charged with no greater fault, then that they had a great part of their wealth in ready money.

9 And whereas *Veno* the King of *Parthia*, being by them expelled from his Kingdome, came to *Antioche*, with exceeding great wealth, putting himselfe into the protection of the *Romans*, he caused him to be spoiled, & slaine. His life was also most vile, & vicious, in so much, that *Dion* saith, he was opprest with the shame and infamie of his lust, and loue of women, & boyes, taking them by force from their parents, or freendes, whē he could not winne them, by entreatie, or corrupt them with gifts. To conclude, finding himselfe to be most odious to al men, he least the empire of purpose to *Caius Caligula*, because he knew him to be monstrous in all kind of wickednes, and crueltie, hoping thereby, either to extinguish, or at least to qualifie the ignominie of his owne impietie, and tyrannie. Thus much touchinge *Tiberius*. *Idem ibid.* *Dio in Tibe.*

10 His successour *Caius Caligula*, exceeded him no lesse in secret murders, then in the publike slaughters of innocent men, and could not be satisfied, except he saw men tormented, boweled, and quartered, and so insatiable was his thirst of blood, that he wished, that all the people of *Rome*, had but one head, that he might cut it of at one blow. And some time when there wanted condēned men to be deuoured of beastes (with the sight whereof he was much delighted) he caused his souldiars to take some of the standers by, & behoulders, to cast them to the beastes to continue his sport. *Sueton. in Caligula. ca. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32.* *Dio in Calig.*

11 Furthermore, hauing leuied a huge army of two hundred fifty thousand mē, he killed most of them within a while, & hauing caused a great number of the worthiest *Romans* to be slaine, partly in secret, (sommoning them afterwards to the Senate, as though they had bene stil liuinge) and partly publikly for fained crimes, he determined at last, to destroy all the principal senatours, & noble men, & so to remoue from *Rome* to *Alexandria*, & had performed it, if he had not bene preuēted by his owne death. Also his rapins, & extortions, were such, that, as *Dion* saith, when he had consumed all the money of *Rome* & *Italy*, he went into *France*, of purpose to spoile it, and *Spaine*, where (saith the same author) it was made a publike crime to be rich. His impositions, tributes, & new deuised exactiōs, were innumerable, whereof I omit the particularities, for breuities sake, as also his detestable incests, with his owne sisters, & adulteries, & many other execrable acts of his, related by *Suetonius*, *Dion*, & other graue authors, all which, I say, I omitt, & will conclude with his abominable, & *Luciferian* pride, *Idem ibid.* *Ibidem.* *Sueton. c. 24* *Dio in Calig.*

Idem ibidem pride, in that he made himselfe a God, erecting a temple with his image in it, ordaining priests, and most costlie sacrifices, to be offered there to himselfe, and faining great familiarity with *Iupiter*, he vsed to talke sometimes with his image, and sometimes falling out with him, he threatned to send him away into *Greece*, and yet afterwards seeming to be pacified againe, he would be content, that their images might stand together: finallie he grew to that excesse of vanitie, and extrauagant impietie, follie, and madnes, that he vsed to make loue to the moone, when it was at the full, as though it had bene a woman. And thus much concerning him.

Dio. in Clau. 12. *Claudius* succeeded him, who being accustomed, saith *Dion*, to glut himselfe with the blood of men, committed manie suddaine, and rash murders, at the suggestiō of the wicked *Messalina* his wife, & of his fauourits, who when they would haue the life of any mā, vsed to terrifie him with some practise, & deuise of a fained cōspiracy, whereby they drew him to yeeld to the death of whom soeuer they would: & such was their power saith *Victor* and authority that, *stupris, exilio, cede & proscriptionibus omnia fedabant.* They filed all things with fornications and adulteries, banishments, slaughters, & proscriptions, or outlawries.

Dio in Nero. 13. *Nero*, as *Dion* testifieth, held vertue, riches, and nobility for no lesse the publicke crimes, and therefore manie rich, noble, and vertuous men, were either killed by his instruments, or forced to kill themselves. And *Enrop.* 14. *pius* affirmeth of him, that, *Infinitam partem Senatus interfecit, & bonis omnibus hostis fuit.* He killed an infinit part of the Senate, and was enemie to all good men. And he did not content himselfe, saith *Tacitus*, with the death of manie notable men, but sought in the end to destroy vertue it selfe in *Barea, Soranus*, and *Thraseas Petus*, and amongst others he caused the famous philosopher *Seneca*, his master, yea, and his owne mother, to be slaine, and made her after to be opened in his owne presence. Besides that he desired

Dio in Nero. saith *Dion*, to see the destruction of the Roman empire, and of the cittie of *Rome*, and therefore caused the cittie to be set on fire, whereby. *Innumerabiles incendio perierunt.* An infinit number of men perished. And in the meane while he stood on the topp of a tower to see it burne, singing the destruction of burning *Troie*, and such was the damage done by fire, that of foureteene regions, saith *Tacitus*, whereinto *Rome* was deuided, onlie foure were free, the rest either wholly consumed, or pitifullie defaced, and afterwards he almost destroyed all the empire with exactions, to repaire the cittie, and such were his extortions, throughout the greatest part of his reigne, that *Dion* saith. *Omnem terrarum orbem expilauit.* He robbed and pilld all the world.

Tacitus l. 16 *Dio in Nero.* 14. *Nero*, as *Dion* testifieth, held vertue, riches, and nobility for no lesse the publicke crimes, and therefore manie rich, noble, and vertuous men, were either killed by his instruments, or forced to kill themselves. And *Enrop.* 14. *pius* affirmeth of him, that, *Infinitam partem Senatus interfecit, & bonis omnibus hostis fuit.* He killed an infinit part of the Senate, and was enemie to all good men. And he did not content himselfe, saith *Tacitus*, with the death of manie notable men, but sought in the end to destroy vertue it selfe in *Barea, Soranus*, and *Thraseas Petus*, and amongst others he caused the famous philosopher *Seneca*, his master, yea, and his owne mother, to be slaine, and made her after to be opened in his owne presence. Besides that he desired

14 Moreouer, his custome was, to runne vp and downe the streets in the night with his souldiars, rauishing women, and boyes, spoiling, striking, wounding or killing all those that he mett, neither could any man (saith the same author) be safe in his owne house. *Nerone in domos, & officinas insubstante. For that Nero used to breake into mens houses, and shops.* And to conclude concerning him, he was so exorbitant in al kind of vice, and wickednes, that it appeared sufficientlie in him, how detestable may be the effects of a vicious, & tirannical nature, when it is ioyned with souerainty. And therefore no maruaile, if that he was the first, who generally persecuted the Christians, and embred the cittie of Rome, & the Roman empire, with the bloude of infinit martirs, & amongst others the glorious Apostles *S. Peter*, and *S. Paule*: which how it was punished in him, shall appear after a while, when I shall speake of the ends of all the Emperours, and the continuance of their reigne, for here I touch nothing, but their tirannicall crueltie, or other impietie. And now to proceede.

15 *Galba*, was infamous for his intemperaunce, coueteousnes, dissolute life, and especiallie for the abominable sinne of *Sodomy*, and his crueltie. He dismanteled diuers citties in *Spain*, and *France*, and put to death their gouernours, with their wiues, and children, because in his rebellion against *Nero*, they did not yeeld vnto him, at the verie first. He made away manie noble men, vpon very light suspitions, without anie triall of their cause, & hauing ordained that a great number of sea souldiars (who had in former time bene sailers, or rowers) should be casht, & retorne to their old trade, he caused them to be decimated, that is to say, euery tenth man of the to be killed, because they made great instace to the contrary. Finally he suffered himselfe to be so wholly lead, & gouerned by three fauorites (who were extreemely arrogat, couetous, & vicious,) that he was worthily hated of al men, no lesse for their avarice & cruelty, then for his owne.

16 *Vitellius* was, saith *Suetonius*, prone to the slaughter, and torment of euery man, for euerie trifle, and killed manie of the nobilitie (who had bene his ould friends, and companions) *vario genere fraudis*, with diuers kinds of deceit, & was so cruel, that he made men to be murdered in his presence, saying that he would feede his eyes, and commanded two to be killed, for that they entreated him for the life of their Father: he caused a great number of the common people to be slaine in a publike feast, because they were clad in greene, which colour was vsed by those, that were of a faction called *Prasina*, he being addicted to the contrary called *Veneta*.

Finally, whosoever was but accused to be an astronomer, was presently executed, though it were not proued, and in this cruelty he continued during the short time, that he reigned, which shalbe declared hereafter.

*Sext. Aureli.
Victor in
Domitiano.*

17 *Domitian*, as *Victor* testifieth, was more like a sauage beast, then a man, for his crueltie towards all kind of men: and to maintaine his extreme prodigalitie, he killed many of the richest, and principall men of the Senat, onlie that he might haue their goods, of whome, some were made away by poison, others by other secret meanes, & many comitt of false crimes. And he caused so many to be slaine, one way, or other, that *Dion* saith, *no man could tell the number of them*. He confiscated the goods, as wel of the dead, as of the liuinge, vpon euery light accusation, or pretence of crimes, especially of matter of state, in so much that it sufficed, that the least deede, or word in that kind, was but so much as obiected against anie man. He claimed manie rich mens goods, after their death, as their heire, suborning witnesses to proue it: he caused manie to be killed, and others to be banished, onlie because they studied philosophie, or were more vertuous, and learned then other men. And finallie, so intolerable was his pride, that he ordained by publike edict, that in all writings, wherein he should be mencioned, vpo any occasiō, he should be called *Dominus Deus*. Lord God, & therefore no maruel, though he was withal a most cruel persecutor of the Church, & raised the second persecutiō after *Nen*.

*Suetonius in
Domitiano
ca. 11. & 12.*

*Idem ibid.
Spartian. &
Dio in Adri.*

18 *Adrian* (as *Spartianus* & *Dio* witnesseth) killed a great number of principall personages for very trifles, & the most notable me of al arts, & sought to extinguish the memory of *Homer*, & a litle before his death, he banished, or killed, all most all his old friendes, and those which he himselfe had aduanced.

*Lamprius in
Commodo.*

19 *Commodus* after his death, was called by a decree of the senat, *Sauus Domitiano, qui omnes occidit*, more cruel then *Domitian*, who killed all men, & *Carnifex Senatus*, the butcher of the senat, for he killed an infinit number of all sorts of men, and women, some for their great nobilitie, some for their wealth, some for their excellēt learninge, or other vertues, some for their beauty, or colimes of their person, some for fained cōspiracies, or light suspitions, some for hyre, selling mens liues to their enemies for money: and finally some times he killed one for an other, whiles also in the meane time he was otherwaies for his life abominably dissolut, spending al his time in bankets, & feasts with 300. concubins, & boies chosen for their beautie, as wel out of the nobilitie, as of the communaltrie. And hauing in the end after infinit other slaughters, resolved to kil a great number of the cheefe, and principall persons, that were stil liuinge, he made a list of their names, for his better remembrance, which being found by *Martia* his concubin (who was one of the number that was contained in it) moued her, and the rest to seeke their owne securitie, by his death, as shalbe declared hereafter.

Dio in Com.

*Herodianus
in Commod.*

Num. 56.

20 *Septimius Severus*, (as *Dio*, and *Spartianus* do testifie) killed very manie of all sorts of men for fained crimes, or verie small occasions, and amongst them, one and fortie senatours were put to death (saith *Dion*) without anie cause, either proued, or obiected. Besides that he suffered his father in law *Plautianus*, to make away a great number, as well of magistrats, as of priuat men, to haue the spoile of them, and farther to pill, and robb all the citties, and prouinces of the empire. Finally *Seuerus* murthered verie manie noble men, *Spaniards*, *Gaules*, *Romans*, and whosoever he thought to be fitt to gouerne, fearing that the souldiars might preferre them before his children after his death, in so much that he was compared with *Marinus*, for his crueltie, and the last counsell that he gaue to his children, when he died, was, *Locupletate milites ceteros omnes contemne. Enrich your souldiars, and contemne all other men.*

Spartian. & Dio in Septim. Seuerus.

Idem in vita Pescennij.

21 *Antonius Caracalla* his sonne, exceeded him in crueltie, in which respect he was called by a decree of the senat after his death, *Intersector senatus, & populi. The murderer of the senat, and people.* He killed his brother *Getus*, in his mothers armes, and twentie thousand, saith *Dio*, or as *Spartianus* saith, innumerable others, of his brothers friends and wellwillers, some as they were at table, others in the bathes, and where soeuer els they were found, he made away by one meanes, or other, all those whom his father speciallie fauoured, or loued, and amongst the rest, he put to death his fathers phisicians, because they would not consent to kill his father, as he earnestlie requested the to doe: and after infinit other murderers of all sorts of men, being greatlie offended with the people of *Alexandria*, because they misliked his crueltie, he inuited manie of the to a banquet, and caused others to be shut vp in houses, and all of the to be slain, and to conclude, *Dion* saith of him, that, *Romam bonis omnibus spoliavit, & mutauit. He lamed Rome, and spoiled it of all good men.*

Iulius Capitolinus in Macrinus.

Dio & Spartian. in Caracalla.

Herodian. in Seuerus.

Dio in Caracalla.

22 *Macrinus*, as *Dion* testifieth, put to death a great number of the senatours, and noble men of *Rome*, for fained crimes, and made away all those whom he suspected, to mislike his election, he deuised new, and strange punishmentes, tying men alieue to dead men, to the end, they might languish with the horreur, and stinke of the dead carcases, and vsed to close some vp with walls alieue, and so to let them pine away, and perish, and *Iulius Capitolinus* calleth him. *Hominem omnium vitiorum, superbum, & sanguinarium, &c. A man of all vice, proude, and bloody.* And further saith, that his house was alwaies full of blood, like a butcherie, by reason of the continual slaughters of his seruants, in respect whereof, manie would not call him *Macrinus*, but *Macellinus*, the Butcher.

Idem in Macrinus.

Iul. Capitolinus in Macrinus.

23 *Heliogabalus* his successor, was most hatefull, and horrible for his cruelty, he vsed by the counsell of Magicians, to sacrifice children

*Iulius Cæ-
pitolinus.
Herodian.
Lampridius
in Helioga-
balus.*

which were speciallie chosen throughout all Italie, for their nobility, and beauty, and such as had both father, and mother liuing, and then made his deuinations by looking into their bowels. He banished all the senate, saith *Lampridius*, out of *Rome*, and killed manie of them, and diuers other notable men, he was more monstrous for all vice, and villanie, then anie that euer was before, or after him, in so much, that whensoever he remoued out of *Rome*, he caried with him six hundred chariots, and horse-litters full of strumpets, and boies, and all to litle, say the historiographers, for his vsatiabie lust, for that he neuer had the companie of anie aboute once. He made manie times assemblies of hooues, and baudes wherein he vsed to make soleimne orations vnto them, calling them, *commillitones*, fellow-souldiers, and treated with them of all the most beastlie matters, and acts that could be imagined.

Idem ibid.

24 Furthermore, such was his prodigality in the furniture of his palace, and person, costlie bankets, yea, and his ordinarie diett (nothing contenting him which was not of excessiue price, and farre fetcht) that the reuenue of the empire could not suffice for the same: for as *Lampridius* testifieth, euerie ordinarie meale, stood him in two thousand five hundred crownes (after our account) and manie times he spent at some one supper 75000. crownes.

*Herodian.
Lamprid.*

25 Moreouer he ordained such toyes, that yt may be wondred, how the grauitie, and maiesty of the Roman empire, could brooke, and endure them, for he erected a senat of women, to the end they might treat and consult, of their owne busines belonging to their apparell, and dressing, and decreed that such thinges, as are accustomed to be done in the day, should be done in the night, and therefore he vsed to goe to bed in the morninge, and to rise at sunne setting, and then was saluted with good morow. I omit manie other ridiculous acts of his, which might seeme vncredible, but that they are testified by the grauest historiographers, and by this which I haue signified, may well appeare the infelicity of the *Romans*, and of their empire, gouerned so childishlie by a boy, for so *Heliogabalus* was, being but foureteene yeares old when he was chosen, and not fullie eightene when he was killed, of the manner whereof I shall haue occasion to say more heereafter.

*Iulius Cæpi-
tolin.
Herodian.
in Maxi-
mino.*

26 *Maximinus*, was for his cruelty called *Cyclops*, *Busiris*, *Scirron*, *Phalaris*, and *Tiphon*, he spoiled, banished, and murthered manie innocent, and worthe men, which had bene consuls, and all the noble men that were about him, especiallie those, who knew anie thing of his base birth, and linage. Finally he killed all sorts of men without accuser, witnes, or iudge, and so much thirsted after blood, that hauing put to death foure thousand

thou
Capit
27 C
solu
then
of his
and h
in vir
Thus
(whic
barou
saith
whol
his o
thou
woul
28
cruel
natou
mani
29
Pirr
tamin
ry w
that n
his se
baud
and f
Carus
life, f
thele
storie
beca
30.
and
nam
the
it m
reaf
dict

thousand in the three yeares that he raigned, yet he could not, saith *Julius Capitolinus*, be satisfied.

27 *Gallienus*, was no lesse pernicious to the Roman empire, by his dissolute, and wicked life, and his extreame negligence in gouernment, then the former were for their cruelty, and therefore *Trebellius Pollio*, saith of him, that he seemed to be borne for nothing els, but for his bellie, and his pleasure, and that spending his whole time, both day, and night in wine, and women, *perdidit orbem terrarum*, he destroyed the whole world. Thus saith he; for that in the greatest troubles of the Roman empire (which in his time was extreamelie afflicted with the inuasion of barbarous nations, and the vsurpation of manie tyrants) *deseruit rempublicam*, saith *Orosius*, he forsooke, and abandoned the common welth, and gaue himselfe whollie to lust at *Milan*. Besides that, his cruelty was also such towards his owne souldiars, that he killed three thousand, and sometimes foure thousand of them in one day, which if yt had benne done by the enemye, would haue benne counted a great infelicity to the Roman empire.

28 *Aurelianus*, is termed by *Victor*, and *Eutropius*, *saenus*, and, *sanguinarius*, cruell, and bloudie, he fained crymes of conspiracies, against manie senators, and principall men, and put them to death for the same, besides manie others whome he also caused to be killed, for very small matters.

29 Of *Carinus*, it is testified by *Pomponius Latrus*, and *Vopiscus*, that he was *Purum sanguine madefactus, totius ubique iuuentutis corruptor, homo omnium contaminatissimus &c.* Embred with the blood of good men, a corrupter of youth euery where, the most impure, and wicked man that lyued, and one, saith *Vopiscus*, that not only abused all yong men, but also suffred himselfe to be abused contrary to his sexe. He filled his pallace with iesters, queanes, ribalds, ruffins, and bauds, he bore great respect to all wicked men, and made them bankets, and feastes, and was euerie way so abominable impious, that his father *Carnus* the emperour, with whome he raigned, hearing of his manner of life, swore that he was none of his, and determined to kill him: neuertheles when *Carinus* heard that his father was dead, he was, say the histories, farre more beastlie, and brutish in all kind of villanie, and what became of him in the end, shalbe declared hereafter.

30. To conclude the other foure emperours, which remaine of the one and twenty aboue named, (to wit *Maximianus*, *Maxentius*, *Maximinus*, surname *Iouius*, and *Licinius*, were no lesse cruel, and wicked, then most of the former, as I will declare more particularlie after awhile: whereby it may appeare, how miserable was the state of the empire, partlie by reason of their monstrous cruelty, and wickednes, and partlie by the afflictions that God also layd vppon the *Romans* other wayes from tyme to tyme,

tyrannie during the reignes, not onlie of these, but also of all the other Emperours, from *Augustus Caesar*, to *Constantin* the great.

31 And to the end, that this may be the more euident, I will touch euery one of them by name in order, as they reigned. And first I will speake of the seauen first Emperours after *Augustus*, declaring breeslie, how they came to the empire, how long they reigned, how they died, and finally I will add thereto, what notable punishments God laid vpon the Roman empire, during their gouernment.

Sueton. in
Tiberio. c. 7.
& 15.
An. Do. 39.
Idem ibid.
ca. 73.

32 *Tiberius*, (the first of the wicked, and tirannical Emperours of whome I haue spoken before) was sonne in law to *Augustus Caesar*, as well by the mariage of his daughter *Iulia* (then a widow, by the death of *Agrippa* her former husband) as also because he was sonne to *Linia*, wife to *Augustus*, whom he succeeded in the empire by adoption. And hauing reigned, or rather tirannized, twenty three yeares, was poisoned, and as some write smothered by his owne nephew *Caius Caligula*, whome for want of issue he had adopted for his sonne, and ordained for his successor, being great graundchild to *Augustus*, to wit, sonne to *Agrippina*, daughter to *Iulia*, by *Agrippa* her former husband.

Sueton. in
Caligula
c. 58.

An. Do. 43.

Dio in Clau-
dio.

Eutrop. li. 8.

33 This *Caligula* being most monstrous for his wickednes, and cruelty (as I haue already declared) was slaine by his owne guards (who were called, the *Prætorian* souldiers) when he had reigned but three yeares, and tenne moneths, and the senate being determined to extinguish all the race of the *Cæsars*, for the detestation of him, it chaunced that his vnckle *Claudius*, hauing for feare hid himselfe in a verie secret place of the palace, was found by one of the *prætorian* souldiers, who came thither to ransacke, and spoile it, and was first by him saluted Emperour, and after by the rest of the souldiers, who also forced the senate to approue their election of him.

Sueton.
Claudio.
c. 1.

Idem c. 26.
39-43. & 44.

An. 56.
Ibid. c. 45.

34 This *Claudius* (one of the tirannical emperours, mentioned by me before) was also descended of the familie of *Augustus Caesar* by his mother *Antonio*, neece to *Augustus*, being daughter to his sister *Octavia*, and to *M. Antonio* the *Triumuir*. His infamous reigne dured fourteene yeares; and not long before his death, hauing killed the wicked *Messalina* his wife, he married *Agrippina*, his owne sisters daughter, being the widow of *Domitius Nero*, by whome shee had a sonne of the same name, and though *Claudius*, had a sonne of his owne, called *Britannicus*, yet he adopted her sonne *Nero* for his successor, and within a while after was poisoned by her, who concealed his death, vntill shee had caused the souldiers to accept, and proclaime her sonne *Nero* Emperour, which the senate also approued.

Nero (of whose barbarous, and incredible crueltie, I haue spoken already) hauing plagued the world, as many yeares, as his predeceffour (to wit fouretee) was worthily condemned by the senate as a publike enemy to the common welth, and being there vpon abandoned of all men, killed himselfe, with the helpe of one of his slaues, and in him ended the race, and familie of the *Cæsars*, which had possessed the empire about ninty eight yeares.

36 After *Nero*, succeeded *Galba*, whome I haue also numbred amongst the wicked, and tyrannicall Emperours. He in *Neroes* time, was his lieutenant Generall in *Spain*, and Gouverneur thereof, and rebelling against him, was first declared Emperour by his owne souldiars, and presentlie after *Neroes* death, confirmed by the Senat: and within seauen monthes, killed by a conspiracie of *Orho*, who succeeded him.

This *Orho*, though I haue not reckoned him amongst the tyrannicall Emperours, yet was most infamous, for his wicked life, as hauing benne a great fauorite of *Nero*, and an instrument of his wickednes, and being chosen emperour by the prætorian souldiars, and shortly after overcome by *Vitellius*, he slew himselfe, hauing reigned but three moneths, and three dayes.

37 About the same time that *Orho* was chosen Emperour in *Rome*, *Vitellius* being Generall of an armie in *Germanie*, was also proclaymed Emperour by his owne souldiars, and hauing ouerthrowne *Orho* neere to *Rome*, succeeded him in the empire, which neuertheles he enioyed but eight monethes, and tenne dayes; for *Vespasian* being also at the same time chosen Emperour by his owne army in *Iudea* (where he was employed to appease a rebellion of the *Iewes*) sent some of his Captaines, with a great part of his forces to encounter *Vitellius*, who being ouerthrowne, and taken prisoner, was drawne with a halter about his necke along the streetes, halfe naked, to a market place, where after manie outrages donne vnto him by the people (for the hatred of his tyrannicall crueltie, and beastly impietie) he was killed, together with his brother, and cast into the riuer *Tiber*.

38 Thus ended the seauen first Emperours after *Augustus*, and in the meane while (I meane during their reignes) God laid his heauie hand vpon the empire diuerse wayes. As in *Tiberio* his time, *Rome* suffered exceeding great dammage twice by fire, and by twoo inundations of *Tyber*, and twice by famin.

Dio. li. 58.

Tacit. li. 4.

Idem. li. 2.

And in *Fidene*, fiftie thousand men were partlie slaine, and partlie maimed, by the fall of an *Amphitheater*, besides, a horrible earthquake which in one night ruined thirteene cities in *Asia*.

Idem. li. 12.

39 Also in the tyme of *Claudius*, *Crebris terra motibus*, saith *Tacitus*, *proruta domus*, &c. Howses were ouerthrowne in *Rome* by frequent earthquakes, wherewith all men were so terrified, that whiles they hasted to seeke some places of refuge, and securitie, verie manie of the weaker sort were oppressed, and styfled amidst the confused throng of the people, and in his time also was the great generall famin ouer the whole world, which is spoken of in the acts of the Apostles.

A. Fo. 11.

Plin. li. 2.

ca. 83.

Dio. in

Nerone.

40 In *Neros* raigne, the earthquakes were so horrible, that as *Pliny* testifieth, whole fields were remoued out of their places, and *Dion* affirmeth, that it seemed the whole earth woulde be shaken in peeces, and dissolued; In so much, saith he, that yt was thought, that the soules of those, whome *Nero* had murdered, did insult and rise against him. And in his tyme also, the *Brittans* being cruellie oppressed, rebelled against the *Romans*, and slew seauentie thousand of them, and of their confederats; besides most strange, and noisome tempests, whereof *Tacitus* maketh mention, and a most cruell plague in *Rome*, which plague saith he, *Omne mortalium genus depopulabatur*. Destroyed all kind of mortall creatures.

Tacit. li. 16.

Sueton. in

Galba. c. 18.

41 Finallie in the beginning of *Galba* his raigne, a most prodigious earthquake, accompanied with a horrible roaring sound, shooke both the cittie of *Rome*, and the Emperours pallace, and in those few monethes, that *Orho*, and *Vitellius* reigned *Rome* receaued incredible dammage, not onlie by a most pitifull inundation of *Tyber*, (the greatest, saith *Plutark*, that had euer bene scene before) but also by extreame dearth, and famin, all which *Tacitus* lamentablie describeth, besides the great bloudshed in *Rome* it selfe, betwixt *Galba*, and *Orho*, and much more afterwards both in *Rome*, and abroad betwixt *Vitellius*, and *Orho*, who fought a most bloudie battaile, at *Cremona*, wherein were slaine fortie thousand men on both sides, and the souldiers of *Vitellius*, having the victorie, miserablie spoiled, and ransaked all the countrie.

Plutar. in

vita Othon.

Tacit. li. 17.

Dio. in

Othone.

42 And within a litle more then three monethes after *Orhos* death, there passed two cruell, and bloudie battailes betwixt *Vitellius*, and *Vespasian*. First at *Cremona*, and after at *Rome*, in which battailes a hundred thousand men were slaine, and *Cremona* spoiled, and ruined, and all this bloudshed hapned within a yeare, and twentie daies after the death of *Nero*, so that if we adde these afflictions of

Idem in

Vitellio.

of the *Romans*, to the continuall tirannie of their Emperours, we shall easilie see, that they had not one day, or houre of ease, or repose, from extreame miserie, vntil the raigne of *Vespasian*, that is to say, for the space of the first fiftie five yeares after *Augustus*.

43 And now to proceede with the rest of the Emperours in like manner. Although I doe not number *Vespasian*, amongst the cruell tyrants, yet his gouernment was in some sort so tyrannical, that he may also be counted an instrument of Gods iustice vppon the *Romans*, *Dio in Vespasiano*. in respect of his extreame coueteousnes, and the most greuous exactions, and impositions, which he layd vppon all men, inuventing taxes and gabelles neuer vsed, or imagined before, and employing in the greatest offices, and charges, the greatest extortioners, that he could find, vvhom he also vsed, as it was commonlie said, *Like sponges*, *Sueton. in Vespasiano*. *filling them vvhiles they vvvere dry, and crushing out theyr licour vvhen they vvvere full*, that is to say, spoiling them vvhen they vvvere rich. *Idem in Tito ca. 6. & 7.* Whereto also may be added the crueltie of his sonne *Titus*, who commanding all vnder him, killed so manie noble men vppon light suspitions, that he was helde, as *Suetonius* affirmeth, for an other *Nero*. *An. Do. 81. Ibidem ca. 3. 9. &c.* *Vespasian* raigned tenne yeares, and died of a fluxe, leauing two sonnes, *Titus*, and *Domitian*: and *Titus*, succeeding him in the gouernment, notwithstanding his crueltie in his fathers time, proued to be one of the best Emperours, that euer the *Romans* had, whose raigne neuertheles was so short (to wit onlie twoo yeares, and some moneths) that the ease which they had vnder him, seemed to serue, for no other purpose, but to make them feele the more the tirannicall crueltie of his brother *Domitian*. And although most authors agree, that *Titus* died naturallie, yet some write, that there was great suspicion, and fame that his death was cyther procured, or hastened by *Domitian*. *Dio in Tito. An. Do. 83.*

44 But did the scourge of God vppon the *Romans* cease during those two yeares, of the good gouernment of, *Titus*? No trulie. For in that tyme, euen in the verie first yeare of his raigne, the hill in *Campania* called *Vesuuus* in the kingdome of *Naples*, cast forth such incredible heapes of fierie ashes, and vvith such violence, that two notable cities named *Pompeij*, and *Herculanum*, were ouerwhelmed, and the *Amphiater* in *Rome* filled therewith, yea, and the ashes vvvere also cast into *Greece*, *Siria*, *AEgypt*, and *Africk*. Wherebie it may be ghesseed vvhat damage the same did, not onlie in *Rome*, but also in those partes of *Italy*: besides that there presentlie followed such a pestilence, that *Victor* saith, the like was almost neuer seene before, and there was

*Sext. Aureli.
Victor in
Tito.*

withall such trembling, and roaring of the earth, and such obfuscitie, and darkenes at noone dayes, that men imagined, that the whole world would perish, as *Dion* amplie declareth.

*Dio in Tito
Sueton. in
Tito cap. 8.*

45 The yeare following there was such a fire in *Rome*, for three dayes together, that all the famous biuldings of *Augustus*, with his library, and the baths of *Agrippa*, the theater of *Galba*, the temples of *Iupiter Capitolin*, *Isis*, *Serapis*, *Neptune*, and that of all the Gods, called *pantheon*, the stage of *Pompey*, and diuers other principall partes, and great ornaments of the cittie, were consumed therewith, whereby it may also be coniectured, how generall and lamentable was the detriment, and losse otherwayes throughout the whole cittie.

*Dio in Dom.
An. Do. 98.*

46 After *Titus*, succeeded the cruell *Domitian*, being his Brother, and next heire, he reigned, or rather raged fifteene yeares, and siue dayes, and was killed by a conspiracie of his owne seruants.

*Idē in Nerva.
Bwo. an. 99.*

47 His next successor *Cocceius Nerva*, being chosen by the Senate, was a notable Emperour, and a great freend to Christians, and recalled from banishment, all those who were banished by *Domitian*, amongst whom was *S. Iohn the Euangelist*, but he reigned not about a yeare and a few moneths, and died his naturall death, as none of the Emperours his predecessors had done before him, except *Vespasian*, and *Titus*, though there was great suspition, as I haue signified before, that *Titus* was murdered by *Domitian*.

An. Do. 100

Dip in Nerva.

48 After *Nerva*, followed *Traian*, whom he had adopted, and ordained to succede him. This *Traian*, though he be counted a verie good Emperour for his clemencie, and iustice, yet he was otherwayes verie vicious, and persecuted the Christians for a time. And albeit the *Romans* bore not their wonted yoake of tirannie during his reigne, yet he, and they felt otherwayes the heauie hand of almightie God, as may appeare by the pittifull narration which *Pliny* maketh, at large, of the excessive dammage donne in *Rome*, and in all the territorie thereof, not only by the inundations of *Tiber*, and other riuers, but also by most violent tempests, and stormes, which caused a miserable defolatio throughout the whole country.

*Plini. l. 8. ep.
ad Macrin.*

*Plini. li. 36.
cap. 15.*

49 Also during the time of *Traian*, the wonted punishment of God, fell not onlie vpon *Rome* by pestilence, and fire (kindled partlie by thunderbolts, and partlie by other casualities) but also vpon the whole empire, by most terrible earthquakes, especially at *Antioch*, whiles *Traian* himselfe was there, where the greatest part of the cittie was destroyed, trees pulled vp by the rootes, and the verie birdes of the aire fell downe dead: and such were the lightnings, thun-

Dio in Traiano.

ters, and side that fell from the heauens, that manie men were burnt, and consumed therewith, and great feare conceyued, that the whole world would be set on fire. After which followed, an extreme, and intollerable heate, and such a generall dust raised euerie where, that men could not see one an other, and manie were killed therewith; besides that, the earthquakes were also, at the same time, so generall, that sundry citties in *Greece*, and diuerse partes of *Asia* were wholly subuerted, infinit numbers of men killed, mountaines sunck into the ground, and riuers dried vp.

so And shortlie after this, the *Iewes* which then inhabited seuerall parts of the world, made great commotions all at once, where-soeuer they dwelled (as though they had beene all seized with one frenzy) and especially throughout *Africke*, where they almost exterminated all the inhabitants, in so much, that *Adrian* the Emperour, who succeeded *Traian*, was forced to send many new colonies thither, to supply the want of people in those partes: and they did the like also in *Egipt*, and in the Iland of *Cipirus*, where they killed two hundred thousand persons, whereypon *Traian* sent great forces into all those partes, and ordained, that all the *Iewes* inhabiting there, should be put to the sword, which was executed most rigorously, with the slaughter of incredible numbers of them.

Idem ibid.

¶ Finallie I hold it for no small infelicitie of the *Romans*, at that tyme, also that *Traian*, to entertaine the people, and make them sport, (according to the custome in those dayes) gaue them tenne thousand gladiators, or fencers, to fight to death, and kill on another in their presence. He raigned nineteene yeares, six monethes, and a halfe, and died naturallie, as most authors asseirme, though as *Dion* testifieth, he himselve suspected that he was poisoned.

Dion in Traiano.

An. Do. 119.

¶ After the one and twenty yeares, of the good Emperours, *Nerva*, and *Traian*, succeeded the cruell *Adrian* by adoption, or as some asseirme, by the practise of *Plotina*, *Traians* wife, who concealing her husbands death some dayes, and shewing to the *Prætorian* souldiars a counterfeit instrument, or writting of adoption (as though *Traian* had in his last sicknes adopted *Adrian* for his sonne, and successour) procured his election, first by the acclamation of the souldiars, and after by the approbation of the Senat: His crueltie, and tirannie (whereof I haue spokē before) was accompanied with great famine, and pestilence, inundations, and earthquakes, whereby exceeding great dammage was donne aswell in *Rome*, as in diuers parts of the Roman empire. And in the end *Adrian*

Ælius Spanian. in Adri. Dio in Adri.

Num. 18.

*Peto Mexia
in Adriano.
Baron. To. 2
An. Do. 140.
Dio in Adri.*

receiued also euen in this life, some part of the punishment due to his
crueltie, as well towards Christians, as towards all others, being most mis-
ferable tormented in all his limmes, in such sort, that he sought by eni-
treatie, perswasions, and gifts, to moue his fauorites, and friends to kill
him, and when he could not obtaine it at their handes, nor die of his tor-
ments, he resolved to forbear to eate, and so famished himselfe as some
write, or, as *Dio Nicæus* saith, vsed of purpose vnholosome meates, where-
vpon he died, when he had reigned one and twenty yeares, and cleuen
months.

Entrop. l. 10.

Ibidem.

*Sext. Aurel.
Victor Capi-
tolin. in An-
tonino Pio.
An. Do. 162.*

53 *Adrian*, adopted for his sonne, and successour, the famous, *Antoninus
Pius*, so called for his great pietie, as he well deserued, whose empire God
blessed, no doubt, with great peace and prosperitie, for the great fauour
that he shewed to Christians, after many cruell persecutions, which
they had suffered vnder his predecessors: for he forbade vpon greuous
paines, that no man should accuse them for their religion, which he ac-
knowledged to be the worship of the immortall God, affirming also,
that the great earthquakes, and such other calamities, wherewith the
empire was afflicted, proceeded of the iustice of God, for the iniurie
donne to them, as may appeare by the copy of the edict, related by *Entro-
pius*, and therefore we may well suppose, that God rewarded him with
greater felicitie, then anie pagan emperour, had either before, or after
him, though neuertheles, besides the earthquakes, which he mentioned
in his edict, we reade of extreame dearth, and famin in *Rome*, great losse
by fire, and inundations of *Tiber*. He reigned twentie two yeares, sea-
uen moneths, and six dayes, and died his naturall death.

*Epito. Sexti
Aure. Vict. in
Marco Ant.*

Entrop. li. 10

54 There followed him, by his adoption, an other good emperour for
his gouernment, though he persecuted the Christians for some time, to
wit, *Marcus Aurelius*, called the Philosopher, who made *Lucius Verus* his
companion in the empire. But how seuer the punishment of God, was
vpon the *Romans*, in the time of *Marcus Aurelius*, it appeareth by that
which *Sextus Aurelius Victor*, a pagan author writeth briefly thereof. *Ab
armis*, saith he, *quies nunquam erat, &c.* There was neuer anie rest, or repose from
armes, the warres throughout Italy, France, and all the east partes, were continuall,
besides earthquakes, with the subuersion of citties, inundations of riuers, murrein a-
mongst cattell, and fields destroyed with locusts, yea, and there is almost no kind of ca-
lamitie, that can either be named, or imagined, which did not abound during his
reigne. Thus saith he. And *Entropius* affirmeth, that the empire was so mi-
serable infested, and vexed with warres in all partes, that all the *Roman*
armies, were ouerthrowne, and that the plague was so violent euerie
where, that the greater part of men, & almost al the souldiars died there-
of. Ne.

54. Neuertheles he had a notable, and miraculous victorie against nine hundred thousand *Marcomanni, Quadi*, and other barbarous people in Germany, by the prayers of his Christian souldiars (as I haue declared in the 11. chap. of the first part of this Treatise) and in respect of that victory, he ceased his persecution of the Christians, and made edicts in their fauour: His companion *Lucius Verus*, died suddenlie in the eleuenth yeare of his

Chap. 15.
Num. 2.

An. 172.

An. 181.

raigne, and he hauing reigned eightene yeares, died his naturall death. 55. Though the raigne of this emperour was most vnfortunat, for infinit calamities, and miseries, which oppressed the empire in his time, yet he left behind him a greater plague to the world, then euer had benne in his dayes, I meane his sonne *Commodus*, who besides the cruel persecutions which he raised against Christians, vsed all barbarous crueltie towards all sorts of men, as I haue declared before; but after he had reigned twelue yeares, and eight moneths, he was killed by his Concubine, who as I haue also signified before, finding by chance, her owne name, with a great number of others, of most principall personages designed for the slaughter, in a list written with his owne hand, thought to preuent him with poison, which shee gaue him, & seeing him after he had receiued it, vomit so freely that she feared he would cast it vp againe, she called in one, whose name was also in the list, & betwixt them both they dispatched him.

Num. 16.

Num. cod.

Herodian. in
Commodo.

An. Do. 194.

56. Besides this cruel tyranny of *Commodus*, and the affliction ensuing thereon to the Roman empire, there was such horrible contagion, and pestilence in his time, that (as *Dio* saith who was then liuing) he neuer knew anie so great, whereby there died in Rome two thousand in one day. There was also in his raigne so great dearth, and famine, that the people falling into furie, killed *Cleander* one of his greatest fauourits. Also a great part of the cittie, and manie principall ornaments thereof, were twice burnt during his reigne. The first time by a thunderbolt, which fired, and burnt the *Capitol*, the librarie, and all the houses about it: and the later, by a casuall fire, wherewith his owne pallace, the famous temples of *Vesta*, and of *Peace*, with no small part of the cittie, were consumed to the verie ground, which euerie man held to be a iust punishment of God for his wickednes, as *Herodian* testifieth.

Dio in Com.

Herodian. in
Commodo.

Idem ibid.

57. But that which may be iustlie counted the greatest calamitie of the Roman empire, both at the time whereof I now treat, and also continually after vntill *Constantins* time, was the licentious libertie, and ambitious presumption of the souldiars, not onlie of those which were called *praetoriani milites*, (and were the guards of the Emperours) but also of the other legions, that were dispersed throughout the empire, for the defence thereof.

thereof. For such was the insolencie, first of the Emperours made in Rome, and after of the other souldiars abroad, by their example, that they tooke vpon them to make emperours, and chage them at their pleasure, whereby the emperours themselues, and al the empire was brought to a miserable seruitude.

*Herodianus
in Pertinace
An. 195.
Iulius Capit.
de Herodia.
in Iuliano.*

58 This appeared presently after *Commodus*, vpon whose death, the pratorian souldiars made election of his successor, and chose the worthie Captaine *Pertinax*, whome the senate partlie for feare, and partlie also for the regard of his great merits, easily approued. But within lesse then three moneths, to wit, eightie fiue dayes, they killed him, by the practise of one, who sought to make himselfe emperour, though he failed of his purpose. For the souldiars sett the empire on sale, making proclamation, that they would giue it, to whosoever would giue most: and whereas, there were two competitors (to wit *Sulpicianus*, and *Didius Iulianus*, both which offered largelie for it) they preferred *Iulianus*, partlie because the other was father in law to *Pertinax* whom they had slaine, and partly because *Iulianus*, gaue them readie money, wherevppon, they forced the senat to accept him.

Idem ibid.

*An. Do. 195
Ibidem.*

59 And the other legions abroad, taking also the like libertie to themselves, at the same time, made emperours in diuers parts: for, the ordinary legions, that were in *Siria*, made choise of the viceconsul *Pescennius Niger*, who gouerned there, and the legions in *Germanie*, chose *Septimius Seuerus*, who hasting with his forces to Rome, was admitted by the senate, and *Iulianus* being abandoned of all men, was killed in his pallace, by the senats order, before *Seuerus* arriued, within lesse then seauen moneths after his election: And *Seuerus* shortlie after ouercame *Piscinnius*, the other emperour, though with so great bloodshed on both sides, that the ditches of water, where the battaile was fought seemed to be all bloud, & againe ere it were long, one *Albinus* was made Emperour in *Britannie* by his souldiars, & ouerthrowne also, and slaine by *Seuerus* in no lesse bloodie a battaile at *Lyons* in *France*. Whereby it may be iudged, how miserable were these times by insolencie of the souldiars, which encreasing dailie, grew within a few yeares after, to be so greate, that there were thirtie emperours made by the armies, in diuers parts in the space of fifteene, or sixteene yeares, by meanes whereof, the empire was pitifully rent, & torne with ciuil warrs, and opprest with infinit calamities, and verie many of the emperours themselues killed by the souldiars, which had chosen them, as shall farther appeare hereafter.

60 So that it is hard to say wether the Senat, and people were more tyrannized by the emperours, or the emperours by the souldiars: but how-

Seneca that was, it is euident, that both the Emperours, and souldiars, were instruments of Gods iustice, not onlie one vppon an other, but also vppon all the Roman empire, and that the souldiars also executed Gods iustice vppon them selues, who to maintaine their different elections of emperors in diuers places, came cōmonlie in the end to spill each others blood, with infinit spoile, dammage, and debilitation of the Romā empire, and this continued more or lesse, from the tyme of *Commodus*, vntill *Constantin* the great, as will euidentlie appeare, by the further prosecution of this historie.

61 Therefore now to returne to *Septimius Seuerus* (of whose enormous crueltie I treated before) he chose for his companion in the empire, his sonne *Antoninus Caracalla*, and gouerned together with him eightene yeares, and in that tyme besides his other exorbitant cruelties, he extreamelie persecuted the Christians (which is counted the fift general persecution after *Nero*) and though he had manie victories, yet they cost him, and the empire so deare, that *Orosius* worthilie attributeth the same to Gods iust punishment for his persecution of Christians: whereto may also be added his miserable end, being extreamelie tormented not onlie with the gout, and intollerable paines throughout all his bodie, but also with greefe, and anguish of mind, hauing discovered his sonnes determination to poison him, after he had failed to kill him, with his sword, where vppon he sought to poison himselfe, and being hindred by his seruants, he killed himselfe by a voluntarie surfett, eating such a quantitie of grosse meate, that his stomake was not able to digest it: which hapned in *England* at *Yorke*, after he had appeased a great rebellio there, and built (as *Victor* saith) a famous wall from sea to sea, in the north parts, to hinder the incursions of the *Scotish*, and *Picts*, though *Polidore Vergil* holdeth it for more certein, that the same wall was built two hundred yeeres after *Seuerus* his time, in the reigne of *Theodosius* the Emperour, by certein capteins sent by *Aetius* with forces to assist the Britas against the *Picts* and *Scottish*.

62 *Antoninus Caracalla* his sonne, exceeding him in bloodie crueltie, and all impietie, as I haue also declared before, reigned after him in companie of his brother *Geta*, whom he slew within a yeare, and when he had reigned alone fife yeares, he was killed of his owne gard; and although he left a sonne called *Antoninus Heliogabalus*, yet the souldiars chose for his successor *Macrinus* prefector capitaine of the gard (of whose crueltie I haue alreadie treated) and he presentlie made his owne sonne *Diadumenus*, his companion in the empire: But within foureteene moneths after the election of *Macrinus*, the souldiars, who

T

had

Nu. 20.

Oros. li. 7.
ca. 17.An. do. 213.
Sext. Aurel.
Victor in
Septim. Se-
uerus.
Polydor.
Vergil. hist.
Angl. li. 2.Nu. 21.
An. 215.
An. 219.
Dio & Spar-
tano. in Ca-
racalla.

Nu. 22.

*Julius Cap-
itolin in Ma-
crino.*

An. do. 220.

had chosen him, grew so wearie of him for his tirannie, that they tooke him, in fauour of *Heliogabalus* afore said, sonne to *Caracalla*, being not aboue foureteene yeares of age, by whose souldiars *Macrinus*, and *Diadumenus*, his sonne, were both slaine.

*Lamprid.
Herodian.
Sext. Aure-
lius Victor*

An. do. 224.

63 I haue sufficientlie declared before, how monstrous, this *Heliogabalus* was, in crueltie, and all kind of vice, and therefore will onlie add here concerning his end, that when he had rioted, and reuelled, rather then raigned foure yeares (or as some say six) the prætorian souldiars, being his owne garde, slew him, and most ignominiously drew his bodie throughout the streetes in the dirt, and after threw him into the riuer *Tiber*, with stones about his necke, calling him *insatiable bitch*, in respect of his effeminate, and most dissolute life.

*Nu. 58. &
59.*

64 And here I wish thee, good reader, to note by the way, how incessant the tiranie of the emperours were from *Marcus Aurelius*, vntill the death of *Heliogabalus*: for although the good emperours *Pertinax*, and *Didius Iulianus* gouerned in this meane time, yet forasmuch as they were both killed, and raigned not a full yeare betwixt them both, and two other emperours chosen also in the meane tyme (as I haue declared) I count not their raigne for anie interruption of the tirannie, and of the intollerable oppression of the common welth vnder the fise forenamed emperours, to wit, *Comodus*, *Septimius Seuer*, *Caracalla*, *Macrinus*, & *Heliogabalus*. which fise most miserablie afflicted, and oppressed the empire, for the space of 42. yeres.

*Herodian.
Lamprid.
Anno 237.
Iulius Cap-
itolin in Ma-
ximinus.
Sext. Aurel.
Victor in A-
lexandro
Seuero.*

65. And although the souldiars, chose the good emperour *Alexander Seuerus*, to succede the wicked *Heliogabalus*, yet so wicked also were they, that they could not endure his vertue, but killed him within thirteene yeares, and chose an other, to wit, the monstrous Tirant *Maximinus*, who imparted the imperiall title, and dignitie to his sonne called also *Maximinus*. And in this meane time (I meane in the raigne of *Alexander*) the legions in the east chose one *Taurinus*, and declared him emperour so much against his will, that he drowned himselfe in the riuer *Eufrates*: and after *Alexanders* death, and the election of *Maximinus* in Germany, the legions also of *Afrik* made an other emperour, called *Gordian*, together with his sone of the same name, which electiō being approued by the senat (for the hatred they bore to *Maximinus*, in respect of his crueltie) the yonger *Gordian* was ouercome and slaine in battaile, by a captaine of *Maximinus*, where vppō his father hanged him selfe, for sorrow, and feare, and *Maximinus* marched towards *Rome*, to be reuēged on the *Romans*, for approuing the electiō of *Gordian*, and therefore the senat chose for their defence two other ep̄erors, *Pupienus* (who was called also *Maximus*) and *Balbinus*, and as they marched with their forces to meete

*Julius Ca-
pitolin. in
Gordianis.*

An. do. 239.

*Idem in Ma-
ximo & Bal-
bino.*

with
his ow
cruelt
w
after
66 A
Prætor
and B
they l
blie f
twixt
burn
67 A
gran
with
to w
Gordi
wh
ther
time
and
no le
68
ge-
afor
cart
wer
in R
afte
fyr
(or
aga
so r
red
not
har
69
rom
pin
for

with *Maximinus*, God executed his iustice vppon him, by the meantes of his owne souldiars, who being alreadie growne to detest him for his crueltie, killed him, and his yonge sonne, saying, that of so ill a race, there was not to be kept so much as a vvhelpe, and this was within three yeares after they had chosen him.

66 And although the emperours guards at Rome (called as I haue sayd *Pratoriani milites*) seemed to allow for a while, the election of *Pupienus*, and *Balbinus*, yet within twoo yeeres, they killed them both: besides that, they had also before that time, during the raigne of *Maximinus*, miserablie spoiled, sacked, and burnt Rome, in a sedition which fell out betwixt them, and the people, whereby the greatest part of the cittie was burnt, as *Herodian* witnesseth.

67 After they had killed *Pupienus*, and *Balbinus*, they chose yonge *Gordia*, grandchild to that other *Gordian* who hanged himselfe in *Aphrick*, and within three or foure yeares after, suffred him to be killed, by one *Philip*, to whom they had before graunted the imperial title to raigne with *Gordian*. And ere six yeares passed, they killed also *Philip*, and his sonne, whom his father had made his companion in the empire, whereas another armie of souldiars, being sent against the *Gorhes* (who at the same time inuaded the Roman empire) made emperour their general *Marinus*, and within a while after, falling in dislike with him, killed him with no lesse facilitie and leuitie, then they had chosen him.

68 And here I cannot omit by the way to make mention of a most strange punishment of God vppon the Roman empire, in the raigne of *Gordian* afore said, by a most terrible, and generall earthquake, whereby the earth opened in diuers places, and whole citties with their inhabitants, were swallowed vp. For the which great sacrifices were made, not onlie in Rome, but also ouer all the world (as *Capitolinus* testifieth: and shortlie after in the raigne of the two *Philips*, Rome receiued great detriment by fyre, and although *Philip* was at the later end of his raigne a Christian (or as some write, dissembled to be so, to haue the helpe of the Christians against *Decius*) yet it is sure, that he was before, most wicked, and cruell, in so much that he is numbred by some amongst the tyrants, yea, and copared by *Vopiscus* for cruelty with *Maximinus*, whereof the particulars are not knowne, because there is litle written of his life, in which respect I haue not nūbered him amongst the tyrannical emperours. But to proceede.

69 The souldiars hauing slaine the two *Phillips*, chose *Decius* emperour, who declared also his owne sonne for his companion in the empire. And the second yeare of his raigne he was ouerthrowne, and his sonne slaine, and his whole army cut in peeces by the *Gorhes* and *Scythians*.

Sext. Aurel.
Victor in
Decio.
An. do. 233.
Oros. li. 7.
ca. 21.

the treason of *Gallus* a captaine of his owne, and being hardlie persued by his enimies, he lepte with his horse into a deepe ditch of water, and mudde, wherein he was drowned, and neuer no more seene, or heard of. A iust punishment no doubt, for the great persecution which he had raised against the Christians, and in his time also, great hurt was done in *Rome*, by fire, in so much that the *Amphitheatrum* was burnt.

Idem ibide.
An. do. 256.

Sext. Aurel.
Victor in
Virio Gallo.
Eutrop in
Æmiliano
li. 10.

70 *Decius* being dead, the souldiars gaue the imperiall title to the traitour *Gallus*, and his sonne *Volusianus*, and within twoo yeares, slew them both in fauour of *Æmilianus*, who being set by *Gallus* against the *Gorhes*, and hauing giuen them a great ouerthrow, was by his souldiars saluted emperour, and in this meane time also, *Hosilianus Perperna*, being chosen emperour by the senate, died of the plague, and *Æmilianus* (who as *Eutropius* saith) being baselie borne, gouerned the empire as baselie, was within foure moneths after his election, slaine also by his souldiars.

Pomponius
Latus, in
Treboniano
Gallo.

71 But to speake a word, or two more of *Gallus*, who succeeded *Decius*, it is to be vnderstoode, that the *Gorhes*, who ouerthrew, *Decius*, hauing first forced *Gallus* to make a shamefull peace with them, with condition to pay them a great yearlie tribute, broke the peace presently after, and entred againe into the confines of the empire, and destroyed all *Macedonia*, *Misia*, *Thessalia*, and possessed them selues of a great part thereof, and of all *Thracia*, and the *Persians* did also the like in *Mesopotania*, and *Armonia*, and remained in the possession thereof.

Oros. li. 7. c.
21. & 27.
Eutrop. li. 10

72 This affliction was also accompanied with a generall, and most violent plague, which infested all the Roman empire, infecting the verie water euerie where, in so much that, *Orosius* saith, it destroyed both men, and beasts, and that there was neither prouince, cittie nor familie, which was not almost consumed there with, and this no doubt was a iust punishment of God, for the persecution of the Christians, continued by *Gallus* after the death of *Decius*.

Idem ibide.
Eutrop. li. 10

73 *Gallus* being slaine as I haue signified, and *Æmilianus* chosen emperour, by the souldiars of them both, certaine other legions in the *Alpes*, who were vnder the conduct of *Valerian*, disliking the election of *Æmilian*, made choise of their generall *Valerian* to succede *Gallus* in the gouernment of the empire, where vpon the souldiars of *Æmilian* slew him, and passed to *Valerian*, whose election also the senat admitted.

An. do. 256
Aurel. Victor
in Licinio
Valeriano.

74 This *Valerian* being, as *Victor* saith, a foole, a dullard, and altogether vnfit, either to counsell, or to execute, chose his sonne *Gaius* for his

companion in the empire, and within a few yeares was taken prisoner in warre by *Sapores* king of *Persia*, who vsed to make him his foot-boole, when he mounted vppon his horse, and in the end caused him to be sleied, and salted alyue: which was, no dout, a iust iudgement of God vppon him, for his cruel persecution of the Christians, which he still continued after *Decius*, and *Gallus*. And allthough *Galien* his sonne reigned some fifteene yeares, yet the empire endured the greatest miserie in his time, that euer was read, or heard of, partlie by the licentious libertie of the souldiars (whereby thirtie seuerall emperours were chosen in manie partes of the empire) and partlie by the inuasion of the *Gethes*, *Scythians*, and manie other northen people, who destroied a great part of *France*, and *Italie*, and came as farre as *Raenna*: and partlie by famins, and most horrible plagues, which in his time were vniuersall, and so cruell aswell in *Rome*, as in other parts, that fife thousand died thereof some times in one daie, and this saith *Zozimus* seemed to be some reliefe of the other extreame miseries, which were such, that those who were strooken with then plague, thought themselues happie to be rid thereby out of the world.

7) For besides the former calamities, there was a most prodigious darkenes, for manie dayes together, and such horrible roaring noises heard out of the earth with such earth quakes, that the ground opened in manie places, and swallowed vpp manie houses, with the inhabitants, and the sea-water was found in ditches farre within the land, yea and in some places, the sea it selfe brake in, and drowned manie cities: all which being added to the continuall spoyles, sackes, and bloodshed, which happened euerie where throughout *Galiens* raigne, by the ciuill wars of the thirtie tyrants abouesaid, and the inundations of barbarous strangers, may manifest the seueritie of Gods iust, and rigorous iudgement vppon the Roman empire, and vppon *Galien* himselfe, who also hauing lead a most brutish, and beastlie life, for fifteene yeares (as I haue declared before) was killed in battaile by *Aureolus* one of the vsurping tyrants, and with *Galien* were slaine his brother *Valerianus*, and his owne sonne *Saloninus*, both which were emperours also, and reigned with him, the former, two yeares, and the latter, a yeare before his death. Besides that, he had imparted also the imperiall dignitie, and title before to *Odenatus*, one of the thirtie tyrants, who had possessed himselfe of all the east parts of the empire, and was afterwards trayterously slaine, by a cosen germaine of his owne. So that during these fifteene yeares reigne of *Galien*, there were fife emperours which might be counted lawfull: to wit, *Galien* himselfe, his father *Valerian*, his brother *Valerian*,

Oros. lib. 7. ca. 22.

Pero Mexia Agato. orat. Constantini apud Eusebium. Trebellius Pollio. Sext. Aurel. Victor.

Oros. li. 7. ca. 22.

Pomponius Latas. Zozimus.

Trebel. Pollio. Eusebius eccles. hist. li. 7.

Pompon. Latas in Galieno. Iornandes.

An. Do. 270

his sonne *saloninus*, and *Odenatus*, though the last was first an vsurper, and after emperour, by composition with *Galien*.

Trebellius
Pollio in de-
cem Tyran-
nis.

76 And at the time of *Galiens* death, *Aureolus*, who ouerthrew, and slew him, possessed *Milan*, and gouerned also all *Scythonia* by his captai-
nes. And in like manner one *Tetricus*, an other of the tyrants, had im-
perionized himsele of all France, and of the greatest part of Spaine, and
Germanie; And *Zenobia* widow of *Odenatus*, commaunded all the east
parts, with the name of emperesse. And finallie, the *Gothes* had in their
possession, a great part of *Thracia*, *Macedonia*, and manie prouinces both
in *Europe*, and *Asia*, which I signifie the more particularlie, to shew the
miserable distracted state of the *Roman* empire at that time.

An.do. 272.
Trebel. Pol-
lio.

Eutrop. li. 10.
Pompon. La-
tus.

77 After the death of *Galien*, the souldiars chose *Claudius*, the second
emperour of that name, who was a notable captein, but a great enemie
of the Christians, whom he persecuted, and within two yeeres died of
the plague, which in his short raigne was very violent, & vniuersal, be-
sids great famin, and the other calamities, that must needs accompanie
the continuall warrs he had with the *Gothes*, and other barbarous na-
tions, who also in his time inuaded the empire, first with three hundred
twenty thousand men, and after with two hundred thousand, all whom
he prosperoullie ouerthrew, and slew also *Aureolus* the tyrant, and re-
couered that part of the empire that was in his hands.

Orof. lib. 7.
ca. 22.

Eutrop. li. 10.
Vopiscus in
Aureliano.
An.do. 272.

78 He was no sooner dead, but the souldiars in *Italie*, chose for empe-
rour his brother *Quintilius*, who had gouerned there in his absence, and
was presentlie admitted by the senat. But the victorious armie of *Claudius*
in *Germanie*, elected an other called *Aurelianus*, whose fame for his
great valour, and prowes was such, that *Quintilius* dispaired to be able
to hold the empire, and therefore within seauenteene daies after his elec-
tion, killed himsele, as some say, or as others affirme, was slaine by
some of his souldiars, as *Aurelianus* also was in the end, through a pra-
ctise of his owne secretarie, whome he had threatned. This *Aurelianus*
reigned six yeeres onlie, and during that time gouerned most cruellie, as I
haue declared before, though in the meane while, he ouerthrew *Zeno-
bia*, *Tetricus*, and all the other tyrants, and recouered for the empire, all
that which they had for some yeares vsurped: neuertheles both he, and
the whole empire, receiued not only great disgrace, but also incredible
dammage, by the irruptions of the *Almians* and *Marcomans* into *Italie*,
whiche they spoyled, and destroyed pitifullie, and gaue the *Romans* such a
bloudie ouerthrow, neere to *Placentia*, vt pene solueretur imperium, that
the empire, saith *Vopiscus*, was almost dissolued, and ruined.

An.do. 278.
nu. 28.

Vopisc. in
Aureliano.

79 *Aurelian* being slaine, *Tacitus* succeeded by election of the senat,

After six moneths vacancie of the empire, for that the souldiars were then so courteous, as it chanced, that they remitted the choise of the emperour to the senate, and the senators were on the other side so respectiue of the souldiars, and so fearefull to offend them, that they refused it, vntill at length, after many embassages and replies too and froo, they yielded to chooise *Tacitus*; Whereby it may appeare, in what seruitude the senat was at that time, and how absolute was the commaunde of the souldiars.

80 But *Tacitus* died within lesse then six moneths, or as some write was slaine by the souldiars, who also within two moneths after, killed *Florianus* his brother, though they had chosen him emperour before, and the reason was, that the legions in the east, had elected at the same time *Aurelius Probus*, a man of rare, and singular valour.

81 This *Probus*, though he was for the short time he reigned, one of the most worthy and fortunate emperours in warre, that euer the Roman empire had, hauing recouered France from the Germans, with the slaughter of 400. thousand of them, besides the suppression of three tyrants, *Satur-ninus*, *Proculus* and *Bonofus*, and many notable victories against diuers barbarous nations, yet was killed by his souldiars the fift yeere after his election. And in his time, Rome was miserablie ran sacked by certaine Gladiators, who breaking prison to the number of fourescore, and assembling a great number of other lost companions, spoyled, and sacked the citie, with the slaughter of manie.

82 After the death of *Probus*, the same souldiars, that slew him, chose *Carus* (who was prefect, or capteine of the emperours gards) and he declared his two sonnes *Numerianus*, and *Carinus*, for his companions in the empire. *Carus* was within lesse then two yeares killed with a thunderbolt, and *Numerianus*, who gouerned in the east partes, was also shortly after slaine by *Arrius Aper*, his father in law, hoping to make himselfe emperour, though he failed thereof: for the souldiars in place of *Numerianus*, elected *Dioclesian*, who slew *Arrius Aper* with his owne hand, in reueng of *Numerianus* his death. And finally *Carinus*, who gouerned in the west partes, being a most vicious, & cruell tyrant (as I haue declared) was after diuers bloudie conflicts, ouerthrowne, and killed by *Dioclesian*, in a most cruell battaile in France within lesse the three yeares after his electiō.

83 This *Dioclesian*, within two yeares after he was chosen emperour declared *Maximian*, surnamed *Herculeus* for his companion, in the empire, whome I placed amongst the tyrannicall emperours, for that he was most cruell, and bloudy, as *Victor*, and *Eutropius* doe witnesse, and executed not only his owne tyrannicall assignements, but also the rigorous counsels

Idem in Tacito.

Ioan. Bap. Egnat. in Tacito. An. do. 279. Vopisc. in Floriano.

Idem in Probo, Saturnino Bonoso & Proculo.

An. do. 283. Pomponius Latius.

Vopiscus in Probo, & Caro.

An. do. 284. Idem in Caro & Numeriano.

An. eodem. Idem in Numeriano & Carino.

Pomponius Latius.

A Nu 29. An. do. 286.

Nu. 6. & 30. Sext. Aurel. Vict. in Galerio Maxim.

and

and proiects of *Dioclesian*, who craftelie dissembling his owne crueltie, made him, and others the instruments, and ministers thereof.

Orof. lib. 7.
ca. 25.
Eutrop. li. 10
Pompon. La-
tus in Dio-
cletiano.

84 These two reigned both together twentie yeares. *Dioclesian* in the east parts, and *Maximian* in *Italie*, and all the west parts, and for eight teene yeares, they, and the whole empire, were miserablie afflicted, with continuall, and most cruell warrs, partlie by the incursion of the *Scythians*, *Gothes*, *Sarmati*, *Alani*, *Carpi*, *Cati*, *Ouari*, and other barbarous nations, and partlie by the rebellion of the *Quinquegentiani*, in *Aphrick*, and the irruptions of the *Almans* into *France*: and partlie also, by the inuasions of *Narses* king of *Persia*, and lastlie by ciuill warrs, with diuers vsurping tyrants, who were made emperours by the souldiars, in sundrie partes of the empire, as *Carausius* in *Brittanie*, *Achilleus* in *Egipt*, and *Iulianus* in *Italie*, by which meanes, all the Roman empire, was for eighteene yeares together, as I haue said, pitifullie distressed, vexed, and spoiled, though in the end, *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, with the two *Casars* (whom they chose to assist them, to wit, *Constantius Chlorus*, and *Galerius Maximianus*, surnamed *Armentarius*) subdued them all, and put the empire in peace.

Orof. li. 7.
ca. 25.
Euseb. eccles.
hist. li. 8. c. 1.
2. 3. &c.
An. do. 304.
Idem ibid.
c. 26.
Eutrop. li. 10
An. 307.
Sext. Aurel.
Victor in
Dioclesiano.
& Galerio
Maximiano
An. 316.
Sext. Aurel.
Vict.
Eutrop. li. 11.
An. do. 306.

85 But in the meane time, God extended also his wrath vppon the empire, by a terrible earth quake, where with manie thoulands of men perished, and in conclusion, *Dioclesian*, and *Maximian*, hauing raised the most cruell persecution against the Christians, that euer was in the Church, renounced the empire of their owne voluntarie wills, and retired themselues to a priuate life, and yet neuertheles in the end, they bore the penaltie of their crueltie, as well toward the Christians, as towards all other.

86 For *Maximian*, attempting afterwards to recouer the empire, was taken, and strangled, at *Marsels*: and *Dioclesian* hauing receiued some yeres after, a threatening message, or letter, from *Constantin* the great, poisoned himselfe for feare.

87 These two left the gouernment, and imperial title to the two *Casars*, *Constantius Chlorus*, and *Galerius Maximianus* surnamed *Armentarius* (because he had ben a drouier) of whom the former, succeeding *Maximian* in the west parts, died within two yeeres after at *Torke* in *Brittain*, and the latter, to wit *Galerius Maximianus* succeeding *Dioclesian*, no lesse in his persecution of the Christians, then in the gouernment of the east parts, felt and acknowledged the heauie hand of God vppon himselfe for the same, being extreameilie tormented, not onlie with an vlcer in his priuie partes, but also with such a horrible disease, proceeding of an inward putrification, that he cast aboundance of stinking wormes, out

of his mouth, they could not see God, his forme commeth of torment, 38. And die tirant, tion be that Co and his the go souldia title, as Maxen perour larelie rour, b the mo For other and di not m manie sure, a he cor they n infini senato and e and b he vsc nation open secur 89 Rome men and and

at his mouth, and hauing put to death manie of his phisicians, because they could not cure him, he conceiued at last, that it was a punishment of God for his persecution of the Christians, and therefore recalled all his former edicts against them, made new in their fauour, yea, and commended himselfe to their praier, and finding in the end no ease of torment, he killed himselfe, as *Orosius*, and *Eutropius*, testific.

Idem ibid.
An. do. 311.

38 And now to end this chapter, and matter, with the three last bloudie tirants, *Maxentius Maximinus*, and *Licinius* (of whom I made mention before amongst the tirannicall emperours:) it is to be vnderstood, that *Constantinus Chlorus*, being as I haue signified, dead at *York* in *Brittanny*, and his sonne *Constantin* (after surnamed the great) succceeding him in the gouernment of the west parts of the empire, by the election of the souldiars, *Galerius Armentarius*, who stil gouerned in the east, gaue the title, and dignitie of *Cesar*, to his nephew *Maximinus* the same yeare, and *Maxentius*, also sonne, or rather as *Baronius* saith, sonne in law to the emperour *Maximian* aforesaid (according to the inscription of an old coyne lately found) being at the same time in *Rome*, declared himselfe emperour, by fauour of the pratorian souldiars, and became within a while, the most wicked, and cruell tirant, that euer was in *Rome*.

Eutrop. li. 11.

Baron. An.
307.

For as *Eutropius* saith, he made the wiues of the senatours, and of the other noble men to be brought him by force, and after he had rauished, and dishonored them, he sent them backe to their husbands, who durst not make so much as anie demonstration of sorow, for that he killed manie, not so much for anie offence taken against them, as for his pleasure, and delight. And such was his barbarous crueltie, that sometimes he commaunded his souldiars to goe into the streetes, and to kill all that they met, of what age, sex, or condition soeuer they were, whereby an infinit number of people, saith *Eutropius*, was murdered. He caused the senators (speciallie such as were rich) to be falselie accused, condemned, and executed, to the end that he might haue the spoile of their goods: and being giuen to the art *Magike*, and gouerned wholie by *Magicians*, he vsed to open the bellies of women with child, and to make his deuinations by looking into the intrailes of their infants, whom he also opened for that purpose, and to all this, he added also a most cruell persecution of the Christians.

Eutrop. li. 11.

Ibidem.

Emse. eccles.
hist. li. 8.
c. 26.

89 Finallie, such was the feare conceiued of his tirannie, not onlie in *Rome*, but also in all the cities, and townes in that part of *Italy*, that most men abandonned their dwellings, and hid them selues, some in caues, and some in the deserts, where vppon followed extreame famin in *Rome*, and thereabout, for lacke of tillage of the ground. For remedie of all

Idem ibid.

which miserie, the senat sent to *Constantin*, and craued his assistance, who marching towards *Rome*, had that heauenlie vision of the crosse in the aire at midday, and of our Sauour in his sleepe, by the which he was made a Christian: and after some bloodie battailes, ouerthrew the tirant *Maxentius*, who flying into *Rome* to saue himselfe, and being so hardlie pursued, that he was forced to enter vppon a false bridge of boats, (which he had made of purpose, to entrap *Constantin*) Incidit, as the psal-
mist saith, *in foueam quam fecit*. He fell into the pitt which he made him-
selfe, for the bridge brake vnder him, and he fell into the riuier *Tyber*, where he was drowned. Thus much concerninge *Maxentius*, and the mi-
serie of the *Romans* vnder him, for the space of fixe yeares, for so long he reigned, or rather tirannised.

90 No lesse miserable was the east part of the empire, at the same time, and for two yeares after, vnder *Maximinus* surnamed *Iouius*, who gouerned there, first as *Cesar* for the space of fīue yeares, vnder *Galerius Armentarius*, and after his death, as emperour for three yeares.

91 This *Maximinus* was, as *Eusebius* affirmeth, not onlie a great freend, and as it were a sworne brother of *Maxentius*, but also verie like him in condition, yea, and more wicked in all respects then he; for besides that he was a mortall enemie, and persecutor of Christians, most libidinous, giuen to the art magicke, a notorious drunkard, and cruell aboue measure, he oppressed also all the prouinces of the east part, subiect to his gouernment, with most cruell exactions, impositions, mulcts, and penalties, he spoiled the richest men to enrich his flatterers, and finally, he gaue his souldiars such free leaue, to vse all kind of rapin, and to sack, spoile, and ransacke euerie where throughout his dominions, that they seemed to be no lesse absolute in tirannie then he. And this generall calamitie was much augmented, with diuers strāge diseases, and the most pitifull famine, and plague, that euer was heard of, as appeareth by the lamentable description thereof, made by *Eusebius*, who liued in the same time, and was an eye witnes of it.

92 Here also may be added the bloudie warrs, which *Maximinus* had, partlie against the *Armenians*, who defeated him with great slaughter of his armie, and partlie against *Licinius*, who being made *Cesar* some yeares before, by *Galerius Armentarius*, gouerned also the east parts of the empire together with *Maximinus*. And such was the ambition, and intollerable pride of *Maximinus*, that he could endure no companion, or equall, and therefore sought to suppress *Licinius*, who neuertheless ouerthrew him, and slew the greatest part of his armie, and in fine God also exacted of *Maximinus*, the penaltie due to his iustice, for his impie-

Eutrop. li. ii.

Euseb. Eccl.

hist. l. 9. c. 8.

An. do. 312.

Euseb. Eccl.

hist. l. 8. c. 27.

Idem ibid.

li. 9 c. 7.

Idem ibid.

ca. 8.

tic, an
fell sic
could
of his
cies le
this m
secuti
95 N
by the
the em
ried, h
94 T
Eutrop
learn
finalli
extrem
strum
punis
the en
nine,
open
and in
ned (e
proui
tion
95
hund
of all
I wil
serua
ses, f
fatis

tie, and wickednes: for after these other disgraces, and afflictions, he fell sicke with such extreame passion, and paine in his entrails, that he could neither eat, drinke, nor sleepe, but cast himselfe diuerse times out of his bed, vpon the ground, and so violent was his torment, that his eies leapt out of his head, and in the end, after manie daies anguish in this manner, he died, confessing, that God did punish him, for his persecution of the Christians. *Ibidem.* *An. do. 314.*

93 Now it resteth onlie, that I speake a word, or twoo of *Licinius*, who by the death of *Maximinus*, was the onlie Colleague, and companion in the empire, of *Constantine* the great, whose sister *Constanza* he had married, hauing now vnder him, all the east parts, as *Constantin* had the west.

94 This *Licinius*, was not onlie a persecutor of Christians, but also, as *Eutropius* affirmeth, most vicious, and couetous, and such an enimie of learning, that he called it, *the poison and plague of common vvealths*. And finallie he was, as the same author affirmeth, passionat, and cruell in all extremitie, and therefore when he had serued fiftene yeares for an instrument of Gods iustice vpon the empire, he himselfe receiued the due punishment of his wickednes, through his owne foolish ambition, and the enuie he bore to *Constantinus* great glorie, not with standing their affinity, and therefore, first seeking to poison *Constantin*, and after making open warr vpon him, he was ouercome by him in two cruel battailes, and in the end also put to death, by his order, whereby *Constantin* remained sole emperour: as almightie God, had in his eternall wisedome, and prouidence ordained, for the extinction of Idolatrie, and the propagation of Christian religion. *Eutrop. li. ix.* *Euseb. in vita Constantini. l. 2. c. 15. 16. 17. 18.* *An. do. 318.* *Sext. Aurel. Victor in Constantino.*

95 Therefore, hauing now passed through the whole course of three hundred, and eightene yeares after our Sauours birth, and the raigine of all the pagan emperours, from *Augustus* to *Constantin*, as I promised, I will therewith end this chapter, and reserue for the next, certaine observations, and conclusions, which I meane to draw out of the premises, for the confirmation of my principall intention, and the further satisfaction (as I hope) of my Reader.

The conclusion of the foure former chapters, concerning the religion, common welth, and empire of the Romans, and first of the amplitude of their dominion, their great welth, and power, and the meanes how they attained vnto it is briefly signified, with a compendious recapitulation of their calamities, which are proued to be farre greater then the miseries, and calamities of Christiā haue bene at any tyme. And finally it is declared, how their great power, and ample dominion, serued for the propagation of the faith, and Church of Christ: vvhich it appeareth, how his providence in the conseruation and amplification of their state, for the good of his church, concurred with his iustice in their seuer punishment for the abominable impiety of their religion.

C H A P. 13.

1. **B**Eing now to conclude all this former discourse cōcerninge the Roman Empire, I thinke good, for the better satisfactiō of my curious Readers (and to make my *Epitome* of the Romā historie more cōpleat) to add first a word, or two, touching the amplitude, welth, and power of the Roman Empire. Yt is therefore to be vnderstood, that although, it be commonlie said, yea, & auouched, by the ancient historiographers, that the Romans had all the world vnder their dominion (and therefore *Dionisius Halicarnassens* saith. *Romana urbs imperat toti terra* &c. The citie of Rome commaundeth all the earth vvhether it is acceſſible, and habitable, as also all the seas that are naviſable,) neuertheles there was a great part, as well of Europe, northward, as of Asia, and Asrick towards the east, and south, which was not subiect to the Roman Empire. But that which may trulie be said concerning the amplitude of their dominion is, that they commaunded, and gouerned the greatest, and best part of the world, which was then knowne to be habitable, or rather, as *Lipsius* affirmeth, as much thereof, as they thought worth the conquest, and conuenient to be kept, and therefore whereas, *Traian*, subdued the contries beyond the riuer *Euphrates* eastward, to the riuer *Tigris* (as *Armenia*, *Arabia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Assiria*) and made them prouinces of the Roman empire, *Adrian* his successor gaue them ouer againe, and reduced the empire to the former limits; which were, eastward the riuer *Euphrates*, the mountaine *Taurus*, and the countrie of *Armenia*; towards the west, the furthest part of *Spaine*, and *Portugal*; towards the south *Aethiopia*; and northward the riuer of *Rheyn*, and *Danuby*: and further they had in their subiectiō, all the mediterranean sea, and the Ilāds thereof, & *Brittany* in the northerne sea, so that, as *Appianus*, & *Polibius* affirme, they possessed more, almost by the one halfe, then all the other monarches before them, to wit, then the *Assirians*, *Medes*, *Persians*, and *Greekes*.

Further

*Dionis.
Halicar.
antiq. Ro-
man. li. I.*

*Lufus Lip-
sius de ma-
gnitudine
Romana li.
I. c. 3.
Fastus Rufus*

*Appianus in
proæmio
hist. Lybica.
Polybius.*

Fur
hundre
ting cle
sand of
Their
had tw
fourse
tation
emper
naue,
3 Fir
ordina
million
diuerſ
pan af
ding to
which
thor,
seeing
Conſt
after
of M
mani
gine
him
Suer
diuer
them
Ang
gaue
lions
by hi
to be
be al
thou
best
his c
abou
emp
nati

Furthermore they had, as *Appian* testifieth, alwaies in pay, two hundred thousand footemen, fortie thousand horse, three hundred fighting elephants, three thousand armed chariotts, and three hundred thousand of all sorts of armes in their armories, for the supplie of necessities. Their power also by sea, was correspondēt to their land-forces, for they had two thousand sayle of shippes, a thousand five hundred gallies, and fourescore great gallions, with their pupps, and prows guilt, for ostentation of the maiestie of the *Roman* empire, and for the seruice of their emperours, and generalls, as occasion should require; And for all this nauie, they had alwayes double prouision in readines.

3 Finallie their yearlie reueneue, was as (*Lipsius* gathereth out of their ordinarie tributs, rents, gabels, and taxes) aboue a hundredth and fiftie millions, and the readie, money, which they commonlie had in store, in diuerse parts, for their prouision of warrs by sea, and land, was (as *Appian* affirmeth) seauentie five thousand *Egyptian* talents, which according to our accompt, mounteth to six hundredth millions of crownes, which might seeme incredible, if it were not affirmed by a graue author, and also conforme to their greatnes in other respects, especiallie seeing wee reade, that the yearelie rent of *Crassus* in the time of the Consuls, was esteemed at seauen thousand and a hundred talents, which after our accompt, mounteth almost to a eleuen millions. And the riches of *Marinus*, as *Plutarke* testifieth, was such, that it might haue sufficed manie kings. Also *Iulius Caesar*, whiles he was a priuate man, was able to giue nine hundred thousand crownes at one gift, to *L. Paulus*, to withhold him for bearing armes against him, and to *Curio* a greater somme, saith *Suetonius*, to winn him to his partie, and much more to his souldiars, by diuers donatiues, and especiallie at his triumph, at what time he gaue them (as appeareth in *Dio*, and *Appian*) fiftene millions; Besides that *Augustus Caesar*, and *Antoninus*, in their warres against *Brutus*, and *Cassius*, gaue to their souldiars for one donatiue, aboue a hundredth, and fifty millions, as *Lipsius* gathereth out of *Appian*; And *Nero* being reprehended by his mother, for ordaining two hundredth and fiftie thousand crownes to be giuen to the souldiars of his gard, commaunded the monie to be all brought, and laid out before him, and when he saw it, he said, he thought it had not beene so litle, and ordained them as much more, and bestowed, at one other time vpon *Tiridates*, king of *Armenia*, partlie in his entertainment at *Rome*, for nine moneths, and partlie for his returne, aboue seauen millions, and a halfe. Finally to omit diuerse others, the emperour *Adrian* bestowed, vpon his souldiars, and the people in donatiues, and playes, tenne millions in the feasts which he made, when

*Appian. in
proemio
hist. Lybica.*

*Lipsius de
magnitud.
Romana.
li. 2. c. 3.
Appian in
proemio
hist. Lybica.*

*Plutarke. in
Crasso.*

*Idem in
Mario.
Sueton. in
Iulio Cesare*

*Dio in Iulio
Caesare.*

*Appian. de
Ciuil. Rom.
bellis li. 4.*

*Iustus Lip-
sius de ma-
gnit. Roma-
nali. 2. c. 12.
Sueton. in
Nerone
ca. 30.*

*Ælius Spar-
tian. in A-
driano.*

he adopted *Ceionius Commodus*.

*Circa. an.
Do. 800.
Zonaras,
Annal.
To 3.*

4 And all this may be the better beleueed, seeing *Zonaras* testifieth, that a greeke emperour of *Constantinople*, to wit, *Pasilius Porphyrogenitus* (who had but a part of the Roman empire) had in his treasure, a thousand, and two hundred Millions of crounes, besides an infinit wealth in gould, and siluer plate, and in precious stones. Whereby it may be gathered, how excelluue were the riches, and power of the *Roman* empire, whiles it was entire.

*Chap. 7.
nu. 27. &
seq. en.*

5 And if thou desire good Reader to know, by what meanes they arrived to so great power, wealth, and dominion, thou shalt breeflie vnderstand, that almighty God hauing determined, out of his eternall wisdom, and prouidence, to aduance them to the Empire of the world, disposed them thereto, by sixe politicall vertues wherein they excelled other nations, (though they were otherwaies most vicious, and wicked, as I haue declared before.) The first was, an exceeding loue to their countrie, and common welth. The second, a strict obseruation of ciuill iustice, as well towards their enimies, as towards their confederats and subiects. The third was, an inuincible fortitude, and courage euen in their greatest calamities. The fourth, singular clemencie, towards their subiects, and those that yealded themselves vnto them. The fifth was, notable prudence in gouernment. And the last, an excellent discipline of warre, most exactlie obserued.

*Chap. 7. &
2. per totum.*

6 Now then to come to the conclusion of all the discourse concerning the *Romans*, I must first put thee in mind, good Reader, what hath bene my principall intention, and drift therein, whereby thou mayst the better iudge, of the inference that I am to draw thereof. Thou must remember, that I amplie proued before, in the seauenth, and eight chapters, that the religion professed by the *Romans*, was most ridiculous, absurd, and impious in it selfe, and produced two bad effects, the one *Atheisme*, and the other extreame corruption of manners: wherevpon it consequentlie followed (as I also signified there) that it must needs be most pernicious to their common welth, not onlie because *Atheisme*, and vice, are most contrarie to true reason of state: (which I proued at large, in the eight and ninth Chapter) but also because false religion of it selfe, draweth the wrath, and vengeance of God, vpon the states, that are infected there with.

*Chap. 8.
Co. 9.*

7 And whereas there might grow herevpon a great doubt, how the common welth, and empire of the *Romans*, could so long stand, and flourish, as it did, in the profession, and exercise of their religion, if it were so hatefull to almighty God, and consequentlie so preiudiciall to their

state, as
doubt
owne
as on t
to the
the bu
execut
for the
8 Th
to A
calami
reine,
damme
and str
with a
they n
(as ma
who s
comm
could
lesse,
of God
9 Th
uenth
monar
selfe,
better
10 Y
punis
giue i
fore o
extrea
will g
ns prin
for the
is also
raigne
H Th
Rom
cedin

state, as I presumed it to be, I tooke vpon me, for the satisfaction of this doubt, to proue the veritie of my assertion, by the experience of their owne histories, and to shew throughout the whole course thereof, that, as on the one side, almightie God did, out of his prouidence, aduance the to the monarchie, & empire of the world (to make thereby the way to the building of his Church) so also on the other side, he most manifestly executed his iustice vppō the, in punishing the severely frō time to time, for their wicked religion, and the abominable fruit that it yealded.

8 This hath first appeared eidentlie in the *Roman* state, from *Romulus*, to *Augustus Caesar*, by their continuall afflictions, and neuer ceasing calamities. I meane their cruell, and bloudie warrs, both ciuill, and forreine, their horrible plagues, and famins, their frequent inundations, dammages by fire, and domesticall diuisions, besides other most rare, and strange punishments of God, which either vexed, and infested them with a continual counterchange, and entercourse one after an other (as they neuer failed to doe) or els afflicted, and oppressed them all at once (as manie times they did) in such sort, that it may be euident to anie man, who shall consider the particulers related by me before, that the *Roman* common welth, growing of so poore, and base a beginninge, as it did, could not possiblie haue resisted such torrents of miseries, and much lesse, haue arriued to such a height of empire, if the speciall prouidence of God had not conserued, amplified, and aduanced it.

9 This, I say, I haue shewed sufficientlie in the ninth, tenth, and eleauenth chapters, from the foundation of *Rome*, to the erection of their monarchie: and the same is no lesse euident also in their monarchie it selfe, by that which I haue discoursed in the last chapter, and may the better appeare by these few obseruations following.

10 It is manifest by the scriptures themselves, that one of the greatest punishments, that God laith vpon anie kingdome, or countrie, is to giue it into the handes, of a wicked, and tirannicall prince, and therefore our Lord threatned the same to the *Iewes*, as a speciall signe of his extreame wrath, and indignation, saying, *Dabo eis regem in furore meo. I will giue them a king in my fury.* And againe by the prophet *Isay. Dabo pueris principes eorum, & effeminati dominabuntur eis. I will giue them children for their princes, and effeminate men, shall rule, and gouerne them.* And the same is also signified by *Iob*, when he saith, that *God makerh the Hypocrit to Iob. 34. raigne, Propter peccata populi. For the sinnes of the people.*

11 This the being so, it must needes be graūted, that the punishmēt of the *Roman* empire in this kind, during the time of their Paganisme, was exceeding great, as well for the nūber of the wicked, & tirānical emperours,

as for

as for their excesse in wickednes, and tirannie, seeing it appeareth in the last chapter, that they were twentie two in all (*Augustus Caesar*, being counted for one, during one and fortie yeares of his raigne) all of them most cruell, and tirannicall, and the farre greater part of them (I meane fifteene, of the two and twentie) verie monsters, not onlie for crueltie, but also for all kind of vice, and wickednes, being euerie one of them, so voyde of all vertue, or good inclination, that it may well be said, they were not men, but verie sauage beastes, or infernall furies, reuested in the habit, and shape of men, ordained for no other end, but for the scourge, and plague of the whole world.

12 And although, there were also during the same time of Paganisme, one and fortie other emperours, who were counted either good, or indifferent, or at least not so bad, as the others, yet if we consider, the time that the twentie two raigned, we shall find, that in continuance, and length of dominion, they farre exceeded the other. For whereas, *Augustus*, who was the first, beganne his tirannie in the yeare seauen hundred, and cleauen after the foundation of *Rome*, and *Licinius* who was the last, was ouerthrowne by *Constantin* in the yeare one thousand seauentie seauen, there passed in the meane while, three hundred sixtie six yeares, of which time, the tirannicall emperours, raigned at one time, and other, two hundred thirtie siue yeares, and the other of the better sort, but one hundred thirtie one yeares: so that the twoo and twentie tirannicall emperours, had aboue a hundred yeares vantage of fortie one good, or tollerable emperours, in the space of three hundreth yeares, raigning twise as long as they. Wherein it is also to be noted, that although the good emperours were intermixed with the bad, yet there was commo- lie small intermission of tiranie, especiallie for the first hundreth yeares, whereof nintie eight were wholie spent in the affliction, and oppression of the common wealth, excepting onlie the last foureteene yeares of *Augustus*, and the first siue yeares of *Nero*, before he beganne to tiranize.

13 And although after these nintie eight yeares, succeeded *Vespasian*, and his sonne *Titus* (of whome the first may be counted tollerable in respect of his predecessours, and the second, to wit *Titus*, was one of the best emperours, that euer the Romans had) yet they raigned but twelue yeares betwixt them both, and the latter of them but two yeares, and presentlie after, followed the cruell *Domitian*, whose tirannie lasted fifteene yeares.

14 And whereas after *Domitian*, succeeded two other of the good emperours, to wit *Nerva*, and *Traian*, for the space of one and twentie yeares, the same was counterpeised with the crueltie of their successour

Adrian
yeares
Aureli
fortie
and H
ty T
in. Fo
balw)
but th
that w
tion of
diars, v
and th
minu,
two P
equall
and re
reigne
16 A
perous
om, an
finu,
althou
emper
nicious
me the
that I
tinuar
also to
ring th
ceede
Clandi
and th
ceede
after h
Numer
all, an
ther v
yeare
and c

Adrian, who reigned, as manie yeares, as they both. And the thirtie six yeares raigne of the two notable emperours (*Antonius Pius*, and *Marcus Aurelius*, who succeeded *Adrian*) was ouerwaighed with the two and fortie yeares tirannie of *Commodus*, *Septimius Seuerus*, *Caracalla*, *Macrinus*, and *Heliogabalus*, all which five succeeded *Marcus Aurelius*.

15 The like also may be obserued in the ensuing times, vntill *Constantin*. For although the good *Alexander Seuerus* (who succeeded *Heliogabalus*) reigned thirteene yeares, and the cruel *Maximinus* his successour but three yeares, yet cōsidering the state of those times, we may well say, that what wanted in the raigne of *Maximinus*, for the tirannical oppression of the common welth, was supplied with the tirannie of the souldiars, who oppressed (especiallie at that tyme) the emperours, and senat, and the whole empire, and slew successiuelie five emperours after *Maximinus*, within nine yeares, to wit, *Pupienus*, *Balbinus*, yong *Gordian*, and the two *Phillips*, the father, and the sonne, of which, the two last were held equall in barbarous crueltie with *Maximinus* (as I haue declared before) and reigned five yeares, whereas the three other good emperours, reigned but four yeares amongst them all.

Vopiscus in Aurelian.

16 And presentlie also, ensued the disgracious deaths of six other emperours, in the foure yeares that immediatelie followed, to wit, of *Decius*, and his sonne, of *Hosilianus Perpetua*, *Gallus* with his sonne, *Volusianus*, and *Emilianus*, which three last were killed by their souldiars, and although I haue not put them in the list of the tirannicall, and wicked emperours, yet they might wel be counted of their crew, being very pernicious to the empire, in respect of their bad gouernment, for the short tyme they reigned, which was but two yeares, as I haue declared before: so that I count not their raigne for anie intermission, but rather for a continuance, or increase of the infelicitie of the Roman empire. Whereto is also to be added the fifteene yeares calamitie that presētlie followed, during the infamous raigne of *Valerian*, and *Gallien* his sonne, who next succeeded *Emilian*. And though after *Gallien*, followed the good emperour *Claudian*, & his brother *Quintilius*, yet the former reigned but two yeares, and the latter but seauentie daies, whereas the cruel *Aurelian* who succeeded them, continued his reigne six yeares. And albeit there followed after him five good emperours, to wit *Tacitus*, *Florianus*, *Probus*, *Carus*, and *Numerianus*, yet they reigned not aboue six yeares amongst them all, and for twoo yeares of the six, the wicked *Carinus* reigned together with *Carus*, and *Numerianus*, and ouer-liuing them more then a yeare, had for his successors *Dioclesian*, and *Maximian*, whose seuer, and cruell gouernment, lasted thirtie yeares, and was, within two

yeares after, seconded with the tirannie of *Maxentius*, and the crueltie of *Maximinus*, and *Licinius*, who were the last pagan emperours.

17 Thus then we see, that those wicked, and tirannical emperours, were by the prouidence of God, so distributed from time to time in the *Roman* empire (for the iust punishment thereof) that there was neuer anie great intermission of tirannie, and other whiles the most crueltie, and continuall oppression that euer was heard, or read of, in anie countrie, for so manie yeares together. And thus much for the first obseruation.

18 The second may be Gods iustice, and seuerie iudgment vpon the emperours themselues, being, as I haue said, sixtie three in all (I meane such onlie as were acknowledged, for emperours by the senat) who died all of them violentlie, except tenne, to wit, *Augustus*, *Vespasian*, *Titus*, *Nerva*, *Traian*, *Antoninus* surnamed *Pius*, *Marcus Aurelius*, *Lucius Verus*, *Tacitus*, and *Constantinus*. Of which tenne neuertheles some write, that *Augustus*, *Titus*, and *Traian* were poisoned, as I haue signified in the last chapter, and that *Tacitus*, who liued not a yeare, was killed by his souldiars; so that of sixtie three, there were but onlie six of whose naturall, and peaceable death the authors agree, the rest ending their daies vnfortunatlie, either by the treacherie of their souldiars, seruants, or by their enemies in the field, or by their owne handes, or els by the manifest hand of God; whereto I ascribe, not onlie the miserable end of *Maximinus*, and *Galerius Armentarius*, who died of most strange, and horrible diseases, but also the vntimelie death of the emperour *Claudius*, who hauing reigned, but twoo yeares, died of the plague, in a most cruel, and general contagion, which miserablie afflicted the empire in his daies, and therefore as *Victor* signifieth, *Claudius* finding in the farall bookes that the first, or principal man must die, for the expiation of the common wealth, and hearing *Pomponius Bassa*, make offer of his life for the publike good, said that no man was to be preferred in that point, before himselfe being emperour, and so saith *Victor*. *Vitam dono republica dedit. He gaue his life for a gift to the common welth*, and therefore was honored with an image of gold, which was placed by the image of *Iupiter*, so that in the opinion of the paynims themselues, he died vntimelie by the iudgment of God, as a sacrifice for the remedie of the publicke calamities.

19 And it is also further to be obserued, that so ordinarie, and continuall was the punishment of God vpon the *Roman* emperours, that from the death of *Augustus* vnto *Vespasian*, which was the space of fiftie fiue yeares, seauen emperours successiuelie died violentlie; And againe afterwards from the death of *Marcus Aurelius* (who died in the yeare of

Pero Mexia
in Traiano,
& Tacito.

Sext. Aurel.
Victor in
Claudio.

our Lord, one hundredth eightie one) the same iudgement, and punishment of God neuer failed in anie of them, for the space of one hundredth twentie nine yeares, to wit, to the death of *Constantinus Chlorus*, who was a great fauourer of Christians, and died naturallie in the yeare of our Lord three hundredth, and tenne: during which space of a hundredth twentie nine yeares, no one emperour, died his natural death, and after *Constantinus*, those three pagan emperours, which succeeded in the east, and west, to wit, *Maxentius*, *Maximinus*, and *Licinius* died disgracefullie, all three in the space of eightene yeares, as I haue declared: whereto may also be added the like disgracious, and miserable end of all the rest, that tooke vpon them the title of emperours (though they were not allowed by the senate, and therefore nor held as lawfull) who being aboute fortie in number at one time, and other, were all of them, except some two, or three, slaine by their owne souldiars, or by their enemies in the field, or els they made away themselves, in so much, that of aboute a hundred emperours, lawfull, and vnlawfull, there cannot be reckoned aboute tenne, that died a naturall death.

20 Moreouer, it may also be noted, what diuersities of disasters, and disgraces befell them in their deaths; for that some were poisoned, as *Augustus*, and *Claudius* the first: some died of the plague, as *Claudius* the second, and *Perpenna*: some were drawne like doggs vp, and downe the streets, as *Vitellius*, and *Heliogabalus*: some were killed in battaile, as the younger *Gordian*, *Gallien*, and *Carinus*: and others were slaine by their owne souldiars, or gardes, as *Caligula*, *Pertinax*, *Alexander*, *Seuerus*, *Pupienus*, *Balbinus*, and diuers others.

21 *Tiberius*, was smothered with a quishon: and *Decius* drowned in a durtie ditch: *Maxentius* in the riuer *Tiber*: *Carus* killed with a thunderbolt: *Valerianus* fleied, and salted aliue: *Nero* cut his owne throat: *Orho* stabbed himselfe: *Quincilins* and *Florian*, let them selues blood to death: *Adrian* famished himselfe: *Septimius Seuerus*, killed himselfe purpofelie with a surfett: The elder *Gordian* hanged himselfe: *Dioclesian* poisoned himselfe: *Galerius Armentarius* rotted inwardlie aliue, and cast out at his mouth abundance of stinking wormes, vntill he died: and finallie *Maximinus* surnamed *Iouius*, died in such extreame torments; that his eyes leapt out of his head. So that almightie God executed his iudgements, vpon those emperours, by all kind of miserable death, to make them liuelie examples of his iustice, and a true spectacle, and mirrour to the world of humane infelicitie, and miserie.

22 And to this purpose also it is to be considered, that nine and twentie of the emperours aboute named, did not raigene amongst the all, aboute

five and twentie yeares and od moneths, and yet seauenteene of those nine and twentie, raigned aboue two and twentie yeares of that time, (two of them three yeares, as *Maximinus*, and his sonne, and the rest a yeare, or two a peece) so that there remaineth not aboue three yeares, and od moneths for the raigne of the other twelue emperours, of whom none enioyed his title, aboue seauen, or eighte moneths, and some but two, or three moneths a peece, and some of them but a few dayes, in so much, that *Rome* had once five emperours in lide more, then a yeare, to wit, *Ner*, *Galba*, *Orho*, *Vitellius*, and *Vespasian*, one succeding an other. Whereby it may appeare, what hauock was made of the emperours in those daies, and how vnfortunate a thing it was, to attaine to the highest fortune, I meane to the soueraigntie of the *Roman* empire, which was so well noted, by those, that were not wholie blinded with ambition, that when, after the slaughter of the emperour *Pertinax*, the souldiars, who had killed him, set the empire on sale, there were but two, who would offer anie money for it, as I haue declared: and after that againe, *Audentius* refused it flatlie, when it was offered him by the souldiers, and *Pupienus*, being chosen emperour by the senate, together with *Balbinus*, told him that they had small cause to reioyce, for it would cost them their liues erryt were long, and so it did, for the souldiars killed them both, within twoo yeares. Yea, and *Taurinus*, being elected by the souldiars, and forced to accept the title of emperour, drowned himselfe for sorow, as I haue signified before, so miserable was the state, and condition of the emperours in those daies, that the wisest men, tooke it to be the greatest miserie, and to be eschewed even with voluntarie death, which no doubt, must needs be attributed to the speciall iudgement, and iustice of God, not onlie vppon the emperours themselves, but also vppon the whole empire, which was miserable afflicted by the tumults, ciuill warrs, sacks, spoiles, and lamentable desolation, which either accompanied, or necessarilie followed the frequent slaughters, of so manie emperours, and the great innouations, which ensued thereon throughout the *Roman* state.

23 But what shold I say of the insolencie, and tirannie of the souldiars, which was for the most part, the cause of the former calamitie of the emperours, and of the perpetuall miserie of the empire? For though the emperours had the title, and dignitie of cheefe gouernours, yet the souldiars gouerned, and tiranized in effect, not onlie making, depriving, killing, and changing the emperours at their pleasure, but also being the instruments, ministers, and maintainers of their crueltie, seeing that

Chap. 12.
Num. 58.

Chap. 12.
Num. 65.

without
haue ex
ges, di
warrs,
but fro
souldia
24 So
fualitie
the Ro
and cap
ked, as
of man
Where
sted, o
exalted
smallie
tiranni
not acc
to thei
25 An
conflag
solatio
aboun
needes
where
heard
the Ro
of God
tiranni
of hum
prince
men, t
red, t
instru
26 All
the las
pustus
reuer
baies
An R

without their assistance, the tyrannicall emperours neither durst, nor could haue executed their tyrannie. Besides that, all the bloodshed, rapes, pillages, disorders, and infinit calamities, that ensued of the frequent ciuill wars, wherewith the empire was infested, sprong from no other roote, *Ibid. N. 84.* but from the vnbrideled insolencie, and exorbitant passion of the souldiars, as I haue sufficientlie declared before.

24 So that, it being true, as *Aristotle* saith, that where passion, and sensualitytie predominateth, there a beast ruleth, it may trulie be sayd, that the Roman empire, being almost continuallie gouerned by the passions, and caprichious humours of the souldiars (who were at that time raked, as I may say, out of the sinkes of all nations) was ruled by a beast of manie heades, the most vile, and sauage that could be imagined. Whereby it may also be easelie coniectured, how iustice was administered, or rather how it perished, how vertue was suppressed, and vice exalted, how litle securitie men had of their landes, goods, or liues; and finally, how lamentable was the state of the whole empire, during this tyrannie of the emperours; and souldiars, gouerning for the most part, not according to the rule of reason, conscience, and law, but according to their owne sensuall, and beastlie appetits. *Aristotle.*

25 And if to all this, we add the frequent, and most cruell contagions, conflagrations, famins, inundations, earth quakes, subuersion, and desolation of cities, and prouinces, & such other strange calamities, which abounded euerie where, during the raigne of these emperours, we must needs confesse, that the *Roman* empire, was but a verie theater, or stage, whereon was acted the most doleful, and bloodie, tragedy, that euer was heard of, representing the height of humane infelicities, in the persons of the Roman emperours, senat, and people, to manifest the terrible effects of Gods seuerer iustice, in the due punishment of false religion, Idolatrie, tyrannie, and all kind of iniquitie, and with all, to discouer the vanities of humane pride, welth, honour, and glorie, and the follie of those princes, who reposing more confidence in gards, armies, and power of men, then in vertue, and in the protection of God, seeke rather to be feared, then beloued, and are themselues miserable tyrannized, by the instruments, ministers, and vphoulders of their tiramie.

26 All this I say, manifestlie appeareth, in that which I haue discoursed in the last chapter, concerning the Roman emperours, & empire, from *Augustus Caesar*, to *Constantin* the great. And although almightie God, hath alsoouerelic punished sinne in all times, and still doth, euen in these our daies, as euerie man seeth, yet, if we compare the calamities of the *Romans*, and their empire, in the time of Paganisme, with the afflictions

afflictions of the ensuing ages, in the time of Christian religion, we shall euidentlie see, that his deuine maiestie, punished the former with all rigour as his professed enimies, and chastiseth the latter, with all mercie as his children, and seruants: which I would make most euident, with an exact comparision of the punishments inflicted on both sorts, but that I haue spent alreadie so much time in the abridgement of the Roman historie, that I am forced to hast to the prosecution of matter more necessarie, for the performance of that which I principallie intend in this treatise.

*Tertul. in
Apologet.*

27 Therefore I will content my selfe in this point, and desire thee also, good Reader, to be contented with the iudgment of others, who haue amplie handled the same subiect, as well in former, as in these later times, and proued clearelie, that God extended his iustice, in farre greater rigour vppon sinners, in the time of paganisme, then he hath done since the conuersion of the world to the Christian faith. Which point is notable, though verie breeflie handled by *Tertulian* in his Apologie for the Christians, against the Painims, who attributed all the calamities of their time, to the demerit of the Christians, and their religion. For the confutation whereof, *Tertulian* mentioneth diuerse horrible punishments of God vppon Pagans, and such as neuer had benne heard of, from the comming of Christ to his daies, which was the space of two hundred yeares; As to omit others, that the citie called *Hierapolis*, and the Ilands of *Delos*, *Rhodos*, and *Goos*, were sonke, and swallowed vp by the earth, or sea, and that not onlie the townes of *Sodome*, and *Ghomorra*, but also the cities of *Vulfinium*, and *Pompeij* in Italie, were destroyed by fire, the one from heauen, and the other from the mountaine *Vesunius*, which cast out fire flames vppon yt.

*August. li. 1.
de ciuit. Dei.
c. 1. & l. 2. c.
1. & l. 3. c. 29
Oros. li. 7.
ca. 39.*

28 This same argument, is also most amplie, and learnedlie treated by *Saint Augustine*, and *Orosius*, against the Painimes of their time, who affirmed that the Christian religion was the cause of the seige, and sack of *Rome* by the *Gothes*, and of all the other calamities of those daies; whereas the authors aforenamed, notable proued the contrarie, shewing that the miserie of former ages in time of Paganisme, farr exceeded the afflictions that God laid vppon the Christians, as may appeare in *Saint Augustins* most learned worke, intituled *de ciuitate Dei*, and in the historie of *Orosius*, which were purposedlie written vppon that occasion. Wherein, amongst other things they declare, that the citie of *Rome*, receiued nothing so much dammage by the *Gothes*, as it did in times past, by *Sili*, *Marius*, and *Nero*, and other of her owne gouernours, yea, and that the *Gothes* spared the Christian temples, and all those who fled thereto: in

much that manie Painims tooke sanctuarie there, together with the Christians, and so escaped the furie of the enimie, whereby it was euident, say they, that the common affliction was much more moderat, and tollerable euen to the Painims themselues, by the benefitt of Christian religion, and by the mercifull prouidence of our Sauour *Christ*.

29 And *Orosius* further obserueth, how almightie God, out of his infinit mercie so disposed, that the great inundation also of the *Vandales*, *Alans*, *Hunnes*, and other barbarous nations into the Roman empire at that time, was not onlie much more tollerable, then the like former irruptions of forreine nations, had bene in time past, but also turned in the end to Gods greater glorie, whereof he yealdeth three reasons. First for that it lasted but two yeares, whereas in the time of *Galien* the emperour (to omit the former ages) the empire was continuallie spoiled, and ransacked by the Northerne people, for almost twelue yeares together. Secöddie although they possessed themselues of a great part of *Spain*, and other parts of Christendome, yet they vsed farr greater clemencie towards the inhabitants, then the other barbarous nations had done in like occasions. Thirdlie that the Church of *Christ*, was thereby greatlie augmented by their conuersion, to the Christian faith shortlie after: where vpon the same Author saith, that the mercie of God was greatlie to be praised, and extolled, in that he ordeined by that meanes, that infinit number of infidels, should receiue the light of the true faith. *Quam inuenire vtrique nisi hac occasione non possent. VVhich they could not otherwise haue found, but by this occasion.* Thus saith he.

30 But he that list to see this matter, concerning the seueritie of Gods iudgments vpon the Paynimes, copiously, and fullie handled, let him read *Boetius*, a late writer, who in two, or three seuerall workes of his, hath largelie, and curiously treated thereof, and proued, that the punishments of God, were without all comparison more seuerer vpon the infidels, the euer they haue bene vpon the Christiäns, which he sheweth by manie examples, after the floud of *Noe*, and the confusion of tongues in *Babilon*: as by the famous deluge of *Deucalion*, which destroied not onlie all *Greece*, but also *Aegypt*, and great parts of *Italy*. The great conflagration also in *Italy*, which burned the greatest part thereof, and miniſtered to the poets, occasion of the fable of *Phaëton*. The horrible crueltie of the Giants, called *Lestrigones*, of whome there yet remaine most huge bones to be seene in *Puteolanum*. The abſortion, or ſwallowing vp, of the towne *Archippe* in *Italy*, with all the inhabitants, by the opening of the earth. The destruction of the towne *Amicle*, by serpents. The cötinuall, and most strange pestilence, and famin, which afflicted the *Pelaſgi* in *Italy*.

Idem ibid.
ca. 41.

Boetius de signis eccle. li. 1. ca. 10. & li. 15. ca. 17. Item li. 6. de ruin. Gent. ca. 2. & de Italia statu per totum.

Italy, for seauentie yeares together, and forced them in the end to abandon their dwellings, and to passe into *Greece*. The foureteeen seuerall irruptions of forraine nations into *Italie*, who possessed it before *Rome* was built. And lastlie, the innumerable and vnspcakable calamities, and desolations, not onlie of particuler cities, but also of whole countries, and prouinces, by earth quakes, and inundations of the sea: as, when *Sicily* was deuided from the continent of *Italy*, whereto it was ioyned, and when *Prochira*, ouer against the countrie of *Campagnia* in the kingdom of *Naples*, and the *Ilandes* of *Caprea*, and *Phirecusa*, were in like sort seperated from the firme land, at seuerall times, by earth quakes, which opened the earth, and swallowed vp all the land in the mid way that now the sea possesseth. And finallie when the great *Iland* called *Atlantica* in the *Ocean* sea, was wholie absorpt, and drowned, with all the inhabitants, being as bigg as all *Asia*, and *Africk*, which hapned, saith *Plin*, by a most terrible earthquake, continuing a whole day, and a night, with the which also, great numbers of people perished at the same time in *Greece*.

31 All which, if they be added to the like strange, and terrible earthquakes, drowning, and swallowing vp of townes, running together of hills, darkenes for manie daies, and such other prodigious punishments of God, vppon the *Romans*, whereof I haue spoken before, the same, I say being added to these, and compared with the afflictions of Christian people, either in these daies, or in former times, may sufficientlie testifie the great, and remarkable difference of Gods iudgements, vppon the one, and the other. To which purpose *Bozjus*, hath diligentlie gathered, all the plagues, famins, inundations, earthquakes, dammages by fire, crueltie of tirants, irruptions of forraine, and barbarous nations, and such other calamities, as are mentioned in the histories, to haue hapned either to Christians, or to painimes, and infidels, and sheweth euidently, that those stupendious accidents of sinking, and swallowing vp of townes, and such other of like qualitie, haue neuer hapned in time of Christians, and that the other ordinarie afflictions of plagues, famines, wars, and such like, which are common both to Christiās, and Painimes, were neuerthelesse without all comparison, more greueous, and frequent for the space of three hundreth, or foure hundreth yeares onlie in time of Paganisme, then they haue bene in one thousand three hundreth yeares, of Christianitie, I meane, since the raigne of *Cōstantin* the great, whereof I omitt to lay downe the particulers to auoid prolixitie, hauing spent already much more time in this matter, then at the first I meant to doe.

32 Now then, to come to the conclusion of this discourse, concerning

Strabo. li. 1.
Plin. li. 2.
ca. 92.

Bozjus li. de
nono & an-
tiq. uo Italia
stau.

the Romans. As it cannot be denied, but that all humane miseries, and calamities, are effects of Gods iustice, for the punishment of sinne, and no sinne so hainous in the sight of God, as idolatrie, and false religiō: it must needs be graunted, that those extraordinarie, and stupendious punishments, which God inflicted, vpon the Romans from time to time, during their Paganisme, was the due penaltie of their idolatrie, abominable superstition, and impietie, as *Tertullian*, boldly signified to the Painimes in his time, in his Apology for the Christians, affirming that they were, *Rei publicorum incommodorum*. Guilty of all the publike harmes, and incommodities, and that, they drew all mischeefe vpon the world, by meanes of their idolatry, and contempt of the true, and onlie God, for it is most credible; saith he, that he is more angry, w^{ho} is contemned, then those that are worshipped, and serued, or els truly they are more vniust, if for the Christians sake, they hurt their owne worshippers. Thus saith he, worthilie, ascribing all the miseries of that time, to the idolatrie of the Painimes, who falselie ascribed the same to the defaut of the Christians.

33 This then being so, it euidentlie appeareth, that the false religion of the Romans, was most pernicious to their state, and caused infinit calamities therein, though in the meane while almightie God cōserued, & augmented their empire, vntill the time prefixed in his diuine wisdome, and foretold by the prophet *Daniel*, was expired, to witt, vntill the stone was cut out of the hill without handes, & grew to be that mighty mountaine which filled the earth, that is to say (as I haue also signified before) vntill our Sauour *Christ*, being borne of the blessed Virgin, without the helpe of man, extēded, and dilated himselfe ouer the whole world in his mistickall body, which is the Christiā Catholike Church, whereto the amplitude, and great power of the Roman empire serued notablie, as *S. Leo* teacheth expresselie, affirming, that the diuine prouidence, gaue to the Romans such a potent, and ample Monarchie. *Vt cito*, saith he, *peruios haberet populos predicatio generalis, quos vnus teneret regimen ciuitatis*. To the end that the generall preaching of the gospell might haue the more speedy passage throughout all people, and nations, vvhich should be vnder the gouernment of one city.

34 Thus saith *S. Leo*, who also addeth further, to the same purpose, that when the Apostles had receiued of the holy Ghost the gift of tongues, & deuided the world amongst them, for their more cōmodious preaching of the gospell. *Beatisimus Petrus*, saith he, *princeps Apostolici ordinis &c.* The most blessed Peter, the prince of the Apostolicall order &c. *Vt* was destined to the head of the Roman Empire, that is to say, to Rome to the end that the light of truth vvhich was reuealed for the saluation of all nations, might the more effectually spread it selfe from the head, ouer all the body.

Tertullian in Apologetico.

Daniel. 2.

Augustin concione ad cathedram.

S. Leo serm. 1. in natali Apost. Petri & Pan.

Ibidem.

Ibidem.

35 And againe in the same place, the same holie Father making an elegant *Apostrophe*, to *Rome* it selfe, and speaking of the glorious martir-dome of the holie Apostles, *S. Peter*, and *S. Paule*, who shed their blood there, saith thus. *Isti sunt &c.* These are they, *O Rome*, which haue advanced thee to this glory, to the end that thou becoming a holie nation, an elect people, a priestly, and kingly citie, and (by the holy seat of *Peter*) the head of the world, shouldst haue further, and more ample commaund by the meanes of deuine religion, then by earthly dominion: for although thou art increased by manie victories, and hast extended thy right, and pouwer of empire farre, by sea, and land, yet that which thou hast subdued by force of armes, is lesse then that, which Christian peace, hath made subiect vnto thee.

36 Thus saith this holie, and ancient Father, shewing how the amplitude of the Roman Monarchie, and the great celebrie of the citie of *Rome*, whiles it was Pagan, serued to the propagation of the Christian faith, and to the glorious exaltation of Christes Church.

37 But because, I shall haue iust occasion in the third part of this treatise, to speak more amplie, of the great power, and glorie of the Roman Church, and of the cheefe pastor thereof, I will say no more of that matter in this place, and haue onlie touched it here, thus breefie as you see, partlie to shew the accomplishment of *Daniels* prophesie, foretelling the rising of Christes kingdome, in the time of the Roman Empire: and partlie, to yeald some part of the reason, why almightie God, out of his deuine prouidence, conserued, and amplified the said empire, vntill his Church was planted, propagated and exalted. As also on the other side, I haue shewed, that out of his iustice, he punished the *Romans*, and their empire, most seuerelie from time to time, for their false, impious, and absurd religion, as euidentlie appeareth throughout the three precedent chapters. And therefore this shall suffice concerninge the *Romans*, and their religion.

The absurdity not only of Mahometisme, (which the Turkes, Persians, and Africans professe) but also of Iudaisme (as it is now at this day professed and practised by the Iewes) is amply declared: with the ridiculous lyes, falsities, and errours, taught in the Alcorā of Mahomet, & in the Thalmud of the Iewes, no lesse contrary to reason of state, then repugnant to the veritie of religion.

CHAP. 14.

THe desire, I haue had (good Reader) to giue thee ample satisfaction, and contentment, concerning as well the temporal state, and empire of the *Romans*, as their religion, hath drawne me so farre beyond, the limits, which at the first I

preferred, to my selfe, for the handling of that matter, that I must now be much breaffer, then perhaps thou maiest expect, touching *Mahometisme*, and *Iudaisme*: especiallie, seeing there resteth to be handled also here after, such abundant, and important matter, concerning our Christian religion, and manie other pointes belonging to the subiect of this treatise, that if I enlarge my selfe much in the discourse of the two religions aforesaid, I shalbe forced, either to be much more short, and skant, then were conuenient, in that which more importeth, or els farre to exceede the boundes of my desire and purpose, in the proportion of this volume, and therefore I designe this chapter onlie for those two pointes, and meane also to be as breefe therein, as I conuenientlie may. First then touching *Mahometisme*, I thinke good to lay downe the beginning thereof, with the qualitie, and condition of the Author, before I treat of the absurdities that it teacheth.

1 The author of *Mahometisme*, was *Mahomet*, an *Arabian* of base parentage, whose father was a *Painyme*, or *Hearthen*, and his mother a *Iewv*. And being after his fathers death, entertained by a wealthie widow to keepe her camels, he married her in the end, and growing thereby no lesse ambitious, then rich, desired to make himselfe king in that countrie; And not finding sufficient power in himselfe, or disposition in the people, to effectuare his desire, he beganne to giue himselfe out for a prophet, faining reuelations, and rapt by the occasion of the falling sicknes, where-with he was oft troubled, which he cloaked with the pretence that he had in his fits, communication with God, and his Angels. And besides diuers other sleights, and deuises of his owne, to delude the ignorant people of the countrie, he had also the helpe, and aduise of one *Sergius* an heretical monke, professing the *Nestorian*, and *Arian* heresie, who being for his bad life, expelled from his couent in *Constantinople*, fled to those parts, where *Mahomet* liued, and falling acquainted with him, perswaded him to become a Christian, according to the profession of the *Nestorians*, and *Arrians*, who denie the diuinitie of *Christ*, in which beleefe he baptised him, as some write.

2 This infection of heresie so disposed *Mahomet* to *Atheisme*, and all impietie, that within a while he beganne, with the aduise of *Sergius* his apostaticall master, to sett abroach a new religion, whereto he had also the helpe of certaine renegat *Iewves*, who informed him, not onlie of the doctrine and ceremonies of theould law, but also of the absurd fables of their *Thalmud*, whereby it came to passe, that his *Alcoran* (which is his booke of scripture) was patched vp of manie heresies of the *Christians*, diuers rites, ceremonies, and opinions of the *Iewves*, and a number of

Theophanus Cedrenus, an. 21. *Heraclij Imper. Anastasius Bibliothec. apud Baron. an. 630. Pomponius Latus in Compendio Rom. Hist. in Heraclio. Pero Mexia in Silua varia liction. li. 1. c. 13.*

Ibidem.

fabulous dreames, and mad, or rather monstrous fictions of his owne, with the which he mingled also some customes of the Pagās, to the end that his law, or religion, hauing somewhat of all other religions, might be the more plausible and pleasing to all sects, and sorts of men.

4 So that adding also, to this, all libertie of sensualitytie, and carnalityie, (as shall appeare hereafter) he easelie drew such an infinit number of people, to follow him, that he presumed after a while, to take vppō him, the title, & dignitie, aswel of a king, as of a prophet. And by reason that the Roman empire, was then much decayed (I meane in the time of *Hadrian* the Emperour, which was about the yeare of our Lord six hundred and thirtie, he easelie subdued all *Africk*, and a great part of *Asia*, and planted there his new sect of religion. And for as much, as he could not confirme it either with miracles, or yet with arguments, and reason, he published, that as in former times, God gaue the power of miracles to *Moyse*, and to *Christ*, so also he had giuen to him the power of the sword, and commaunded him to plant his doctrine therewith: in which respect also, he vtterlie forbad, not onlie the studie of philosophy, but also all manner of disputatiō, about his *Alcoran*, ordaining the penaltie of death for the transgression thereof; thereby to deprive the professours of his religion, of all meanes to discouer, the absurditie, and impietie of it.

5 And now to giue thee good Reader, some tast of the doctrine, taught in his *Alcoran*, & of the practise thereof (at least so farre forth, as seemeth to me conuenient for my purposed breuitie) thou shalt vnderstand, that though he teach with the Christians, that there is but one God, yet he denieth with the *Sabellians*, the Trinity of persons; & with the *Macedonians*, the dignitie of the holie Ghost (whome he maketh but a creature) and with the *Arrians*, the diuinitie of *Christ*; teaching him to be but pure me, yet borne of a virgin, and free from sinne, full of all wisdom, vertue, & sanctitie, calling him also *the spirit*, *the vord*, *the pouuer of God*, *the Messiah* promised to the *Iewes* in the *law* of *Moyse*, and affirming finally, that the *Iewes* were forsaken by almighty God, because they would not rectifie *Christ* their *Messias*, & that by the occasiō thereof, the Apostles preached the gospell, and faith of *Christ*, to the Gentils, whereto also the practise of the *Turkes* (who professe *Mahomets* religion) is cōforme, euen vntil this day, for that they admit no *Iew*, to be a *Turke*, except he first cōfesse, that *Christ*, the Sonne of the virgin *Mary*, was the true *Messias* promised by almighty God, to the patriarchs, and foretold by the prophets.

6 Furthermore he teacheth, with the *Manichees*, that *Christ* was not put to death by the *Iewes*, but that God deliuered him, from their handes, & that they crucified onlie his forme, & shape, & that *Christ* himselfe ascen-

Circa an.
630.

a Dion. Car-
thus. contra
Alcoran.

b Perot Mexia
in silua var.
lect. l. i. c. 13.

Hispanice.

c Galiel. Re-
ginak. in Cal-
uinotur. li. 2
ca. 3.

d Theodorus
Bibliaander
in presat.

Alcorani.
pag. 3.

e Dion. Car-
thus. Dialo-
contra per-
fid. Mahom.

art. 3.

f Postel. de la
religion des
Turcs. pa. 43.

S. Ioan. Da-
mascen. de
Heresib. in
fine.

ded c
Christi-
and a
Christi-
that t
fors c
he pro
to cōc
of a st
7 M
flesh.
his fo
neuer
praien
turne
the e
(whi
the fir
the eu
the ni
8 T
bellie
the ex
ter w
of Len
meate
and d
sunne
lebrat
the de
they b
is to f
feast,
pilgri
their
mers,
of the
9 A
monl

ded corporally into heauen, and is there to remaine vntill the cōming of *Theodor. Bilibian. in praefat. Alcoran. Cusanus in tribratione Alcorani.* *Christ*, & conuert the *Iewues*. Also he teacheth the resurrectiō of the dead, *Christ*. Affirming, that both *Christ*, and *Moses*, gaue testimonie of him, and that though the Apostles taught *Christ*s doctrine truly, yet their successors corrupted it, & falsified both the ould testamēt, & the new, all which he pretendeth to reforme by his *Alcoran*. And though he seemed vtterly to cōdemne Idolatrie, yet to cōtent the *Painims*, he ordained the worship of a starr, called *Cubar*, which we commonlie call *Lueifer*.

7 Moreouer he commaundeth Circumcision, abstinence from swines flesh, and wine, and maketh his faboath day vpon friday, to the end his followers might differ both from the *Iewues*, and from the *Christians*. neuertheles they cease not from worke, on those daies, but vse more praier after their manner, then at other times. And whereas the *Iewues* turne towards the west, when they pray, and the *Christians* towards the east, they turne towards the south, and pray in their *Mosquees*, (which are their temples) fūe times in foure, and twentie houres: the first at the sunne rising, the second at midday, the third, towards the euening, the fourth, at sunne setting, and the fift after supper in the night.

8 They vse also frequent lotions, or washings of their hands, faces, bellies, the soles of their feete, and their armes to the elbow, for the expiation, and remission of their sinnes, and if they be, where water wanteth, they rubb their faces ouer with dust. They haue also a kind of Lent, to witt, a moneths fast euerie yeare, abstayning from all kind of meates, drinke, and women all the day, which being ended, they eate, and drinke freelie, what they list, and spend the night in all riott, vntill sunne rising the next day, and at the end of their moneths fast, they celebrat, their paschal feast, wherein they visit certaine memories of the dead, and after that they haue prayed, and eaten such meates, as they bring with them thither, they kisse on an other, and say *Baaran*, that is to say, *God giue you a good feast*. And threescore daies after this paschal feast, they celebrat an other in like manner, because at that time, their pilgrimes make their perigrinations to *Medina*, and *Mecha*, which are their principal places of deuotion; and especiallie *Mecha*, where *Mahomet*s tombe is kept with great solemnitie, and visited by all the *Turkes* of the east parts.

9 Also, they vse to sacrifice beastes, though they doe it most commonlie in discharge of some vow, and the fourth part of the sacrifice is

Theodor. Bilibian. in praefat. Alcoran. Cusanus in tribratione Alcorani.

Euthym in Panoplia par. 2. Tit. 24.

Cuspinian. de religione Turcarum. Septem casus de fide et religi.

Turcar. Vide Caluini noturcis. li. 2. ca. 3.

Christophorus Richerius li. 2. de morb. Turcar.

Iidem autores ubi supra

Laonic. li. 3. de reb. Turcic. apud Baron. an.

Septem ca-
strensis. c. 13.
Et alij apud
Reginald. in
Caluinotur-
cisimo. li. 2.
ca. 3.

giuen to the priest, an other to the poore, and the third to the neigh-
bours, & the last remaineth to him that made the sacrifice. Their priests
are married, and for the most part vnlearned, no greater knowledge, or
learning being required of them, then to vnderstand, and litteralie to
expound the *Alcoran*, which *Mahomer* left in the Arabical tongue, and so
it remaineth.

Vide Regi-
naldum in
Caluinotur-
cisimo. li. 3. c. 20.

10 They haue also certaine religious men, who liue single, and vnmar-
ried. They hold all mad men for saincts, or holie men, esteeming them to
be surprised with a deuine fury. They burie no dead bodies in their tem-
ples, but in certaine places assigned for that purpose, whither they carry
their corpes, with waxe cadells in their hands, accompanied with their
priests, and religious mē. And although *Mahomer* left the office of cheefe
priest, or bishop annexed to the regal dignitie (as he exercised both him-
selfe) yet in time, his successours being deuided amongst them selues,
the dignities also ecclesiastical, and temporall came to be seperated in
such sort, that the prince obeieth the cheefe Bishop, in all things belon-
ging to religion, and therefore the Emperour of the *Turkes*, beareth such
respect vnto the *Muphti* (for so is the cheefe priest, or bishop called)
that he riseth out of his seate as oft, as the *Muphti*, cometh to him, laying
his hand vpon his breast, and bowing his head downe to the ground to
doe him reuerence.

Postel. de la
iustice des
Turcs.
Belforest
Cosmograph
li. 2. c. 9.
To. 2.

11 But to returne to *Mahomer*, and his *Alcoran* (and to shew withall
his bestialitie, and the absurd impietie of his law) he ordained that his
followers shall marie twoo, three, or foure wiues, except they feare,
that they cannot keepe so manie in peace one with an other: and in that
case, they may marrie so manie vnder the number of foure (saith the
Alcoran) as their handes can chastise. And further he alloweth them to
haue the companie of as manie seruant women, as they are able to kee-
pe, and to repudiat, and dismisse their wiues, and to marrie others, or the
same againe, at their pleasure, so that they doe not repudiat, or remarrie
one wife aboute three times.

Alcoran
Azouar. 8.
c. 32.

12 And although *Mahomer* ordaine, that he which committeth adu-
lerie with an other mans wife, shalbe stoned to death, together with her,
and that he who is knowne to haue the companie of an other woman,
except his owne wife, seruants, and slaues, shall haue *fourscore* blowes
with a cudgel: yet he alloweth, the detestable sinne, which is tearmed,
Peccatum nefandum (the sinne not to be named, commonlie called *Sodomie*)
either with men or women, so that it be with such as professe his law.
And albeit, he graunteth, but foure wiues at once to other men, yet so
extrauagant, and exorbitant was his owne lust, that he had at once

Peto Mexia.
silua. var.
lect. par. 4. c. 1
Italia ex ipso
Alcorano. 6.
vacc. & c.
elinas.

seuen
ciall p
mens
certain
specia
q. An
a yong
wonder
of a pr
cases, b
constit
chuell, a
that th
they w
better
praise, a
selues
their f
14 I
lie reli
wee co
which
rie, th
fore I
in the
Zuma,
fit for
verie n
sem w
ordina
some m
and h
fures,
the pl
lent d
whol
vnw
15 T
porter
liffe v

seemienteene wiues, besides manie concubins, pretending to haue a speciall priuiledge from almightie God, for the same, as also to abuse other mens wiues, and his owne kinswomen, at his pleasure, as appeareth by certaine constitutions in his *Alcoran*, which he fained to haue made by especiall order, and commission from almightie God.

9. And whereas some of his wiues, hauing once taken him tardie with a yonge woman, called *Maria*, murmured greatlie thereat, and seemed to wonder how his adulteries could stand with the sanctitie, and hollines of a prophet of God, and why God dispensed with him alone in all these cases, he assembled all his wiues, and hauing read vnto them the foresaid constitutions of his *Alcoran*, and called to witnes the Archangels, *Michael*, and *Gabriel*, he tould them further, that they ought to repent, for that they were out of the right way, and threatned them also, that if they were obstinate, God would seperate them from him, and giue him better wiues, who should be rich, faithfull, penitent, wise, virgins, and should praise, adore, and serue God. Which when his wiues vnderstood, seeing them selues in danger to be diuorced from him, they seemed to be sorrie for their fault, and suffred him afterwardes to doe what he listed.

14. Lo then what a hollie prophet, this *Mahomet* was, and what a hollie religion he leaft to the world, which yet may the better appeare, if wee consider what reward he assigned in the next life, for his followers, which was nothing els, but sensuall pleasures, and such beastlie carnalitie, that I am ashamed to set downe the particulars thereof, and therefore I thinke good to remit thee, good Reader, to the authors quoted in the margent, his owne *Alcoran*, and an other worke of his called *Zuma*, where it euidentlie appeareth, that his law, and religion, is more fit for hogs, and swine, then for reasonable creatures, such being the verie nature, and condition of the sensuall pleasures of the body (as *Cicero* well obserueth) that if anie man be a litle more addickt thereto, then ordinarie (so that he be not *ex pecudum genere*, of the kind of beastes, for some men, sayth he, are men in name only, and not in deede) he dissembleth, and hideth as much as he may his appetite, and desire of these pleasures, euen for verie shame, whereby (saith *Cicero*) it appeareth, that the pleasures of the flesh are not to be accounted worthie of the excellent dignitie of man. Thus saith he, concluding such men, as are giuen wholie to lust, and sensualitie, for no better then beastes, and to be unworthie of the name of men.

15. Therefore, what shall we say of *Mahomet*, who was so farre transported with his owne beastlie lust, that he not onlie abandoned himselfe wholie thereto, but also placed the end of his religion, and felicitie of man

Ca. 27.
Vide Peru
Mexico par.
4. c. 1. silua
var. lect.
Italia.

Ballonius
des. singulari-
rites l. 3. c. 7.
Caluimotur-
cis. l. 4. c. 20.
Silua di va-
ria lectio.
Italia par. 4.
c. 1. Alcoran.
c. 1. 54. 65.
66. & 97.
Cicero offi-
li. 1.

Alcor. A-
KONTA 97.

Chap. 2. 3

Auicenna
li. 9. 18. sua
metaphis.

of man therein, calling it. *Optimam Dei remunerationem*. The best reward of God, and making paradise, no better then a bawdie house, or stewe. Doth he deserue to be called the prophet of God, seeing that in *Common* his opinion, he deserueth not the name of a man? Or can his doctrine merit to be called a religion, which all Painimes, no lesse then Christians, agree to consist in vnion with God, as I haue sufficientlie declared before, out of the opinion of the best philosophers?

16 No meruell then, that *Auicenna* hauing benne nourished in *Mahometus* law from his infancy, grew in the end by the very study of Philosophie, to contemne and reiect it, and therefore he saith. *Lex quam dedit Mahometus &c.* The law which Mahomet gaue, doth only shew the felicity, or misery of the body, but wise deuines, that is to say, true philosophers, doe much more assure to true felicity, then to the happines of the body, which, though it were graunted them in the highest degree, yet they would litle esteeme, in comparison of the true beatitude, which is conioyned, with the first truth, that is to say, with God. Thus saith he, being himselfe a *Mahometan*, by education and profession, who neuerthelesse witnesseth, as you see, that *Mahomet* in his law, neither taught nor sought, the true felicitie consisting in vnion with God, but onlie the false or supposed happines of the bodie, where vpon it must needs follow, that his carnall, and sensuall law, deserueth not the name of religion, not hauing so much, as anie pretence of the true end of religion.

17 But how vaine, and impious, both he himselfe, and his pretended religion was, it may yet further appeare by manie ridiculous, and absurd lies, auouched by him in his *Alcoran* for serious, and religious truths, whereof I will relate some two, or three, to the end thou maist, good Reader, the better iudge thereby of the spirit, that possesse this great prophet, and inspired him in the institution of his law.

18 Thou shalt therefore vnderstand, that though he sometimes exclude Christians and all others, that doe not professe his law, from his imagined paradise of pleasure, designing them to hell, and eternall damnation, yet as he is in manie other thinges, full of contradictions, (which sufficiently bewraie his lying spirit) so he is also in this, allowing a place in his paradise to *Christians*, *Iewues*, and *Samaritans*, albeyt he assigne them verie meane offices there. As to *Christians*, and *Iewues*, to be woodcarriers, to make fires (for belike there wil be cold winters, as well there, as in earth) and the *Samaritans*, he saith, shall carry out the dong, and ordure, which otherwise might make that pleasant place vsauorie. And amongst manie other glorious things, which he promisseth in his paradise, he describeth goodlie riuers, some of honie, some of milke, and others of

Euthymius
in panopia
par. 2. Titu.
24.

Arom
that o
morus
sultat
necks
skanet
to the
19 Bu
wilbe
uaying
thence
which
20 F
came v
sentlie
trusty,
and be
had pr
heauen
21 Th
what
space
so muc
lem, f
seuen
of gol
fourth
seauen
where
had to
22 In
me, or
other
and he
23 He
with g
to the
gneth
uils, w
whom

Aromatical wyne, and telleth of Angels, whose heads are so great, *Pero Mexia*
 that one of their eyes, standeth a daies journey from the other, and no *fil. var. leſt.*
 moruaile, seeing he also saith, that there are certain other Angels, which *par. 4. ca. 1.*
 sustaine, and support the seat of God, hauing such ample, and spacious *Italic.*
 necks, that if a bird should flie continuallie a long by them, shee should *Dionys. Car.*
 skantlie be able in a thousand yeares, to arriue from one of their eares, *tho. in ſer.*
 to the other. *Mahom. l. 3.*
art. 8.

19 But if this may not passe currât, for a lie, I hope, that of the nex there
 wilbe lesse difficultie, he thanketh God greatlie in his *Alcoran*, for con- *Alcoran.*
 uaying him once from his oratory in *Mecha*, first to *Hierusalem*, and from *c. 150.*
 thence to the seat, and throne of God in heauen, with incredible speede,
 which journey, he relateth in this ridiculous manner.

20 He saith, that one night as he was at his praiers, the Angel *Gabriel*
 came vnto him, and tould him, that God would haue him to come pre- *Bellonius des*
 sentlie to speake with him, and that he mounted out of hand, vppon his *singularites*
 trusty, and wise steede, called *Alborac*, which could speake as well as he, *li. 3. ca. 7.*
 and beganne to dispute with him, and would not sett forward, vntil he *Vide Calni-*
 had promised him, to pray to God for him, and not to leaue him at *noturcis. li.*
 heauen gates, but to take him in with him. *4. ca. 20.*

21 This doughty beast, was, as he describeth him, like an asse, but some-
 what bigger, and yet lesse then a mule, and of such velocitie, that in the
 space of an houre, he would make a journey of fifty thousand yeares: in
 so much, that in the twinkling of an eie, he went from *Mecha*, to *Hierusa-*
lem, from whence he passed forwards the rest of his voyage, through
 seuen heaues, or spheres, whereof the first was made of siluer, the second
 of gold: the third of a certaine precious stone, that hath no name, the
 fourth of smaragdus; the fift of diamant; the sixt of Carbuncle; and the
 seauenth, of a deuine light, & that euery one of these heauës, had a gate,
 whereat *Gabriel* knocked a good while, and could not be let in, till he
 had told, that the prophet *Mahomet* came with him.

22 In all these heauens he describeth diuers formes of angels, some like
 mē, others like oxen, others like horses, some like cockes, and some like
 other birdes, all which he saith, doe pray for creatures of their forme,
 and he himselfe prayed for them all.

23 He saw also in those heauës, innumerable starrs made of siluer, & tied
 with goldē chaines, lest otherwīse, they might fall out of their places, &
 to these starres (besides the ornament, which they giue to heauē) he assi- *Pero Mexia*
 gned also a particuler office, to wit, to keepe watch, & ward, against de- *in ſil. par.*
 uils, which doe vse to goe to heauē, to hearkē, & spy, what is done there: *leſt. ubi*
 whome they driue away with firebrāds. And in the last heauē, he saw an *supra.*

infinite number of Angels, euery one of them infinitelie greater then the world, hauing seauentie heads a peece, and in euerie head, a million of mouthes, and in euerie mouth, seauentie thousand tongues, which praised God, with seauen hundreth thousand thousands of languages. And amongst the rest he saith, there was one Angel, who wept bitterlie for his sinnes, for whom he praied, as also he had done before for *Moses*, and diuers other of the old patriarkes, and prophets, whom he saw in his iourney, in diuers heauens, though when he mett with *Christ*, (who was in the seauenth heauen) he saith, he praied not for him, as he had donne for the rest, but recommended himselfe to his praiers.

Ibidem.

24 To conclude, when he came to almightie God, he found him sitting in a magnificent throne, though he could not be suffred to approach him, by two bowshot, in all which space the floore was couered with rich tapestrie, and there, he saith, God commaunded him to ordaine, that his people should say fiftie praiers euerie day, and yet afterwards, he obtained, as he saith, dispensation for all those praiers, except fise, by the counsell of *Moses*, who being in the fourth heauen, and vnderstanding at *Mahomets* returne, what God had ordained, aduised him to goe back to God, to procure dispensation thereof, which he saith, cost him fise iourneis from the fourth heauen to the last, obtaining euerie time, release of some part of the praiers, and when *Moses* would haue had him, to returne to God the sixt time (assuring him, that the people would not say so much as those fise praiers which remained) he saith, he was so warrie, that he would goe back no more, but went on his iourney to *Hierusalem*, and from thence to *Mecha*, and all this long voyage, and important negotiatio was performed, saith he, in the fouretenth part of one night.

25 Now then I doubt not, good Reader, but that thou wilt take all this tale, for some drunken dreame, or phantastical conceit, of a crazed braine, or els for a fable of some one that lied for a wager, or a whetstone, rather the for a religious historie, or a prophetical vision, seeing it containeth such absurd, and ridiculous matter, as thou hast heard, of which sort his *Alcoran*, and other workes are so full, that it may well appeare, what manner of men they are, who beleue, & follow his law, to wit, most ignorant idiots, of brutish, and beastlie condition.

26 For who is he that hath but anie principles of ordinarie learning, or knowledge, that will not presentlie discouer the absurd foolerie of these, and diuers others his prodigious fictions, as that the moone was once equall in brightnes with the sunne, vntill the angel *Gabriel*, passing in hast to heauen, chanced to rubb vppon it with his wings, and to put out a great deale of the light of it, and that there vppon grew the difference

Dionys. Carthus. in sect. Mahom. li. 3. Ar. 8.

renee be
wash ic
And th
snake, a
and the
vntill c
and fime
inuirom
27 W
to be a
fort als
and ne
serue h
culous
he saith
Moses
palme
late do
shake
with d
28 H
deuils
or pils
lest sa
said so
stood
comm
being
groun
miscel
29 M
Moses
fearin
hes.
sense
strou
tion
agre
gion
thin

ence betwixt day, and night. Also that the sunne euerie night goeth to wash it selfe, and so riseth againe, verie pure, and cleare in the morning: And that the sunne is in a warme fountaine, and the fountaine in a snake, and the snake in a great space, and the space in the hill called *Kaff*, and the hill *Kaff*, in the hand of an Angel, which houldeth vp the world vntill the day of iudgement: and that the heauen was made of smoke, and smoke of a vapour of the sea, and the sea of the hill *Kaff*, which inuironeth all the world, and holdeth vp the heauens.

27 What man, I say, is there of vnderstanding, who will not take this to be an idle discourse of some mad bedleme, or frenctick man, of which sort also he hath manie others touching some of our histories, of the old, and new testament, whereof he taketh such part as it pleaseth him, to serue him, as it were, for a plaine song to deskant vpon, after his ridiculous manner, grounding thereon manie loud, and lewd lies. As when he saith, that the blessed virgin *Mary* (whom he maketh to be sister to *Moses*, and *Aaron*) being neare her time of trauaile, sate downe by a palme tree, and wished shee were dead, and that vpon a suddaine *Christ* sate downe by her, and comforted her, and finallie, that God bad her shake the palme tree, and eate of the fruit to strenghten her selfe therewith &c.

28 He telleth also of *Salomon*, that he gathered a huge armie of Angels, deuils, men, birds, and beastes, and that he came to a great flood of Ants, or pismires, where of one perswaded her fellowes to goe into their holes lest *Salomon*, and his souldiars should kill them, and when shee had said so, she smild. And that *Salomon* died leaning vpon his staffe, and stode so, a long time, in so much, that the diuels, which were vnder his commaund, did not know, that he was dead, vntil at length the staffe, being eaten, and consumed by a worme, brake, and his bodie fell to the ground, which when the deuils saw, they went away, and did much mischeefe to men.

29 Manie such fond, and impious fictions, he hath of *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Moses*, *Iacob*, *Ioseph*, *Dauid*, and the old patriarks, which I purposelie omit, fearing to cloy thee, good Reader, with such impertinent toyes, and trifles. And for as much as the absurditie thereof is euident to common sense, and that all his religion is built vpon such vanities, lies, and monstrous heresies, that it needeth no other confutation, then the bare relation thereof, I will passe further to examine breefie, how the same agreeth with policie, to the end it may appeare that this his law, or religion, is not onlie false, and irreligious, but also contrarie in diuers things, to reason of state.

Euthym. in Panoplia. par. 2. Tit. 24. Dionys. ubi supra. Idem ibid. art. 6. c. 9. Pe ro Mexia par. 4. ca. 3. Silua &c.

Euthym. in Panoplia ut supra.

Idem li. 2. ar. 39.

Silua var. lect. par. 4. ca. 1.

Chap. 2.
C. 3.

30 First then, whereas the principall benefit, and cheefe end of true religion in common welth, is to vnite the same with God, and thereby to make it happy, (as I haue proued here to fore at large) it is manifest, that there can follow no such effect of *Mahometisme*, but the cleane contrarie, seeing it is false, vaine, impious, and absurd, as I haue declared, and therefore abominable in the sight of God, and consequentie most preiudiciall to common wealth, which dependeth wholie on the will, and fauour of God.

31 Secondlie, his ordinance of *Polygamy*, or the pluralitie of wiues, is against the true reason of state, because it is contrarie to true *Oeconomy*, that is to say, to the good gouernment of families, with out the which no common welth can stand, seeing that particuler families, are as I may say, the elements, or letters, wherewith all common wealths are composed. And that, *Polygamy*, is against good *Oeconomy*, it is euident, for that it impugneth two of the speciall ends of matrimony, whereof the one is, the peaceable societie of man, and wife, and the other the remedie against concupiscence, not onlie in men, but also in women.

Arist. li. 8.
ethic. ca. 12.

32 And to say some what breefelie of both, and first of the former, *Aristotle* teacheth that man, and woman, are by the law of nature, coioyned in mariage, not only for procreation, but also for alouing, and socieable cohabitation; to the end, they may ioyntlie, gouerne their familie, according to the diuersitie of their sexes (for some things, saith *Aristotle*, doe properlie belong to the administration of men, and others to the care, and charge of women.) And here vpon the wise man saith. *Stabilimentum domus, vir, & mulier, bene consentientes. The stay, or assurance of a house, or family is, a man, and a woman, agreeing vuell together.* But this louing, and peaceable cohabitation, cannot stand with the pluralitie of wiues, for it is skantlie possible, that the husband can loue diuers wiues, all alike, where vpon there must needes grow enmie, ielosies, contention, and discord, not onlie amongst the women themselues, and their friends, but also betwixt them, and their husbands, and consequentie amongst their children, and seruants, euerie one, taking part with those, which he most affecteth, as *Aristotle* obserueth notablie well, saying, that *where the husband, and wiue, agree vuell together, there friends reioyce, and their enimyes are afflicted, and when they disagree, their friends also fall at debate.*

Arist. Oecoc.
2. ca.

33 And this in the houses of great personages, may breede much inconuenience, not onlie to the families themselues, but also to the common wealth, by reason of partialities, and enmities, which by the occasion of

son of
kinsfol
the gre
that w
haue d
female
leadges
thereto
amitie
mon w
not be
the wh
follow
mony,
14 T
of wi
halfe
wiues
and co
it is eu
is a ce
tract.
part h
cheth
wife,
gouern
husb
twec
proci
medi
is w
prou
litle
prou
and
of th
of st
35 A
vpp
1701

son of the women discontented, may arise also abroad betwixt their kinsfolkes, and breede, tumults, seditions, yea, and ciuill wars, to the great danger, and ouerthrow of the state, as may appeare by that which I haue discoursed in the first part of this treatise, where I haue declared the great danger of seditions, growing verie oft vpon small occasions, euen betwixt women, or children, whereof I alledge there diuers examples, and therefore do remit my Reader thereto, concluding for the present, that seeing peace, concord, and amitie, are most necessarie to the good estate as well of the whole common welth, as of euerie particuler familie, and that loue, and amitie cannot be conserued in priuat families, and is also probablie endangered in the whole common welths, by the pluralitie of wiues, it must needes follow, that the ordinance, and vse thereof, is both against good *Oecumony*, and also against reason of state.

34 The other end of mariage, which is impeached by the pluralitie of wiues, is the remedie, against concupiscence, which on the behalfe of the woman, is litle, or nothing atall remedied, where manie wiues, haue one husband, and the greater that the number of wiues, and concubins are, the lesse is the remedie, which they haue thereby, as it is euident inough in it selfe, without further prooffe. Besides that, it is a certaine iniquitie, and iniustice, that euerie woman should by contract, giue herselfe wholie vnto one husband, and he deuide, and part himselfe amongst manie wiues, especiallie, seeing our apostle teacheth, that the husband hath not power of his owne bodie, but his wife, whereby it appeareth, that although in matters touching the gouernment, and direction of the familie, the wife is inferiour to the husband, and ought to obey him, yet for the bedd, there is equalitie betwene them, not onlie because she equallie concurrereth with him to the procreation of children, but also because she hath as much neede of remedie against concupiscence as he, yea, and more in respect, that shee is weaker, and more fraile then he, and therefore the law of *Poligamy*, prouiding a superfluous, and excessiue remedie for the man, and verie litle, or none at all for the woman, but rather a greater incentiue, and prouocation to lust, is most vniust, and iniurious to all woman kind, and consequentlie, to the on halfe of euerie common welth, or rather of the whole world, in which respect it is not onlie against reason of state, but also contrarie to the law of nature.

35 And this is also cleare, by the verie first institution of mariage, where vpon our Sauour said, that *God made man at the first, one man, and one woman*, & *propter hoc*, saith he, *relinquet homo patrem &c. and for this*, *Matth. 19. Mar. 10.*

Chap. 7.
Nu. 14. 15.
16. 17. 18. 19.
& 20.

a man shall forsake his father, and mother, and adhere to his wife, and they shall be two in one flesh, and therefore now they are not two, but one flesh. Thus saith our Saviour, signifying plainelie, that according to the first institution of mariage, one man can haue but one wife at once, nor one woman more then one husband at once, as it is manifest, not onlie by his maner of speech, speaking of man, and wife, in the singular number, but much more by the inference, and conclusion, saying; therefore now they are not two, but one flesh, which cannot be verified, but betwixt two.

Ibidem.

*Gen. 16.
& 30.
1. Regum.
ca. 25.
Gen. 4.*

Gen. 7.

36 But perhaps you will aske, how then it came to passe, that the old patriarchs had more wiues then one at once, as *Abraham*, *Iacob*, *Dauid*, &c. Where to I answer, that although from *Adam* to *Lamech* (who was the first that married two wiues, being a wicked man, as the scripture testifieth) there was not anie alteration of the first institution of mariage of one man with one woman, (which custome had continued about a thousand yeares) yet afterwards almightie God, hauing not onlie extinguished all mankind (except *Noe*, and his familie) but also much abbreviated the liues of men, dispensed with them, to haue manie wiues for the more speedie reparation and encrease of mankind, to the end that the world might be the sooner replenished. Neuertheles this custome of *Poligamy* ceased generallie, no lesse amongst the *Iewes*, then amongst the *Gentills*, before Christs time, not onlie because the reason, and cause of the dispensation ceased, (the world being sufficientlie multiplied) but also, by reason of the inconuenience, that men generallie found therein. And as for the *Iewes*, it is euident inough, that they had no vse of *Poligamy*, in Christs time, as may appeare first, by the verie phrase, and speech of the scripture of the new testament, where the *Pharisees*, or who els soeuer had occasion to speake of wiues, vsed alwaies the singular number, speaking of a wife, and not of wiues; secondlie for that there can be no example alleadged of anie, that had two wiues, at once, at that time, whereas the contrarie seemeth to be euident in *Zachary*, who hauing a barraine wife (to wit *Elizabeth*) neuer married other, but liued continuallie with her alone without children, vntill they were both old.

*Matth. 19.
22. & 27.
Mar. 10.
& 12.
Luc. 1. 3. 14.
16. & 20.
Act. 5. & 18.
1. Cor. 7.
Luc. c. 1.*

*Aul Gellius
li. 18. ca. 6.*

*Arist. polit. 7
econom.*

37 And as for the *Gentills*, though in more ancient, and rude times *Poligamy* was admitted in some countries, yet it was neuer generallie received, yea, and grew in the end to be generallie excluded out of the best, and most politike common welths, as may appeare both by *Aristotle*, (who ordaineth *Monogamy*, that is to say, the vse of one wife onlie) in his *Politiks*, and *Oeconomiks*: and also by the ancient ciuill law of the *Romans*, wherein those were held to be infamous, & punished also other waies,

who ha
well t
ground
the g
milie
yppon
maund
and cor
instit
38 Ye
wines
people
we lee
others
ther pr
man m
ful wi
them a
39 T
cheefe
my, w
but se
creati
mank
vnited
procre
dred t
pagat
confi
is infe
lower
furch
and n
vniou
actio
40
and n
may
temp
here

who had more wiues then one, at once. And there is no doubt, but that as well this law of the *Romās*, as also that other of *Aristotle*, had no other ground, then the verie law of nature, and reason of state, in respect of the great inconuenience that they obserued to grow both to priuat families, and to the whole common welth by pluralitie of wiues; whereupon I conclude, that *Mahomets* law, not onlie allowing, but also commanding pluralitie of wiues, and multiplicitie of concubins, is absurd, and contrarie aswel to reason of state, as to the primitiue, and naturall institution of Mariage.

F. de his qui notantur infamia. lege 1. Item c. de incestu nuptijs neminem. Et ad leg. Iuliam de Adulterijs lege eum qui.

38 Yet here perhaps, it may further be demaunded, why pluralitie of wiues should not be necessarie for multiplication, and encrease of the people, as also for a remedie against fornication, and adulteries, seeing we see, that some women are barrein, and some more fruitfull then others; and that no woman, after that shee hath conceiued, is fit for further procreation, vntil shee be deliuered, whiles at the same time, one man may haue diuers children, by diuers womē, and hauing manie lawfull wiues, may haue also meanes to auoid fornication, whiles some of them are sick, or lye in childbed, or haue other impediments.

39 To this I say, first concerning procreation, if this were the onlie or cheefe end of man, it might be said, with the more reason, that *Poligamy*, were most conuenient for him, and necessarie, for common welth, but seeing that God hath giuen to man, the appetit, and power of procreation, not to place his end, or felicitie therein, but to the end that mankind being propagated thereby, may continuallie serue God, and be vnited with him (wherein consisteth mans felicitie) it followeth, that procreation is so to be vsed, that on the one side, mans felicity be not hindered thereby, and one the other side, mankind may be sufficientlie propagated, that is to say, seeing that the excellencie, and perfection of man, consisteth in his soule, and not in his bodie, and that therefore the body is inferiour, and subordinat to the soule, and sensualitie, to reason, it followeth that the appetits, and pleasures of the bodie and senses, are no further to be allowed, or vsed, then they are ruled, and guided by reason, and may serue, or auaille to the end, and felicitie of man, consisting in his vniō with God, whereto the propagation of mankind, and all humane actions, are speciallie to be referred.

40 Whereupon I inferre, that the procreation which is conuenient, and necessarie for the multiplication of mankind, ought to be such, as may not hinder the cheefe operation of the soule, that is to say, contemplation, whereby man is vnited with God, and made happy, both here, and eternallie.

41 But is there anie thing that doth more hebetate, dull, and obfuscat, the vnderstanding, or as I may say bestialife, the soule of man, then the excesse of the pleasures of the flesh.

This all philosphers doe vniformelie teach, who require nothing more, in a contemplatiue man, aspiring to a perfect vnion with God, then that by all meanes possible, he abstract himselfe, from his bodie, and senses, and from all the delights, and pleasures thereof; as shall appeare farther hereafter, when I shall treat of philosophicall, and Christian contemplation, and therefore now in this place I will content my selfe, with the onlie testimonie of the philospher *Auicenna*, a *Mahometan* in profession, who speaking of true felicitie, taxeth by the way, the bestialitie of the *Mahometans*, saying, thus. *We can haue no feeling of the true felicitie in our bodies, because we are drowned, and ouerwhelmed, with the filthy pleasures thereof.* Thus saith he, and verie trulie, so farre forth as concerneth *Mahometans*, who following the ordinance of their lawmaker, and false prophet, are so drunke, and drowned in the brutish delights of the flesh, that they haue no more tast, or imagination, of the pleasures of the soule, and true felicitie of man, then the verie brute beasts, as may sufficientlie appeare, by that which I haue signified before concerning *Mahometans* paradise, and the felicitie that his followers expect in the next life.

42 Therefore, the procreation which is conuenient for the end of man, and consequentlie for the propagation of mankind, ought to be conforme to the excellencie of humane nature, that is to say, moderate, void of all excesse, and balanced with reason, such I meane, as that mankind may be sufficiently encreased, and yet other inconueniences auoyded, which must needes folow vpon *Mahometans* polygamy, & concubinage, as I haue declared before.

43 But perhaps, you may aske me, how it chaunced then, that polygamy, hindred not contemplation in the Patriarks, who were great contemplatiues, and familiar with almighty God? whereto I answer, that as God dispenced with the vfe of polygamy vpon iust causes (which I haue declared before) so also he gaue them, an extraordinary grace, to vfe it with great moderation, as it is euident in *Abraham*, whome *Sarai* his wife (seeing her selfe to be barrein) intreated to take *Agar* her handmaid also, to the end he might haue some issue by her. And when, (saith the scripſure,) he yealded to her request, shee deliuered *Agar* vnto him, in uxorem, for a wife. Whereby we may see, how reserved, and temperat, this great contemplatiue patriark was, in the vfe of polygamy.

44 And now to say some what concerning the pretended necessitie of

Polygamy,

Auicenna
li. 9. sua metaphys.

Gen. 16.

Poligamy, for the multiplication of the world. Cannot the world be sufficientlie multiplied, except *Poligamy* be admitted? Were not the commonwealths of the *Romans*, and other Gentils, most populous, notwithstanding their continuall warres, and great mortalitie by plagues, and other accidents, whiles neuertheles they excluded *Poligamy*, yea, and greatlie esteemed the vertue of continencie, and chastitie, as I will declare hereafter? And are not our Christian commonwealths at these daies, most numerous, and abundant of people, though not onlie *Poligamy*, is prohibited, but also single, and chaste life, embraced of an infinit number of both sexes? Chap. 30.
Nu. 32.
633.

45 And who knoweth not euen by common experience, throughout all the course of mans life, how true it is, which the Apostle saith. *Neque qui plantat est aliquid, neque qui rigat, sed qui incrementum dat Deus.* Neyther he which planteth is any thing, nor he which vvatereth, but God vvhich giueth the increase? Who knoweth not, I say, that it is no lesse true in regard of mans fructification, then in the encrease of all other things, seeing that secunditie, and fruitfulness, aswel, in men, as women, as in all other creatures proceedeth principallie of Gods benediction, who as the royall prophet saith. *Facit sterilem in domo, matrem filiorum latantem.* Ma- 1. Cor. 3.
Psal. 112.
kethe barreyne vvoman in her house a glad, and ioyefull mother of children? Wherevpon it followeth, that a plentifull ofspring, and issue, proceedeth of Gods blessing, and prouidence, and not of pluralitie of viues, or concubines.

46 Ys it not often scene, that some one man, hath more children, by one lawfull wife, then others haue by many concubines? Hereof *Mahomet* himselfe, may serue for a witnes, who hauing seauenteene viues, besides concubines, without number, had neuertheles no other childrē, but one only daughter (as I haue signified before) which I ascribe to the particular prouidence of God, who to check, and frustrat, aswell his wicked law, as his exorbitant lust, and to shew the vaintie of the law, euen in the law maker, gaue him some issue (to wit one child) to the end it might appeare thereby, that he was not by nature barraine, and suffred him to haue no more, contrarie to all humane expectation, to the end, that his deuine iustice might be euident in the punishment of him.

47 Therefore I cōclude, that *Poligamy*, is not of necessity, for the increase & multiplication of the world, & that the moderate vse of one wife, is not onlie most cōueniēt for good *Oeconomy*, but also cōforme to the tēperance that is requisit to humane nature, & to the first institution of marriage, wherewith Gods benedictiō hath speciallie concurred in all ages,

and still doth, for the sufficient propagation of mankind, and conservation of common welths. Whereas Mahomets *Poligamy*, and the vnbri-deled libertie, which he giueth to the flesh, is, as I haue declared, no lesse contrarie to the law, and rules of true *Oeconomie*, then to the verie law of nature in the first institution of marriage, yea, and obscureth the vnderstanding of man, oppresseth the spirit, and wholie hindreth the cheefe operation of the soule, which is the contemplation of God, and consequentlie maketh men more like beastes, then reasonable creatures, and depriueth them finallie of the true felicitie of man, and common welth.

48 So that, though there be also in *Monogamy* (that is to say, in the marriage of one wife onlie) some inconueniences some times (as natural sterilitie, or impediment of conception by sicknes, or such like, redounding to the hindrance of procreation) yet forasmuch as no earthlie commoditie, is without some discommodity, & that the least euil, is alwaie to be chosen, where all euils cannot be auoided, yea, and that in this case, the inconueniences that accompanie *Monogamy*, doe happ but sometimes, and concerne particuler persons, whereas the detriments of *Poligamy*, are farre more generall, and doe preiudice, the publike weale, as I haue signified before; therefore I say, the vse of *Monogamy*; is to be retained in common welth, and *Poligamy*, excluded, and much more such a profuse, and inordinate concubinage, as *Mahomet* ordaineth. Thus much concerning the supposed necessitie of *Poligamy*, for procreation.

49 And now to say some what to the other part of the obiection, touching the remedie against concupiscence, in case of the wiues siknes, or other impediments. The satisfaction of this doubt, wilbe nothing difficult, to them, that shall duly consider the office, and dutie of a man, that is to say, of a reasonable creature, in whom reason ought, to predominat, and commaund the inferiour powers of the soule, wherein man speciallie differeth from brute beasts, which are caried headlong with sensualitie, and therefore no vertue is more proper to man, or more requisite in him, or more political, and necessarie for common welth, then *Temperance*, which bridleth sensualitie, and represseth the heat, and furie of lust. In which respect, *Plato* treating of the vertues, that are most fit, for euerie member of the common welth, though he require some one vertue rather in one man, then in an other (as prudence in the magistrats, and fortitude in the souldiars) yet he holdeth *Temperance* to be so necessarie in euerie man, of what degree, or condition soeuer he be, that without it, saith he, no man can be a good member of his common welth.

*Plato li. 3.
de Rep. c.
li. 4. de leg.*

So that he, who hath so litle stay of himselfe, that he can neuer forbear the companie of women, when he seeleth himselfe stirred, or moued thereto, is vnfit, and vnworthie to liue in anie ciuil societie of men, being no better then a verie brute beast, yea worse then a beast, seeing that beastes doe not vse copulation, but with moderation, at certaine times, and conuenient seasons, as experience teacheth.

50 Therefore *Plutarke* with great reason, highlie commendeth a law, of *Solon*, concerning the repression of choller, whereby he ordained punishment, for those who quarreled, or fell out with anie man, either in the temple, or in the princes palace, or in the theaters. For it seemed to *Solon*, (saith *Plutarke*) that although (the ordinarie possibilitie of men and their infirmitie considered) it were not to be expected, that men, should neuer be transported with choller, yet neuer to be able to bridle it at anie time, or in anie place, proceedeth of such exorbitant passion, that it is rather bestiall, then humane, and deserueth punishment by the lawes. Thus saith he.

*Plutarke in
Solone.*

51 And the like I say in this our case, that although humane frailtie being considered, it cannot with reason be expected, that euerie man should alwaies liue continent from women, (without the special grace of God, whereof I treat not here,) yet he that will neuer doe it, is rather to be counted a beast, then a man, and worthie to be chastised. And therefore as God hath ordained mariage in respect of mans infirmitie, for a lawfull remedie, against the temptation of the flesh, (to be taken, and vsed with moderation, so also both deuine, and humane lawes, iustly punish adulterie, and fornication, in respect of the dominion, that euerie man is bound, by the prescript, and law of humane nature, to haue ouer his passions, and sensual desires.

52 Further more, who knoweth not, that the way to quench the flames of lust, is not to loose the bridle vnto it, by the inordinat, and excessive vse thereof (which though it seeme to repress it for a while, yet doth in deede so incense, and kindle it that it becommeth inextinguible, and draweth men, as experience teacheth, to most horrible finnes against nature) but the remedie to conquer it, is to striue against it, no lesse then against other bad affections, and passions of the mind, which by diligent resistance, are either wholie overcome, or much tempered, and qualified, for, he that will not fight at all with his enemy, must needs liue in continual subiection, seruitude, and captiuitie, and doe what soeuer his enemy will command him, whereas he which wrestleth, and fighteth, though he cannot overcome, yea, & doe receiue perhaps manie woundes, yet he looseth not the mastrie of himselfe, but remaineth free, from

violence, and tirannie, and abateth both the furie, and force, of his enemies; and therefore the meanes to moderate, or ouercome concupiscence, is to impugne, and resist it, yea, and to forbear to satisfie it sometimes, euen in things that are lawfull.

*Arist. Oeco-
nomic.*

53 For this cause, *Aristotle*, treating of the fidelitie, that ought to be inuiolable, betwixt, man, and wife, and obiecting the difficultie to performe it in case of long absence of the one from the other, giueth a notable aduise, to be obserued of married folkes, and verie pertinent to the matter, which I now handle, to wit, he counselleth man, and wife, to vse such moderation, and abstinence, from their carnall delights, whiles they are together, that the custome thereof may make the same easie vnto them, in their absence. So farre was this pagan philosopher, from allowing one man, to haue manie wiues, to satisfie his lust, that he aduiseeth the temperate, and moderate vse, euen of one wife, and frequent abstinence from her. Not vnlike to the aduise, which our Apostle giueth in greater perfection. *Vt qui habent uxores, sint tanquam non habentes. That those which haue wiues, should be as though they had none.* And this now you see, is a rule, not onlie of Christian religion, but also euen of moral philosophie, taught, and practised by the Gentils, as belonging to the office, and dutie of man.

2 Cor. 7.

54 But vppon what good ground, thinke you, doth *Mahomet* build this law of *Poligamy*. Forsooth, vppon this foundation, that it is impossible for anie man, to forbear the companie of women, for so he teacheth in his *Alcoran*, and saith, that God knoweth it to be true, and therefore no marueile, that as the *Italian* prouerbe saith, *Chi mala mente, funda, peggio fabrica. He that laieth a bad foundation, buildeth worse*, whereof I will say no more, in this place, because, I shall treat further of the same point hereafter, against *Luther*, and his followers; who vppon the same beastlie, and absurd ground of *Mahomet*, build the like brutish doctrine to his, in manie pointes, and open a wide gate, to his *Poligamy*, as shall most euidentlie appeare hereafter.

*Alcor. c. 2.
apud Dionys.
Carthus
li. 1. art. 12.
contra Al-
coran.*

*Chap. 30.
Nn. 3. &c.*

55 Therefore I conclude for the present, that neither the necessitie to conserue, and multiplie mankind by procreation, nor the consideration of the remedie, against the temptations of the flesh, can iustifie *Mahomet*s law of *Poligamy*, and much lesse make it political, or good for common welth.

56 But what shall I say, of an other law of his, mentioned also before, more beastlie, brutish, and absurd then the former, I meane the permission of the sinne, worthilie called, *Peccatum nefandum*, a sinne not to be named, that is to say, the sinne of *Sodomy*, which he alloweth in his

follow

follow
that th
nable
among
verie p
ordain
shoul
57 In
law of
cause
Payni
the sp
the la
corrupt
verie
diuers
58 F
lie for
tion,
togeth
equal
be so
59 S
riage,
be vn
time,
bine,
60
libert
of ma
them
to or
61 I
wife,
care
husb
dism
win
fides
Whe

followers, either with their owne wiues, or with men, or boyes, so that they be of his religion? Hath it not bene alwaies held, to be abominable against nature, and pernicious to common welth; not onlie amongst Christians (who punish it with death) but also amongst the verie painimes? where vppon *Plato*, seuerelie forbiddeth it in his lawes, *Plato 3. de legibus*. ordaining that those which were conuincd to haue committed it, should euer after be held, for most infamous.

57 In like maner, what can be more vniust, and iniurious, then this law of diuorce, ordaining that a man, may repudiat his wife, for anie cause what soeuer? Which was held for so great iniustice amongst the Paynimes, that the *Romans*, had no vse, or knowledge of diuorces, for the space of six hūdreth yeares after *Rome* was built, though afterwards, the law of diuorce crept into their common welth, with much other corruption of their ancient disciplin, and manie vices, as *Tertulian*, noteth verie well. But how vniust that law of *Mahomet* is, it may appeare by diuers reasons.

58 First, whereas mariage was instituted by the law of nature, not onlie for the procreation of children, but also for their conuenient education, it is manifest, that it is most necessarie, that man, and wife, remaine together during their liues, to the end they may haue, a common, and equall care of the children, which pertaine equallie to both, and cannot be so well provided for by stepmothers.

59 Secondlie, whereas the husband, and wife, doe giue by their mariage, power of their owne bodies, the one, to the other, it must needes be vnderstood, that the obligation is for life, for if it were but for a time, there were no difference betwixt a contract, with some concubine, or queane, and a lawfull mariage.

60 Thirdlie, this law, giueth licentious, and wicked men, both great libertie, and also ample occasion to abuse faire women, with a pretence of mariage, meaning onlie to deslower them, and then to dismisse them, when they haue dishonored them, and made them contemptible to others.

61 Lastly, it is most pernicious to good *Oeconomy*, giuing occasion to the wife, not only lesse to loue, & esteeme her husband, but also to haue lesse care of the family, yea, & to robb, & steale secretly, what shee can of her husbands goods, to the end shee may provide for her selfe, in case shee be dismissed: so that, this law of diuorce is most vniust, as being iniurious to wiues, and their children, and against the reaso of good *Oeconomy*, besides diuers other inconueniences, which I omit, for breuities sake. Whereby it appeareth, how iustlie our Sauour reprehended the like

Matth. 19.

custome amongst the *Iewes*, when he reduced the law of marriage, to the first institution, declaring man, and wife, to be one flesh, and inseparable ioyned by almightie God, and therefore he concluded. *Quod Deus coniunxit, homo non separet. Let no man sepearat that which God hath ioyned.* And although there follow inconueniencies, sometimes to particuler persons vppon the indissolubilitie of marriage, yet the same is recompensed with manie commodities, and with the publike, and generall good, which all good lawes doe principallie and directlie intend, rather then the benefitt of priuat persōs, as also we see, that almightie God houldeth the same course in the gouernēt of the world, ordaining manie thinges, for an vniuersall good, which neuerthelesse, are in diuers cases, incommodious to particuler men, and thus much for *Mahomers* law of diuorce.

Alcoran.
cap. 2.

62 I could ad to these, diuerse other absurd, and ridiculous constitutions of *Mahomet*, were it not, that I haue to say somewhat also of the *Iewes*, in this chapter, which beginneth already to grow ouerlong. Neuertheles, I can not but in a worde, or two, touch one other law of his, in respect of the euident preiudice it must needs bring to common welth, if it be put to practise. For he commaundeth in his *Alcoran*, reuenge of iniuries, with the law of *Talion*, that is to say, with the like measure. But this must needs be, against reason of state, which requireth, that all reparation as well of priuat, as publike, wrongs, be in the arbitrement, & power of the magistrat, according to the prescript of the law, least otherwaies, the insatiable appetite of reuenge, may transport the wronged, beyond all limits of reason, and breede implacable, and mortall quarrels, deadlie foods, and consequentlie seditions, tumults, and ciuill warres, to the manifest danger, and damage of the common welth, where vppon it followeth, that the contrarie law of our Christian religion, commaunding the remission of iniuries, is most political, as I will make most euident hereafter, when I shall treat of the effects of Christian religion in common welth, in which respect, I may well be the breecer here.

Chap. 15.
Nu. 26. &
chap. 24.
Nu. 10. 11.
12. & 13.

63 Now then to conclude, concerning *Mahomet*, and his religion, thou hast seene, good Reader, how futable they are, the one to the other, and no meruaile, that such a beastlie monster as he was, inuented such monstrous, and beastlie religion, which neuertheles hath through the iust iudgement of God, ouerflowed a great part of the world, for the due punishment of sinne, and speciallie of heresie, and schisme, as I will shew hereafter, in the third part of this treatise, whē I shall treat of the fruit, and effects of false religion in common welth, and now in the meane

time I

come I will onlie admonish thee, good Reader, that thou doe not attribute the prosperitie, & power of *Mahometā* princes, (I meane the Turke, and such others) to anie merit of their religion, but to the sinnes of the Christians, which God iustlie scourgeth by them, making them the instruments of his iustice, as the *Assirians*, and *Babilonians*, were in the conquest of *Samaris*, and *Iuda*: in which respect almightie God called *Sennacherib*, his staffe, & the rodd of his wrath, yea, and so exact is his iustice, ^{4. Reg. c. 17.} that he may wel be thought to giue the more temporal prosperitie, ^{Ez. 25.} and encrease of dominion, to these wicked infidells, euen for the seruice which they doe him in the execution of his iustice vpon bad Christiāns, as he rewarded *Nabuchodonosor* an Idolater, with the knigdome of *Aegypt*, ^{Ezech. 29.} for the seruice which he had donne him, though vnwittinglie, in the ^{chap. 26. nu.} expugnation of *Tyrus*, as I haue more amplie declared in the first part of ^{19. c. 23. c.} this treatise, when I signified the causes, why God giueth kingdomes, ^{chap. 17.} and prosperitie to wicked men. And this shall suffice, touching *Mahomet*, ^{nu. 15.} and his law.

64 Yt resteth now, that I say some what in this chapter, of the religion of the *Iewues*, I meane not, that which is contained in the old testament. and called the law of *Moyse*, and was professed by the people of God, from the time of *Moyse*, vntil the comming of our Sauour *Christ*, (for that the same is now no where exercised, and was when it florished, with out all doubt, a most holie, exquisite, and exact law, and religion: not onlie for the morall, and ceremonial, but also: for the Iudicial part thereof, pertaining to pollicie, and gouernment, and no maruaile, seeing that the author of it, was God himselfe,) but my meaning is, to treat breefly of that religion which the *Iewues*, now professe, consisting partly in some ceremonies, and customes of the *Mosaycal* law, and partlie of manie traditiōs, and inuentiōs, of their *Rabbins*, deliuered in their bookes called the *Thalmud*, which signifieth a doctrin, or disciplin, deliuered after the maner of an ordinarie glose, which doctrin was gathered as well out of ould *Rabbins* workes, before our Sauour *Christ*s birth, as out of manie others, which liued within the first foure hundredeth seuentie yeares, after his passion, during which time, the bookes of the *Thalmud* were collected, and especiallie at three seuerall times.

65 The first collection was made by *Iudas*, the sonne of *Simon*, a hundredeth, and fiftie yeares after the last destruction of *Hierusalem*, and this was called *Misna*.

66 The second was composed by *Rabbi Ioannam*, *Rab*, and *Samuel*, who augmented the *Misna*, with new additions, and called it. *Thalmud Hierosolymitanum*, because it was collected in the ruynes, which were then remaying

Sixtus Senensis Biblioth. sancta li. 2.
Idem ibid.

remaining of *Hierusalem*, and this collection was made a hundreth, and fiftie yeares after the former.

67 The third, and last was gathered by the Rabbins *Assé*, and *Hammai*, and their two sonnes, *Mair*, and *Assé*, in *Babilon* of *Aegypt*, now called *Cayrus*, about the yeare of our Lord, foure hundreth seauentie seauen, & is therefore called *Thalmud Babylonicum*, in the which is contained all the *Misna*, and the other *Thalmud Hierosolomiticum*, with all the traditiōs,

Petrus Galatinus de arcanis cathol. verit. li. 1. ca. 5. statutes, and expositions of *Moyse*s his law, gathered out of all the former Rabbins, deuided into six orders, or principal partes, containing sixty bookes, or treatises, in the which there are five hundreth thirtie two chapters, and by the doctrine, deliuered in this huge worke (tenne times bigger then our bible) all the sinagogues of the *Iewues*, that liue in the profession of their law, are gouerned vntill this day, accounting the same to be of no lesse truth, and authoritie, then the ould testament, and therefore it is written in the preface of the *Thalmud*, that *whosoener denieth the contents thereof, denieth God himselfe*: and in the worke it selfe, the paine of death is ordained for those, who denie anie thing, that is taught therein.

Sixt. Semen. in Bibliotheca sancta li. 2.

68 And for asmuch as these *Thalmudical* volumes, are referred, and stuffed, not onlie with manie blasphemies against our Sauour *Christ*, & the verie law of *Moyse*s, which they professe (yea, against the dietie it selfe) but also with infinit other points of execrable doctrine, and precepts, contrarie to the light of reason, and the law of nature, and nations, I will therefore breefelie lay downe some few articles thereof, whereby it shall euidentlie appeare, that the lawe which the *Iewues*, now hold for their religion, is no lesse absurd in regard of policie, and reason of state, then in respect of the veritie requisit to true religion, wherein thou shalt also see, good Reader, how notable *Mahomer*, and the authors of the *Thalmud* symbolized in ridiculous follie, beastlie turpitude, and the spirit of errour, lies, and blasphemy against the maiestie of God.

Ordine 1. Tract. 4. distinct. 3. vide Bibliotheca sancta. Sext. Senens. li. 2.

Ord. 2. Tract. 1. distinct. 14. Vide symboli fidei Fr. Ludouici. Grauat. part. 4. tit. 2.

First then concerning almightie God, they teach, that before the creation of the world, he exercised himselfe in making manie worlds, and destroying them againe, vntill at length, he learned by long practise, to make this world, which we now see.

That he spendeth the first three houres of the day, in reading *Moyse*s law, and the three next houres, in teaching litle children, that die verie yonge, and three other houres, in iudging the world, and the three last houres, in sporting, and solacing himselfe, with a great dragon called *Lemiasan*, and that in the night he rideth vpon a verie swift *Cherubim*,

did visiteth 18000. worlds, which he hath made.

That *Moyſes* going vp once to heauen, found God writting, accents, or titles in the holie ſcripture.

Ord. 5. tract. 6. diſt. 5.

That God hath a certaine place of reſtrait, whither he retireth himſelfe at certaine times, and weepeth bitterlie, becauſe, when he was angrie with the *Iewes*, he deſtroied their temple, and gaue them into captiuitie, and that ſometimes he roreth like a lion, for ſorrow, and that, as oft as the *Iewes*, enter into their ſynagogues to pray, he teareth the heare of his head, and ſaith, *Happy is the king, that is thus glorified by his ſubiects, but woe be to the father, that hath made his children ſlaues.*

Ord. 2. diſt. 5. & ord. 1. d. 7. Vide etiam Granat. in ſymbolo. par. 4. tract. 2.

That God is angrie once a day, and that then the combes of cocks, waxe pale, and the cocks ſtand vppon on leggs, and if at the ſame time, any man chance to curſe an other, he that is curſed dieth preſentlie.

Ord. 1. tract.

That once when certaine *Rabbins*, diſputed againſt *Rabbi Eleazer*, God gaue ſentence from heauen in fauour of *Eleazer*, and that therevppon, the *Rabbins* being highlie offended, did excommunicat God, and he ſmiling ſaid, *My children haue ouercome me.*

Ord. 4. tract. 2. diſt. 7.

That God would a lie, to make peace betwixt *Abraham*, and *Sara*, which they ſay, to proue, that peace is a thing of verie great importance.

Vide Granat. ubi ſupra.

That God commaunded the *Iewes*, to offer the ſacrifice of expiation euerie new moone, to ſatiſſie for the ſinne which he committed, when he vniuſtly tooke the light from the moone, and gaue it to the ſunne.

Ord. 4. tract. 6. diſt. 1.

I omit manie other ſuch impious, and abſurd blaſphemies, againſt almightie God, whom they deſpise as you ſee, of his omnipotencie, of his wiſdome, of his veritie, and truth, and of his iuſtice, and ſanctitie, making him ſubiect to infirmitie, to vanitie, to ignorance, and error, to lies iniuſtice, and ſinne, whereby they alſo deſpise him conſequentlie of his diuinitie, and therevppon it followeth, that the doctrine, and beleefe, which they profeſſe, is no religion, but verie Atheiſme.

This may yet further appeare by other ridiculous articles of their Thalmudical diſciplin. As that they teach the tranſmigration of ſoules, from one body to an other, and that the ſoules of vnlearned men, ſhall not receiue their bodies againe in the generall reſurrection.

Ord. 4. tract. 2. & alibi paſſim. Ord. 3. tract. 2. charta. 3.

Alſo, that the Archangel *Gabriel*, hauing committed a verie famous ſinne, was by Gods commaundement whipped, with a fire ſcourge.

Ord. 2. tract. 5. diſt. 8.

That two *Rabbins*, did euerie weeke vppon the friday create or make two calues, and ate them vpp euerie iote.

Ord. 4. tract. 4. diſt. 2. chart. 65.

That if a man pray with his face, to the ſouth, he ſhall obtaine wiſdom, if he pray Northward he ſhall haue riches.

Ord. 4. tract. 3. diſt. 2.

Ordo. 2.
tract. 1. dist. 6.
Ordo. 4.
tract. 10.
dist. 2.

That whosoever eateth thrife, vpon the sabbath day, shall haue life euerlasting in the other world.

Finallie, that if anie man passe vnder the bellie of a camel, or betwix two camels, or two women, he shall neuer be able to learne any thing of the *Thalmud*.

71 Who is there now, that shall read this, and will thinke them well in their witts, that either teach, or beleue these ridiculous toys? Yet these are part of the *Thalmudical* doctrine, and commaunded to be beleued vnder paine of death, both temporal and eternal.

72 But let vs heare some what more, that we may see, how wel they agree with the law of *Moses*, the law of nature, good disciplin of life, & common honestie, to the end thou maist, good Reader, discouer the falsitie of this *Talmudical*, & *Iewish* religion, by the turpitud, and beastlines of it; and this I say the rather, because in the first part of this treatise, I promised to make it euident in this, that dissolution of life, and filthie carnalitie, is an inseperable propertie of false religion, which I haue already in part performed, treating of the two former false religions, to wit *Paganisme*, & *Mahometisme*. And therefore, as I meane also to performe the like hereafter, when I shall treat of the sects amongst Christians at this time, so now I cannot but wish it to be obserued by the way, in these *Thalmudists*, & the *Iewes* their disciples, who doe not only allow the abominable sinne called *Nefandum*, (not to be named, as I haue signified before, when I treated of *Mahomet*) but also affirme that it was practised by *Adam*, and *Noe*, where of I forbear to declare the particulars, for the verie horreur of them; besides that they also teach, that if a man marrie his owne sister, or daughter, he doth an act, verie gratefull to god, though the same (as also the other detestable sinne aforesaid) is expressely forbidden vnder paine of death, by the law of *Moses*, which they professe to keepe.

Chap. 9.
Nu. 19.

Ord. 3. tract.
1. dist. 6.
Ord. 4.
tract. 4.
Ord. 2.
tract. 2.

Leuit. 20.

Exod. 20.
Leuit. ca. 20
Ibid.
Canebedrin.
ca. Abrami-
tor.

Leuit. 20.
li. Sopu. c. 5.

73 Also wheras God expreslie forbad in the old law, all maner of idolattrie, and particularlie that no man should giue anie of his children to be consecrated, and offred to the Idol *Moloch*, (which was done by the ministerie of the Idolatrous priests, (who vsed to passe men through the fire, before the Idol,) they teach, that it is no sinne, for the father, to consecrat his owne child to *Moloch*, so that he doe not giue him to the priest to be offred, or consecrated by him.

74 In like maner, God forbiddeth in the law of *Moses*, to curse father, or mother, vpon paine of death, but they allow a man to curse either of both, so that he name not some of the proper names of God in his malediction. And no marueile if they permit this, seeing they teach also

that a man may curse God himselfe, so that he name not one special name of his, to wit, *Semhamaphorus*.

77 The law of *Moses* also forbiddeth wilfull murther, as all other lawes doe, but they teach that if a man tie, an other mans hands, and feete, and leave him so to perish by famin, or that he cast him to a lion, he is not to be punished by the law, though if he expose him to die by cold, or heate, they hold him guiltie of his death, and to deserue punishment. And if in like sort, tenne men doe kill one man with tenne staues, they hold them all for guiltles. But can anie thing be more absurd then this, or more contrarie to all lawes deuine, and humane? whereby it may also appeare, how political is the law of the *Talmud*, and how conuenient for common wealth, which is one speciall point, that I am here to consider, and therefore I will omit, diuers other impious, and absurd opinions of theirs, to conclude with a few, concerning matter of gouernment.

78 Yf a malefactor, say they, being accused before diuers iudges, be condemned to death, by the sentence of them all, he is to be sett free, because it is absolutelie necessarie (as they thinke) that the iudges be of different opinions, and that the prisoner be condemned, or absolved by pluralitie of voyces.

Also they ordaine, that if a man be condemned to death, by false witnesses, and the falsitie be not discovered, whiles the partie liueth, the witnesses shall not be punished for their false testimonie, or periurie.

Yf a man, say they, find a purse, and vnderstand that the party which lost it, hath no hope to recouer it, he is not bound to restore it.

Moreouer, they teach, that if a *Rabbyn* (that is to say, one that is a master, or doctor amongst them) doe not hate his enemy to death, and doe him what mischeefe he may, he is not worthie of the title, and name of a *Rabbyn*, whereas neuertheles the law of *Moses* saith. *Non queras olionem, nec memor eris iniuria ciuium tuorum.* Doe not seeke reuenge, nor keepe in mynd the iniurie that is donne thee by thy neighbour.

79 Also they teach that God comaunded the *Iewues*, to take the goods of *Christians* by fraud, force, vsurie, theft, or anie other meanes whatsoeuer, and to esteeme all *Christians*, for no better then bruite beasts, and so to treat, and handle them in all occasions.

That if a *Iewu*, meaning to kill a *Christian*, do chance to kill a *Iewu*, he deserueth to be pardoned.

That if a *Iewu*, see a *Christian* in a place of danger, where he may pre-ripteat him, or cast him, downe headlong to breake his necke, he is bound in conscience to doe it.

Finallie, they haue a constitution, whereby euery *Iewu*, and especiallie

Canbedrin
cap. Arbu
mior.

Exod. 20.
Leuit. 24.
Canbedrin
ca. Ellu.

Li. Suprin
condemned to death,
by the sentence of them all,
he is to be sett free, be-
cause it is absolutelie necessa-
rie (as they thinke) that the
iudges be of
ca. 9.

Ordo. 4.
tract. 4. vido
six. senens. in
bibliotheca.
vbi supra.
Ord. 4. tract.
2. dist. 4.
Ord. 5. tract.
1. dist. 2.

Leuit. 19.

Ord. 1. tract.
dist. 4.
Ord. 4. tract.
8.

Ord. 4. tract.
4. & 9.
Ord. 4. tract.
4. & in lib.
toroden
c. 158.

Ord. 1. tract.
1. dist. 4.

they priests in their sinagogues, are bound thrise euerie day, to pray to God, to exterminat all *Christians*, with their kings, and princes, in hatred of *Iesue of Nazareth*. 78 Lo heere, good Reader, some part of the deuilish doctrin of the Iewish *Thalmud*, contradicting most euidentlie, the lawes of God, of *Moses*, of nature, of nations, & all iustice, charitie, and humanitie, whereby we may manifestlie see, the exemplar punishment of God, vpon that miserable people, not onlie in the vnspeakeable calamities, which they haue so manie hundreth of yeares endured, & still doe throughout the world (as I haue verie ampie declared in the first part of this treatise) but also in their peruerse, and wilful blindenes, which is such, that they haue lost the verie light of naturall reason, in matters pertaining to their saluation, according to the malediction of the prophet, when he said, *Excaca cor populi huius*. *Blind o Lord, the harts of this people*. And the propheticall prediction of *Moses*, when he thereatned them, saying, *Percutiet te Dominus amentia &c.* Our Lord will strike thee with madnes, blindness, and iurie of mind &c.

Chap. 19. per
totum.

Isay. c. 6.
Deus.

79 This, I say, we see euidentlie fulfilled in the *Thalmudists*, and the *Iewes* their disciples, who farre exceede both *Paynimes*, and *Mahometans*, in grosse, and palpable ignorance, and error; and in ridiculous, and absurd impietie, or rather in most impious, and blasphemous Atheisme, masked with the vizard of the *Mosaycal* law, and religion, wherof they haue nothing least, but the bare pretence, or shadow, and yet with how litle reason, or rather how much against reason, and euident trul, they pretend the continuance thereof, it shall sufficientlie appeare, in the ensuing chapters, wherein I will proue, the veritie, and sanctitie, of Christian religion, which being proued, it must needes follow, that the *Mosaycal* law ceased by the coming of our Sauour Christ, who hauing bene fouretould, and promised by the prophets, and represented by the signes, figures, ceremonies, and sacrifices of the law, was the full accomplishment, consummation, perfection, and end thereof, being the verity, which was prefigured, and the *Messias* promised therein, where vpon he said himselfe, *Non veni soluere legem, sed adimplere*. I came not to breake the law, but to fulfill it.

Matth. 5.

So. Well then to conclude this chapter, I hope good Reader, thou remainest satisfied, concerninge the absurditie of *Paganisme*, *Mahometisme*, and *Iudaisme*, aswel in respect of their falsitie in matter of religion, as of their errors in matter of state, and politicall gouernment, and therefore I will now passe to treat of Christian religion, and will proue the irrefragable veritie, the incontaminat puritie, the

ment dignitie, and absolute necessitie thereof, to the felicitie of man, and common welth, the discourse whereof, will draw me to the discussion of manie excellent questions, and important matters, necessarie to be knowne, and duly considered of euerie Christian man, in which respect, I craue thy fauourable attention, for thy owne speciall benefit.

of the verity, dignity, fruit, and necessity of Christian religion in common welth, in respect aswell of the purity, and excellency of the doctrine, as also of the admirable force, and effects of Gods grace, which it giueth for the repression of vice, and reformation of manners. And by the way, it is declared, how vaine the philosophers laboured, to reforme the diseases in mans nature.

C H A P. 15.

IF I should vndertake, good Reader, to lay downe all the arguments, and proofes, of the veritie of Christian religion, I should take vppō me to write a whole volume of that onlie matter, as diuers great learned men haue donne, not only in the primitive Church, (to wit *Arnobius, Clemens, Alexandrinus, Eusebius, Lactantius, S. Augustin,* and others, but also some of latter times, as *S. Thomas*, in his learned booke against the Gentils, and now in our daies, *F. Leuvs de Granada*, in his excellent treatise, intituled *de Symbolo*, besides diuers others who haue written more breefelie thereof.

2. But forasmuch as my principal intention is to treat of the veritie of Christian religion, so farre forth onlie, as it may concerne common welth, I will therefore (as also for breuities sake) make choise of a few points, which may direclie proue, both that the Christian religion is the onlie true religion: and also, that it is most politicall, that is to say, most necessarie, and behoofeful for the gouernment of common welth.

3. I omitt then to set downe the particuler propheties, aswell of the *Leuvs, as Gentils*, foretelling the coming of our Sauour Christ, & giuing most euident, & vndoubted testimony of his miraculous incarnatiō, & natiuitie, of his wonderful miracles, of the very time, & māner of his passiō, & death, of his resurrection, ascension, and sending the holie Ghost to his disciples, and finallie of the amplitude, dignitie, and glory of his Church, all which were clearelie foretould, not onlie by the old prophets, amongst the people of God, but also by the Sibylla, amongst the Gentils, who made particuler mention, euen of his

Arnob. contra gentes Clem. Alexandr. li. 1. Stromat. Eusebi. de preparat. & demonstrat. euangel. Lactant. diuin. institut. S.

Aug. de ciuit. Dei. S. Tho. contra gent. granat. de symbolo fidei.

a Esay. 7. & 9.

b Idem 35.

c Dan. 9.

d Isay. 50.

e Psal. 67.

f Psal. 46.

g Iohel. 2.

h Esay. 2. 49.

i 54. & 60.

k Miche. 4.

*Apul. Lactan-
tium li. de
vera Sapiet.
li. 4. ca. 15. 16.
17. 18. & 19.*

Lactans.

Ibid.

*August. li. 18
de ciuitat.
ca. 23.*

Chap. 19.

*Chap. 24.
nu 33. 34. &
35.*

*Aug. de ciuit.
Dil. 22. c. 8.*

*S. Christof.
li. contra ge-
ntes de S.*

verie miracles, as of his raising the dead, his curing the blind, deaf, and lame, his feeding six thousand in the wilderness, with two fishes, and six loaves, his commaunding the sea, and windes, his walking vpon the water, and that he should be apprehended, buffeted, spit at, scourged, and crowned with thornes, that vinegar, and gall should be giuen him to drinke, that he should die to giue vs life, that the sunne should be darkened three houres, that the veile of the temple should be torne, and finallie that he should within three dayes rise againe. Of all which, the particularities may be seene in *Lactantius*, who alleadgeth the grecke verses of the *Sibylla* concerning these points, whereof *S. Augustin*, also maketh mention, and addeth, other verses of *Sibylla Eriphra*, touching the day of iudgement, and the resurrection of our bodies, in which verses, the first letter of euerie verse, being put all together, doe expresse the name of our Sauour, and make this sentence. *Iesus Christus Dei filius Saluator. Iesus Christ the Sonne of god, the Saviour.*

4 But I omit, I say, further to particularise these prophesies, as also to speake of the reprobation of the Iewes, and their most euident punishment, euen vntil this day, for their infidelitie, and crueltie towards Christ, whereof I haue spoke ampie in my first part.

5 Also, I let passe the vocation of the Gentils, and miraculous conuersion of the world, to the Christian faith, by simple, and ignorant fishermen, and other men of occupation, preaching a doctrine, which seemed not lesse repugnant to reason, then to mans nature, and sense, and confirming the same, with such wonderfull, and stupendious miracles, that as *S. Augustin* saith, who soeuer shall now refuse to beleoue, without new miracles, he may be held for *magnum prodigium*, that is to say, a great and prodigious wonder.

6 I forbear also to treat at this present, of the wonderful, and miraculous manner, how the Church of Christ hath bene encreased, and propagated to that greatnes, which now we see, notwithstanding the opposition, first of manie Pagan emperours, and since of diuers Heretical, and Schismatical kings, and princes, seeking to exterminate the same, of which point, I shall haue occasion to speak ampie, in the third part of this treatise, I omit also to treat of the ouerthrow, and extinction of idolatry, by the faith of our Sauour Christ, as also of the power which he left to his Church to commaund deuils, of the inuincible constancie of innumerable martirs, and finallie of the honour donne to the Crosse of Christ, and to his poorest seruants after their deatch, yea, to their verie relikes (which *S. Christostome* vrgeth against the Pagans, for notable, and euident arguments, of the diuinitie of Christ) all these, I say, I forbear to

prof

meaneth, meaning onlie to handle two pointes, pertaining no lesse to pollicie, then to religion. The one is, to proue, that all perfection of vertue (be it theologicall, morall, or politticall) is contained onlie in Christian religion. The other is, that the end of man, and of common welth, (which I have shewed before to be both one) is also to be obtained only thereby, which two points being proued, it wilbe most cleare, that Christian religion, is both true religion, and also most politticall, and fit for gouernment of common welth.

7 For the first, it is to be vnderstood, that as all false religions being veterlie voide, of Gods grace, haue for the most part, either some mixture of absurd doctrim, contrarie to the verie light of natural reason, or at least some inducement to vice, and impietie (as I haue aheadie declared, in the false religions of the *Pagans*, *Turkes*, and *Idolaters*) so also on the other side, the Christian religion being most pure, and deuine, in doctrim, leadeth to all perfection of vertue, admitting no kind of impietie, or impietie, reforming the manners of wicked men, & conuerting them from vice, to vertue, from error to truth, and from darkenes to light; from sinne to sanctitie, and all holines of life, for as the psalmist saith. *Ben* *psalm. 18.* *Domini immaculata, conuertens animas &c.* The lawe of our lord is immaculate, conuerting soules, and the testimony, or commendement of God, giueth ouerslome to children, as shall appeare by all the ensuing discourse.

8 This was foretold long before our Sauour Christ was borne, by the prophet *Isayas*, who hauing signified, that he should cure the lame, the dumme, the deafe, and the blind, addeth that, *the dry ground, should be changed into lakes, and fountaines of water, and that, in the dennes of dragons, there should grow greene rishes, and that the same should be a path, and a way, which should be called holy:* Giuing to vnderstand, by all these metaphoricall speeches, that the *water* of Gods grace should flow, and abound in the desert, and dry soules of sinners, and that of *dennes for dragons*, that is to say, of habitacles for sinne and wickednes, they should become receptacles of vertue, and sanctitie. And againe in an other place, he saith in like manner, that after the comming of our Sauour. *The wolfe should dwell with the lambe, the leopard with the kid, the calfe, and sheepe, with the lyon, and that these fier, and wild beasts, should become so domestical, that they should, doe no hurt in the holy mount.* *Quia repleta est terra,* saith he, *scientia Domini.* Because the earth is filled with the knowledge of our lord.

Thus saith the prophet, signifying that proud, & wicked men, as fierce, and cruel as lions, or wolues, should by the vertue, and power of Gods grace, become as meeke as lambes, and not disdaine the companie of the most humble, and simplest seruant of God.

Babyla. & li. quod Christus sit Dem. To. 1.

Chap. 7. 8. 9. & 14.

Ben psalm. 18.

Isay. 55.

Isay. 11.

7. Luc. 37.

5. Luc. 27.

19. Luc. 2.

9. Act. 4. 5.

9 The experience of this admirable conuersion of sinners, appeared presentlie after our Sauours comming, not onlie in those whome he called to his faith (as *Mary Magdalen*, termed in the scripture *Peccatrix*, the *sinful woman*, *Matheu*, and *Zachens*, the publicans, and *Saul*, the persecutour,) but also in infinit others, who in the primitiue Church receiued the Christian faith, by the preaching of the Apostles, and their successors, whereby Idolatry, and the kingdome of the diuel, was overthrowne, and such a change wrought in the liues, and minds of men, that the world seeing it, in it selfe, admired it.

S. Hieron.

in ca. 2. E.

10 For, whereas all corruption, & beastlie abomination of vice, pride, malice, dronkenness, surfetts, and licentious life, had ouerflowed the world (in such sort that, as *S. Ierome* saith, publike stewes of boyes, were euerie where allowed, and that the greatest philosophers of Greece, were no lesse subiect, to that vice, then other men) such was the change of mens manners by Christian religion, that infinit numbers of all sorts of people, reformed their liues, and became exemplar for humilitie, contempt of the world, loue towards their neighbour, temperance, continencie, and castitie, in so much, that *AEGYPT*, it selfe, which had benne the cheefe seat of Idolatry, and the verie sinke of sinne, flourished incrediblie in all vertue, as may appeare, by the notable relation written by *Palladius* of his pilgrimage, to visit the monasteries of *AEGYPT*, where he found in one citie called *Oxirinc*, tenne thousand monkes, & religious persons, and twentie thousand virgins, who had all forsaken the world, and dedicated themselues wholie, to the seruice of God, and to the mortification of the flesh.

*Pallad. de
vita SS. Pa-
trum. ca. 5.*

11 In an other place called *Nutria*, they found fife hundred monasteries, not farr a sunder one from an other, deuided into fiftene bourgs, yet so vnited, saith the storie, in loue, and charitie, that they had all, as it were, *one soule, and one hart*. And not farr from the citie *Thebes*, they saw a monasterie, which had in it a thousand monkes, besides that there were three thousand others, in other monasteries not farr from thence, men admirable for abstinence, silence, humilitie, and all vertue. In an other place, there were vnder the holie man *Serapion*, twelue thousand monkes in diuers monasteries, and in a desert they found so manie cells of Hermits, that the place was therevpon called *Cellia*. And finally, in the territory of *Memphis*, and *Babylon*, there was an innumerable multitude (saith the storie) of monkes, endued, and adorned with diuers graces, and gifts of the holie Ghost. And this wonderful reformation of mens liues, and maners; was not onlie in *AEGYPT*, but also in all other parts of the world, where Christian religion flourished, as *Theodoretus* testifieth, of *Greece*, and

other countries knowne vnto him, to wit, *Palestina, Pontus, Cilicia, Syria, Asia*, and all *Europe*; where saith he, there were innumerable monasteries of holie virgins, which he attributeth to the force, and grace of Christian religion, saying, that after our Saviour was borne, nature yealded and brought forth the sayre, and fresh fields, or meadowes of virginity, and offered our Creator, these faire flowers, which neuer fade, or perish. Thus said he, aeleuen hundreth yeares agoe, of the fruit of Christian religion in his time, which might be confirmed by infinit testimonies of ancient historiographers, and Fathers, if I thought it needeful. Besides that I shall haue iust occasiō to say somewhat more of this matter hereafter, when I shall treat of matters in controuersie, and therefore now for the present, I thinke good to declare the excellēt meanes whereby this mutation, & change of mind, and manners is wrought in Christian religion.

The first is, the puritie, and excellencie of Christian doctrine, tending to all perfection of vertue, and exclusion of vice, or sinne, not only in act, or intention, but also in word, and thought, in which respect our Saviour taught, that we are, to yeald an account for every idle word, and that he, which doth but desire, and lust after a woman, only in his hart, is guilty of the sinne of the flesh. And therefore also he placed one of the eight beatitudes of man, in cleanes of hart. *Beati mundo corde*, saith he, *Blessed are the cleane in hart, for they shall see God*. Besides that, he requireth in vs such a pure, and feruent loue of God, such confidence, in his mercie and prouidence, such charitie towards our neighbour (yea our verie enemies,) such an acknowledgement of our owne infirmitie, such contrition, and hartie sorrow for our sinnes, such charitie, such humilitie, such mansuetude, and meekenes, such contempt of honours, riches, and vanities of the world, such mortification of our passions, and affections, such patience in aduersitie, such conjunction of simplicitie with wisdom, such obedience to our magistrates, and superiours, such truth in word, and deede, and finallie such hate, not onlie of vice, and all euil, but also of all shew, or appearance of euil, that nothing can be imagined in his doctrine wanting to the consummation, and perfection of all vertue, in so much, that who soeuer fulfilleth his precepts, leadeth rather an Angelical, then a humane life.

Furthermore, what shall I say of the meanes, & motiues, that he least to draw, & lead vs to this perfectiō? First he gaue vs an assurāce aswell of eternal reward, for the performāce of his commaūdemēts, as of eternal punishment for the contempt thereof. Secondly he encouraged vs with his owne example, performing, and accomplishing, all that which he

Theodore.
hisor. sanct.
patrum. co.
30. in Dom-
nina.

Chap. 29.
& 30.

Math. 12.
Math. 5.

ibid.
a Math. 22.
b Ibid. 6.
c Ibid. 12.
d 2. Cor. 3.
e Luc. 13.
f 1. Cor. 6.

g. h Math.
11. & 5.
i Philip. 3.
k Math. 16.
l Luc. 21.
m Mar. 10.

n 1. Pet. 2.
o Coloss. 3.
p Rom. 12.
q 1. Thess. 5.

r Math. 19.
Luc. 10.
Math. 25.
lbid. 16.

a Matth. 18. commaunded vs. Thirdly he ordained that his spouse the Church, guided by his holie spirit, and furnished with Apostles, doctors, and pastors should instruct, direct, admonish, and correct vs, as occasion should require. Fourthly, he left his holie scriptures to teach, strengthen, and confirme vs, as well in matters of maners, as of doctrine. Fifthlie he instituted holie sacraments, to purifie, cleanse, sanctifie, and iustifie vs. Lastly he made vs an irrevocable promise of the assistance of his grace, if we duly seeke it, whereby, as he himselfe said, his burthen should become light vnto vs, and his yoke sweete. And in this respect, the Christian religion is called the law of grace, and thereby distinguished from the law of *Moses*. For although the seruants of God were also iustified, and saued by grace, in the law of *Moses* (for without grace, there could be neither iustification, nor saluation,) yet that grace was not giuen them, eyther by their law maker, or together with their law, or afterwards, by vertue of their law, or of the obseruation thereof, but by the merits of our Sauour *Christ*, in whom they beleueed, as in their redeemer to come, no lesse then now we beleuee in him already come, as *s. Augustin*, teacheth amplie: so that those which were iustified, and saued in the old law, did belong to the new law, being iustified, and saued by the merits of our Sauour *Christ*, who being not onlie God, and man, and a law maker, but also a Redeemer, Iustifier, and Sauour, giueth grace together with his law, which he imprinteth, in our hartes as I will declare hereafter, whereas *Moses*, being onlie man, & a law maker, gaue but the bare letter of the law, and therefore the Euangelist saith.

S. Aug. in Psal. 118. & *Sem. 20. de monomachia Golia.* & *Dauid. c. 8.* *Idem de Castigandis rudibus c. 19.* & *de patientia c. 20.* & *Ioan. 1.* *Lex per Moysen &c. The law, of the old testament, was giuen by Moyses, but grace, and verity, is made by Iesu Christ.*

Exech. c. 36. 14. This was prophesied long before Christs time, by *Exechiel*, *Hieremy*, and the royal prophet *Dauid*, *Exechiel*, hauing prophesied of our Christian baptism, speaking in the person of God in these words. *Effundam super vos &c. I will take from you your stony hart, and will giue you a hart of flesh, and will sett my spirit in the midst of you, and make you walke in my precepts.*

Hieremy. c. 32. 15 Also the prophet *Hieremy*, distinguishing expressely, the old law from the new, saith, thus. *Ecc dies veniunt &c. Behold the dayes doe come, that I will make a new league, with the house of Israel, and the house of Iuda, not according to the couenant that I made with your fathers, when I tooke them by the hand, to lead them out of the land of Egypt: but the couenant, which I will make, with the house of Israel, after those dayes, saith our Lord, is this, I will giue them my law in their bowels, and write it in their hartes, and I will be they God, and they shalbe my people.* Thus farre *Hieremy*.

16 And in like maner the Roial prophet, speaking of the continuall progresse

wegre
ment, s
legillato
makers
grace, b
at last
17 A
selfe, a
pessis
can be
in me.
of his
Qui bi
him (t
vocate
for voi
blie,
as tha
ned,
yp bo
with
where
all g
18 I
in C
here
die a
that
peck
vertu
doct
but
and
in a
be
heir
giu
pro
ne
19

progress in vertue, that the faithfull seruants of God in the new testamēt, should make by the helpe of grace, saith. *Etenim benedictionem dabit legiſſar, ibunt de virtute in virtutem, videbitur Deus deorum in Sion.* For the Law-maker, (that is to say Christ our Saniour) will giue them the benediction of his grace, by the meanes whereof, they will proceede, from vertue to vertue, and at last come to see the God of gods in Sion. Thus saith the psalmist. *Psalm. 83.*

17 And with these prophets agreeth the doctrine of our Saniour himselfe, and his Apostles, and therefore he said to his disciples. *Sine me, nihil potestis facere.* Without me you can doe nothing. *Et sicut palmes &c.* As the brach can beare no fruit, except it remaine in the vine, so neither can you, except you remaine in me. And inuiting the Samaritan woman to drinke of the fountaine of his grace, he signified with all the admirable effect thereof, saying. *Qui bibirit ex aqua, &c.* He which shall drinke of this water, which I will giue him (that is to say of the water of my grace) he shall neuer thirst, but the water that I shall giue him, shall become in him a fountaine, or spring continually flowing to life euermlasting. *Joan. 4.* In which words, our Saniour signifieth notable, the most excellent, and wonderful propertie, & effect of his grace, as that the same being infused into the hart of man, cannot be contained, within the limits thereof, but alwaies boyleth, as it were, and listeth vp both it selfe, and mans hart withal towards heauen, to ioine him with his first beginninge, and to reduce him to the fountaine, from whence it selfe floweth, that is to say, to God, the author, and giuer of all grace, and goodnes.

18 I omit for this time, other testimonies concerning the effect of grace in Christian religion, both because I am to speake thereof more amplie hereafter, as also for that the same sufficientlie appeareth by these already alleadged. Therefore I conclude for the present two things, the one, that our Christian religion is the most perfect, and true religion, in respect of the meanes that it giueth for the attaining of true, and perfect vertue, that is to say, not onlie for the puritie, and excellencie of the doctrine, and of the rites, and ceremonies which it deliuereth vnto vs, but also in respect of the grace of God, which accompanieth the same, and enableth vs to performe the precepts, & rules thereof, and to excell in all vertue, which is the speciall, and proper effect of grace, and not to be obtained without it, as shall appeare more fullie, after a while. For heitherto I haue thought good, onlie to touch breiefelie this point, to giue some light, to an other conclusion, which I am to draw out of the premisses, to wit, that our Christian religion is trulie political, and most necessarie for gouernment of state. *Chap. 16. nu. 22. & sequent.*

19 This may appeare, by that which I haue shewed already, touching

the puritie, and excellencie of Christian doctrine, and the effects of Gods grace, whereby it is euident, that the Christian religion, hath the most excellent, or rather the onlie meanes to attaine to true, and perfect vertue, and to obtaine the fauour, and protection of almighty God, in which two points consisteth the establishment, and felicitie of all states. And to speake first of the meanes, to vertue. It cannot be denied, but that the Christian faith being taught, and infused by almighty God, and accompanied with his grace, (as I haue already declared) not onlie sheweth the way to perfect vertue, but also giueth force, & strenght to performe & exercise, the acts thereof in all perfection: wherevpon it followeth, that whosoever is a true, & perfect Christian, is, and must needs be, *bonus ciuis*, a good citizen, as *Aristotle*, termeth a good member of a common welth.

Euseb. li. 3.
eccles. hist.
ca. 27.

20 This was so euident to the paynimes thesclues, when they considered the Christiā doctrine & practise, without passiō, & partialitie, that *Pliny*, the second, being procōsul of *Asia*, vnder *Traian*, the emperour, acknowledged the same in an epistle, to the said *Traian*, writtē in fauour of the persecuted Christians in his iurisdiction, testifying of the, that they were an innocent, and harmeles people, whose custome, and exercise was to assemble themselves in the night, to sing certaine hymnes, and praises to *Iesus Christ*, whom they adored as their God, and that they promised, & vowed to commit no offence, or to doe anie hurt to other men, not to steale, or robb, nor to commit adultery, or periury, not to breake promise, and such like; vppon which testimony, *Traian* ordained, that no Christian should be further punished, or enquired of for his religion, except he were accused, and his successor *Adrian* vppon the like suggestion, and information giuen by a noble man called *Serenus Graniano*, gaue order to *Minutius Fundanus*, his proconsul, that the Christians should not be punished, at all for their religion.

Ibidem li. 4.
ca. 8. & 9.

21 Thus ordained they, knowing onlie some pointes of Christian doctrine, whereas if they had fully vnderstood, the whole, & knowne withall, all the wonderful effects of Gods grace in the reformatiō of mens manners, they not onlie would haue permitted it as tollerable, or not vnprofitable to the common welth, but also haue held it as absolute lie necessarie to the perfect establishment, and conseruation thereof.

22 For the true Christian, inspired by the holie Ghost, and following the rules, precepts, and examples of our Sauour *Christ*, loueth God aboue all things, and his neighbour as himselfe, doth iniurie to no man, pardoneth all iniuries donne to him, esteemeth, and honoureth euerie one, according to his degree and meritt, represseth all concu-

piscence

pience, and vnlawful desires, obeyeth magistrats, superiors, and
 lawes, as the ordinance of God (*Non propter iram, sed propter conscientiam, Rom. 13.*
Not for feare of punishment, but for conscience sake.) Yealdeth to euerie one
 his due, to Caesar, that which is Caesars, to God that which is Gods, and finallie *Matth. 23.*
 preferreth in all thinges the publike weale, before his priuare commo- *Mar. 12.*
 ditie. Where vppon it followeth, that in what state soeuer he liueth, *Luc. 20.*
 he is humble, meeke, peaceable, obedient, temperate, liberal, iust, reli- *Ro. 3. & 13.*
 gious, and consequentlie a good, and excellent member of his com-
 mon welth, in so much that if the precepts of Christian religion, were
 sincerely followed, and obserued, there should neede no political law,
 which as the Apostle saith. *Posita est iniustus, & non subditis. It is ordained for*
the vnjust, and disobedient; whereas perfect Christians, sibi ipsi sunt lex,
are a law to them selues, who hauing the law of God written in their
 harts, (as the prophet foretold) are themselues liuelie temples of the *Hierem. 31.*
 holie Ghost, which moueth, directeth, guideth, and enableth them to *1. Cor. 6.*
 doe their dutie to God, and man, replenishing their harts with such
 charitie, that is to say, with such feruent loue to God, and their neigh-
 bour, that the vnanimitie, and amitie, which *Aristotle* affirmeth to be, *2. Cor. 1. & 3.*
Maximum bonum ciuitatibus, The cheefest good for cities, or common *Aristot.*
 welth (that is to say, most necessarie, for the conseruation thereof) is *Polit. li. 2.*
 both commaunded, and practised amongst sincere Christians, in all *ca. 2.*
 perfection, nothing being more requisite to the conseruation, eyther
 of the mistical body of *Christ*, or of the political bodie of the common
 welth, the vniō, & perfect agreemēt of the parts, & mēbers thereof,
 nolesse then of the parts of mans natural bodie, which is thereby con-
 serued, and maintained, as on the other side, by the distraction, and sepe-
 ration of the parts, the whole is dissolued, and perlisheth.
 23 Therefore, I say, this harmonie, and vnanimitie, being most neces-
 sarie, and essential to a perfect common welth, is most excellent, and
 eminent amongst true, and perfect Christiāns, for whom our Sauour ob-
 tained it, by his most affectionat, and effectual praier to his Father, whe
 a litle before his passion, he praied that those which should beleue in him *Ioan. 17.*
 might be all one, as he, and his Father are one. *Tu pater, saith he, in me, & ego*
in te, & vt ipsi in nobis vnum sint. Thou father in me, and I in thee, and that they
may be one in vs. And therefore also he recommended nothing more, or
 oftner vnto his disciples, then that they should loue one another, calling it
 his new commaundement. *Mandatum nouum, saith he, do vobis &c. I giue*
you a new commaundement, that you loue on an other as I haue loued you, thereby
all men shall knowe, that you are my disciples, if you loue on an other. Thus saith
 our Sauour. *Ioan. 13.*

Rom. 13.

24 And this loue, and vnion of mindes, was also so recommended to all Christians by the Apostles, that they inculcated nothing more, then the necessitie thereof, in so much, that *s. Paule*, attributed thereto all the perfection of Christian religion, saying. *Qui diligit proximum legem impleuit.* He which loveth his neighbour, as he ought to doe, fulfilleth the law, and such was his owne loue to his brethren, that he desired to be himselfe, *seperat from Christ* (meaning, if it so should be for Gods glorie) rather then they should perish.

Rom. 9.

Ibid. Ioan. 3.

*S. Hieron.
li. de scripto-
ribus eccles.*

Act. 4.

25 And *s. Iohn* in like manner saith, that our loue to our brethren ought to be such, that *we should give our liues for them*, after the example of our Sauour *Christ*. And the same holie Euangelist, at the time of his death, exhorted his disciples to nothing els, but to loue one an other, and when vpon his continual repetition thereof, they asked him, why he so oft, and onlie spoke of that one point, *marie* saith he, *it is the precept of our lord, which being performed is sufficient.* And how exactly this precept is practised, and performed amongst true, and perfect Christians, may appear by the loue, and vnion that was amongst them in the time of the Apostles, which was such, that the scripture, saith. *Erat credentium cor vnum, & anima vna.* The faithful had all one hart, and one soule. And the same may no doubt be still said of all those, that sincerely professe, and practise the Christian religion, whereby it appeareth how political it is, and what a notable effect it worketh in a common welth, where it is embraced, and practised in sinceritie.

a Chap. 22.

b Chap. 24.

26 And the like I say, of an other precept of our Sauour, to wit, the remission of iniuries, which is so political, that happie were the common welth, where it should be generallie receiued, and practised. For as the reuenge of iniuries is the source, and spring of quarrels, garboyls, seditions, and tumults (whereby states are often ouerthrowne) so on the other side the remission of wrongs (which Christian religion preciselie ordeineth) is the mother of peace, and tranquillitie, whereby the common welth is conserued, and flourisheth. But for as much, as I am to speake more of this point hereafter (as well to shew in what cases and how this precept of our Sauour bindeth, as also to answer certaine impertinent obiections of *Macchiaeus*, & the politikes his followers, against Christian mansuetude, and patience) I forbear to enlarge my selfe further concerning the same in this place.

27 Moreouer, although I haue already declared, how necessarie Christian religion is for the planting of vertue in common welth, by reason as well of the excellencie, and puritie of the doctrine, as also of the admirable force of grace, which accompanieth it, as a proper effect thereof.

Netherhal

Neuer
dion,
els bu
and ro
trulle
s8 F
treatic
most p
ter in
can su
impug
man.
doe it
punis
of the
and r
say, hi
effect
but on
as ha
the la
times
fauor
that n
kind
29 I
prece
proct
and c
hath
it, all
tical
draw
him f
that I
with
prou
wick
and v
so ge

Neuertheles to shew further the necessitie of Gods grace, to the perfection, and felicitie of common welth, I will now proue, that nothing els but grace (which is onlie to be had with true religion) can eradicate, and roote out vice, out of the mind of man, and make a common welth trulie vertuous, and happie.

28 For this purpose, I laid certaine groundes in the first part of this treatise, whereof I must now refresh the remembrance, because they are most pertinent, and necessarie to the explication, & prooffe of the matter in hand. I made it manifest there, that no humane lawes, nor industry, can suffice to repress *the lawv of the flesh*, which as the Apostle saith, *despugneth the lawv of the mind*, and predominat in the corrupt nature of man. And first I shewed, that humane lawes, haue no other meanes to doe it, but either by precepts, or by prohibitions, or by reward, or els by punishment; and proued euidentlie, that none of these meanes, nor all of them together, can extēd their force to reforme secret vices, & sinnes, and much lesse to cure the cause of euil, and sinne in man, (that is to say, his vicious habits, and bad inclinations,) but onlie to restraine some effects thereof, to wit, some external actions, and yet not in euerie man, but onlie in such as are of a vertuous nature, and disposition, or els such as haue no power, or other meanes to resist, or auoid the penalties of the lawes, which as I there signified, are auoided, or excluded manie times, eyther by the power of the delinquent, or by the princes pardon, & fauour, or by corruption of officers, or by their negligence, in so much, that manie not withstanding all the rigour of lawes, doe wallow in all kind of vice, and wickednes.

29 Further more I also declared, that the law of the flesh, hath her precepts, and her prohibitions, her rewardes, and her punishments, her proctors, and her aduocates, her orators, philosophers, princes, magistrats, and common welths, where it absolutelie gouerneth, yea, and that it hath religions, with doctors, and preachers, to defend, preach, and teach it, all which being compared with the other meanes, ordained by political law, doe farre surmount them, and are much more powerful, to draw a man of a malignant nature to vice, then the other are to diuert him from it, and to incite him to vertue. And although it may be said, that lawes are good helpes, to make the subiects vertuous, or at least to withhold manie of them from publike scandalls, and offences, yet I proued plainelie, that they are no meanes at all to reforme a vicious, & wicked prince, if he be of a corrupt, and peruerse nature, by whose vice, and wickednes, the commō welth may be subuerted, be the lawes neuer so good, and the subiects neuer so vertuous.

Chap. 10.

30 And whereas, it may seeme, that good order being taken for the good education of youth, the common welth may by the helpe of good lawes, become vertuous, I also made it cleare, that no industrie of man, or careful education of youth, in prophane common welths (I meane such as are void of true religion, and consequentie of grace) can suffice, though with the helpe of humane lawes, to exterminate vice, and plant true vertue therein, by reason of the impediments, which will vndoubtedly occurre, either by the negligence, bad example, or euil instructions of wicked parents, or by the pouertie of manie, or because their estate may require, that their children be emploied in trades, and occupations, or by the peruerse, and incorrigible natures of manie of the youthes themselves, or by humane frailtie (whereby manie after good education, fall dailie to vice,) or by the insufficiencie, corruption, or euil example of their masters, and teachers (who in prophane common welths, cannot be trulie vertuous themselves, and much lesse teach true vertue to others. For the prooofe whereof, I shewed euidentlie, that *Aristotle*, *Plato*, and all the old philosophers (who tooke vpon them to reforme mens manners, and to cure their exorbitant, and vicious passions) were themselves most vicious, and of all this, I promised to yeald further reason, in this second part, and thereby, to declare the necessitie of Gods grace, for the extirpation of vice, and planting of true vertue in common welths, which now I meane to performe, with as conuenient breuitie as the matter will permit.

31 Therefore to the end, that the whole may be the better vnderstood, it shall be first conuenient to treat of the cause of this great disease in mans nature, before we come to consider of the remedie, which wholly dependeth vpon the knowledge of the cause, and therefore when the philosophers saw all other creatures but man, liue according to the prescription, and rule of nature, and to tend directlie to the end whereto nature ordained them, and that he onlie being lord of this lower world, and endued with the light of reason, declineth most commonlie from the same, and feeling also in them selues a continuall conflict, betwixt reason, and sense, the filthy motions of concupiscence, the violence of passions, the remorse of conscience, accusing, and condemning them of error, and sinne; and perceiuing their vnderstanding to be obscured with ignorance, their will depraued, and corrupted, with malice, their reason subdued manie times, and conquered by sensualitie, which ought to obay it; and finallie obseruing the infinit calamities, and miseries whereto man is subiect, they acknowledged a great disease, corruption, and miserie in humane nature, but could not imagin whēce it proceeded

and therefore some of them deuiled verie absurd reasons for the same, *Iacob. de*
maximis who perswading himselfe, that all creatures were made *valentin in*
 first out of a Chaos, wherein all things were disordered by reason of *Cont. in so-*
 the confused mixture of contrarieties, thought that nature framed euery *lut. quest.*
 thing els but man, verie well, to wit of such substances, and qualities, *finalis ad*
 as were conforme, and agreeable one to an other, and that shee erred in *ar. 1.*
 making of man, compacting him of two substances, of repugnant, and *Plutar. vitæ*
 discordant qualities, which remaining still in their owne nature, as they *animant.*
 were in the Chaos do cause, said he, all the conflict that is in man. Thus *terrest. an*
 dreamed he. And others in like maner had their particular fantasies, *aquat. plus*
 if not altogether, so absurd, yet at least as vntrue, as that other. Here *rationis ha-*
 vpon it grew that *Empedocles, & Heracitus* held that nature hath nothing *beant.*
 in her pure, or sincere being but a continual warre & contradictiõ, breed-
 ing daily destruction, which is not otherwaile repaired but with new
 runs, Thus said they, & others also complained greatly of her, that shee
 was a mother to all other creatures, and a stepmother to man. And there-
 fore *Homer* (as *Plutarke* witnesseth) having considered the state, and nature
 of all things, and compared them together, exclaimed, and said, that
amongst all the creatures that breathe, and creep, or craule vpon the earth, none is
more miserable then man.
 31. Againe some other of the acknowledged a corruptiõ in mäs nature,
 & that it was declined from the first integritie, & therefore vsed to recall
 men by the example of brute beastes, to the law of nature, from which
 they thought man to be degenerat, which as *Plutarke* saith verie wel, was
 nothing els, but a familiar accusation of the corruption of mäs nature. For which
 cause also *Cicero* lamenteth greatlie, that the light of nature, is almost extinct
 in man. So that those philosphers, and we fullie agree, concerning the
 corruption, and discale in humane nature, but this is the difference, be-
 twixt vs, and them, that we hauing learned by the veritie of holie scrip-
 tures, that it is a punishment inflicted vpon our first fathers, for their
 auersion, and fall from God, haue withall learned the onlie true remedy
 thereof, that is to say, our conuersion and returne to God, by the helpe
 of his grace, where as the philosophers being altogether ignorant of the
 cause of this sicknes, could neuer know the true meanes to cure it, whe-
 rein neuertheles it is to be considered, that both the cause of our euil,
 and the remedie which we assigne, are so conforme to reason, that they
 cannot with reason be denied.

32. For seeing no man doubteth, but that reason ought, according to the
 law of nature to haue the rule, and gouernment of all the inferiour
 powers of the soule, and yet that it is not so absolute, but that it is

selfe subiect to a higher power; that is to say, seeing that, as the po-
 tite is naturallie subiect to reason, the bodie to the soule, and all other
 creatures to man, so also man himselfe, his soule, and reason is subiect to
 almighty God his creator. And againe seeing it is no lesse euident, that
 man is to God, no otherwaile, then as a slave to his lord, and so depen-
 dant on his will, and gouernment, that if he with draw himselfe from his
 direction, he must needs commit many errors, in which respect
*Arif. meta-
phys.* *forte* comparing all the world to a house, or familie, gouerned by one
 lord, maketh such difference; betwix the celestiaall, and terrestial crea-
 tures, that he likeneth the heauens, and intelligences to children, which
 doe in all thinges their fathers will, and men to bondslaues, who doe
 little, or nothing for the good of the familie, if they be not moued, and
 directed by their lord (for otherwaile saith he, they are commonlie mis-
 led by their owne sensualitie, and doe many things contrarie to reason)
 seeing, I say, all this is confessed by the philosophers themselves, what
 can be more probable, and consonant to reason, then that the rebellion
 of our inferiour powers against reason, and reason's impotencie, and
 imbecillitie, and all the confusion that followeth thereof in man, is a
 consequent of some disobedience of man to God, by the meanes whereof
 reason being destitute of Gods direction, and gouernment, is not able to
 gouerne her inferiour powers, as otherwise she might vndoubtedlie
 be; if shee were not for some offence of man forsaken, and abandoned
 by almighty God.

34 Whereby we may see, how conforme to reason our Christian do-
 ctrines, which teacheth, that the first two parents of man kind being
 made to the image, and likenes of almighty God, endued with vigour,
 and light of reason, and with rectitude of will, balanced, as it were,
 with the equalitie, and peaceful concord of motions, and affections (by
 the benefit of Gods grace, and of original iustice where with they were
 adorned) did vngatefullie transgresse his commandement, and so were
 not onlie worthilie deprived of his grace, and the hope of euertlasting
 ioye, whereto they were ordained, but also became subiect euen in this
 life to all miserie, as well of soule as bodie.

35 For the principal powers of the soule (which are the subiects, or
 seats of vertue) were both weakened, and corrupted; reason obscured,
 & blinded, the will disordered, & peruerted; the other inferiour powers
 fraught, and oppressed with passions, and perturbations; the bodie in-
 fested with flames of lust, and concupiscence; and finally the bridle of
 Gods grace, and original iustice (which fortified reason, and kept all the
 inferiour powers in obedience to it) being taken away, they all runne
 headlong

As long to their objects with such violence, that ever since, they draw
most common the bondage, and the will after them, by the instigations
of God, condemning as *s. Augustin* teacheth, that the defection, and
rebellion of reason in man against God his creator, should be punished
with the like rebellion of her owne subiects, I meane the inferiour
powers, which are ordained by nature to obey her, and in all things to
be guided by her, and so we see how true it is which the Preacher saith,
that *Deus fecit hominem rectum, & ipse se immisit in infinitis questionibus.* God
made man righteous, and iust, and he entangled himselfe with infinit trouble, and
troubles.

*Aug. Tr. 7.
de peccat.
meritis &
meritis.*

This the philosophers found, and tried in them selues to be true, so
farre forth as concerneth the disease and wound of humane nature, that
is to say, the effects, and sequels of mans fall, and yet seeing, and feeling
what some reliques of former health, I meane some sparkes of vertue,
and the light of reason, not extinguished, but onlie darkened, and obscu-
red, they perswaded themselves, that mans disease was not so desperate,
but that there might be hope of his recouerie, and therefore they vsed
all endeuour, & gaue manie good precepts to that end; but not knowing
the true cause of his sicknes (as I haue said) they erred in all the course of
the cure, especially in that they expected the remedie from mans owne
labour, and endeuour, thinking themselves able to arrive to the perfe-
ction of moral vertue, without the grace of God, which was impossible,
seeing that mans reason, being for his offence deprived of the conduct
of grace, cannot possible exercise her function in the due gouernment,
and direction of the inferiour powers, except shee returne to the obe-
dience of her owne superiour, and be guided by him, no more then the
will, when it is alienat from reason, can well gouerne either it selfe, or
the sensitive appetit, which is subiect vnto it. And therefore *s. Augu-
stin* saith. *Quam liber videatur animus &c.* How laudably soener the soule may
seeme to rule the body, and reason rule vice, yet if the soule, and reason it selfe, doe
not serue God in such sort, as he hath commanded, they can neuer ouer rule, or go-
uerne either of both. For how can the soule that knoweth not the true God, and is
not subiect vnto him, but lyeth open to the temptation, and corruption of the disuel
author of all vice, how can it, I say, be ladie, and mistres of the body, or repress vice?
Thus saith *s. Augustin*.

*D. Tho. 1. 2.
q. 109. ar. 8.*

*S. Aug. li. 19.
de ciuit. Dei
ca. 25.*

37 And for as much also as the will of man, is no lesse alienated, and
auerted from God, then his reason, by the fall of Adam, and that it is
requisit for the reparation of his corrupt nature (and consequentlie for
the perfection of morall vertue) that his will be conuerted againe to
God, and guided also by his grace, it followeth, that no man can attaine

to the perfection of moral vertue, without his speciall assistance; and the reason is, because the conuersion of mans will to God, is not in his owne power, but proceedeth principallie from Gods grace, which s. Thomas proueth verie learnedlie thus.

D. Tho. 1. 2.
quest. 109.
ar. 6.

Seeing that, saith he, euerie agent, or cause worketh for an end, it must needs follow, that euerie cause conuerteth her owne effects, vnto her end, and therefore, when there are diuers, and different ends, the order
 » of those ends is to be considered, according to the order of the causes,
 » wherevpon it followeth, that man is conuerted to his last end, by the
 » motion of the first agent, or cause, that is to say of almightie God, and
 » that he is moued, to his next end, by some secundarie, or inferiour agent:
 » as for example, the souldiar is moued to seeke victorie, by the motion of
 » his general, and to follow the particuler collours of some band, or com-
 » panie, by the motion of his Captaine, or Coronel. Therefore, for as much
 » as almightie God is the first mouer, he himselfe is the cause that all things
 » are finallie conuerted vnto him, according to the nature of euerie one,
 whereupō *Dionysius Areopagita*, saith, *Deum conuertit omnia ad seipsum*. God con-
 uerteth all things to himselfe. Thus saith s. Thomas, confuting learnedlie, & con-
 delie, not onlie the philosophers, but also the heretikes, *Valentinus*, *Basilides*, and *Pelagius*, who taught that mans corrupt nature, had sufficient
 force, and power in it selfe to repaire, and rectifie it selfe, without the
 helpe of Gods grace.

*Dionys. li. de
diuin. no-
min. ca. 4.*

38 Well then, seeing all the perfection of morall vertue, dependeth only
 on the reparation of humane nature, corrupted by the fall of our first fa-
 ther, and that the same cannot be purchased, or procured by any humane
 meanes, or industrie, without the cōcurrēce of Gods grace, it followeth,
 that the perfection of moral vertue, is onlie to be had in the Christian
 religion, which (as I haue shewed before, and will shew more ampie
 hereafter) is the law of grace, and onlie able to heale the wound in mans
 nature, to illuminat his reason, to rectifie his will, to repress sensualitie,
 and to pacifie his passions, and consequentlie to enable him, to doe the
 acts of perfect morall vertue, and to eschew all vice, where vpon I con-
 clude, that Christian religion is most political, and fit for gouernment of
 state.

It is objected that many Paynimes and Infidels haue excelled in the moral, and ciuill virtues, though they were without aid of grace. And for satisfaction of the objection it is proved, that though they might haue, and had some vertues, yet they could neuer without grace, arrive to the perfection of morall vertue. Finally for the further prooffe of the necessitie of grace, is the representation of many examples are alleaged of the notable effects of grace, in the iudgement, and miraculous conuersion of sinners, and reformation of mens manners.

CHAP. 16.

BUt here perhaps, some may demaund, how then it came to passe, that not only the Philosophers, but also many vnlearned men, yea & women amongst the Paynimes, left an eternal memorie of their rare vertues. For who can denie, but that *Furius Camillus* the *Roman*, left a memorable example of excellent iustice, when beseeging the *Falisci*, he caused a Scholemaster (who had betrayed, and deliuered into his handes, all the children of the cheefe nobilitie) to be stripped naked, and whipped back into the towne, by the children themselues, wherevpon his enemies were strooken with such admiration of his vertue, that they yielded themselves, and their towne vnto him? And no lesse notable was the iustice of the Senate of *Rome*, which hauing warre with king *Pirro*, sent embassadours to admonish him, to take heede of his phisician, who had offered them to poison him. And no lesse commendation deserued *Lucius Crassus*, for his moderation towards *Carbo* his notable enimie. For when a slaue of *Carbo*, brought him a deske of his masters, wherein were all his secret papers referred, amongst the which he might be sure to find sufficient matter to overthrow *Carbo*, he would not open it, but sent the slaue backe to his master, with a seruant of his owne, and the deske vnopened.

Tit. Lini.
Dec. 3. li. 3.

Plutar. in
Pirro.

Valer. Max.
li. 6. c. 5.

2 And to speake of other vertues, how famous was the continencie, & liberalitie of *Scipio*, who haping taken in warre, a virgin of rare beautie, not onlie deliuered her inuiolat to a noble man (though an enemy) to whom she was espoused, but also gaue her, for her dowrie, the money which was paid for her ransom.

T. Lini. Dec.
3. l. 6. in fine.

3 And how admirable was the fortitude of *Horatius Codes*, who when the *Etruscis* assailed the citie of *Rome*, by a draw bridge, defended it himselfe against their whole armie, until it was cut downe behind him, whereby he fell into the riuer, and escaped, and as *Valerius* saith, drew the Gods themselues to such an admiration of his valour, that they conserued him from the danger both of water, and also of his enimyes.

Idem
Dec. 1. li. 2.
Valer. li. 3.
ca. 2.

De iij

To

T. L. iii.
Dec. i. li. 2.

Idem.
Dec. i. li. 8.
Co. 10.

Idem Dec. i.
li. 7.
Valer. Max.
li. i. ca. 1.
Cicero de
offic. li. 3.

Cicero Tus.
q. li. i.

Diogenes
laert. i. viii.
ecrum.
Plutar. in
Aristide.
Idem in vit.
eorum.

Liui. Dec. 3.
li. 2.
Liui. Dec. i.
li. 1.
Valer. Max.
li. 6. ca. 1.

To whome may be added also diuers other *Romans*, no lesse exemplar, then the former for their valour, fortitude, and pietie to their country, as *Mutius Scaevola*, who having failed to kill king *Tarquinus*, when he besieged *Rome*, put his right hand into the fire, in the kings presence, and there held it vnill it was burnt, partly to take revenge of it, for missing the blow, and partly to shew how much he contemned all the tormētts, which were threatned him. And the two *Deii*, the father, and the sonne, seeing their armies in danger of overthrow, vowed, and solemnely (after their fashion) consecrated themselues, as sacrifices to their Gods, to obtaine the victorie, as I haue declared in the tenth chapter, where I haue also made mention of the famous acts of *Marcius Corrinus*, and *Marcius Cincinnatus*, memorable to all posteritie, as well for their notable resolution, pietie to their country, and contempt of death, as for the fidelitie, and iustice of the latter, in observing his oath to his enemies, with the losse of his life.

4. What should I say of the prudence of *Socrates*, esteemed by the testimonie of the oracle of *Apollus*, to be the wisest man liuing, or of his patience, and fortitude, who being wrongfullie condemned to death by the *Athenians*, his cuntrymen, and hauing the cup of poison in his hand ready to drinke, praised for the prosperitie of his enemies, and for his vngateful cuntry, with such constancie, and alacritie, that, as *Cicero* saith, he spoke rather, like one, that was going triumphantlie to heauen, then one condemned to die miserable like a malefactor?

5. And what neede I speake of the excellent vertue of *Plato*, called such vntill this day, the deuine? Or of other philosophers, as of *Aristo*, *Alexander*, *Democritus*, and *Critas*, whose names were greatlie celebrated amongst the Greekes, for the contempt of riches, and worldlie honour? Or of *Aristides* in *Athenis*, for his rare vertue surnamed the iust? Or of *Epaminondas*, a famous captaine in *Thebes*? Or of *Timoleon* in *Corinth*, or of *Dionisius* in *Sicily*, or of the two *Catoes* amongst the *Romans*, and diuers others, who no lesse excelled in martiall prowesse, and ciuill prudence (being great governours in their common welthe) then in the exercise of all morall vertue? What neede I (I say) speake of them, seeing there may be alleadged infinit examples of notable women, who haue bene also mirrors of all kind of vertue? For who can sufficientlie admire the libertie of *Busa*, an Italian Matron, of whom tenne thousand Roman soldiars escaping from the battaile of *Canus*, were receiued; and maintained sonetime at her owne charges? Or the chastitie of *Lucretia* the Roman, and of *Phyllis* the Grecian, of whom the first killed her selfe, because she was rauished by *Tarquinus*, and the other being taken assauly

and shee would her selfe, testifie shee should be violated: In which two
nevertheless, it is to be noted, that their vertue consisted not in that they
killed themselves (which was an vniuersall, and infallible act) but in their
great loss of chastitie, and regard of their honour, and reputation, for
the which their memorie is still celebrated in all histories.

The which also, is to be vnderstood of the coniugal loue of the Ro-
man women, who used to burie themselves most inuicible with the bo-
dies of their husbands, and of *Cornelia* his daughter called *Portia*, who being
married to *Brutus*, and having vnderstood of his conspiracie against *Cæsar*,
the very night before it was to be executed, gaue her selfe a greivous
wound with a knife, and trie how she could endure to kill her selfe, in case
her husbands desirement should not succedde well, and afterwards vnder-
standing, that he was ouer the owne in battaile, and had killed him-
selfe, and seeing her selfe by this careful diligence of her friends, deprived
of all other means to make her selfe away, swallowed downe hot bur-
ning coales, vntill shee was stifled, and chooked therewith.

But I omit to touch other particulars, of the vertues of Pagan wo-
men, seeing that *Plutarch* writes a whole tract of that subiect, wherein he
recounteth notable examples of them in all kind of vertue, so that it may
seeme, that moral vertues may be had, and practised in great perfection
in profane common welth, without anie assistance of Gods grace.

To satisfie this objection, it is to be considered, that there is great
difference betwixt doing the acts of vertue, and being truly vertuous.
For not onlie children, which haue not yett the vse of discretion, but also
mad men, and brair beastes, may doe the acts of vertue, though they can-
not be said to be vertuous, seeing it is requisite to true vertue (as *Aristotle*
teacheth) that vertuous acts be done well, and vertuously, that is to say,
with due circumstances of time, place, measure, order, and especiallie
with due election of the end. In which last point, the actions of Pagans
for the most part failed of true goodnes, and vertue, because they were
not referred to God, the author of all vertue, and goodnes, but most
commonlie to vaine glorie, or els to some priuate, or publike commo-
ditie, or at least to vertue it selfe, without anie further relation to God
at all.

This was notable obserued, by *St. Augustin* in the famous, and wor-
thy acts of the first *Brutus*, *Camillus*, *Torquatus*, *Fabritius*, the two *Deas*, *Mu-
cius Scaevola*, *Marcus Curius*, and generallie of all other Romans, whom he
sheweth euidentlie to haue had no other scope, or end in their actions,
but either the loue of their common welth, or a desire of honour. Where
vpon it is to be inferred, that neither their acts, nor anie other of *Gentils*,
referred

Valer. Max.
li. 4. c. 6.

*Plutar. de
claris mu-
lierib.*

Aristot.
Ethic. li. 3.
c. 1. & 2.

*D. Aug. de
ciuit. li. 5.*
c. 12. 18. 19.
c. 20.

ibid.

referred to the same end, could be trulie vertuous. For as *Aristotle* saith; *Non est vera virtus, nisi qua ad eum finem tendit; quod est bonum humanum, quo melius non est. Trium nature vertue, which tender to anie other end, then that, whereto is the best, and cheefe good of man, that it is to say, almightie God, or his seruice.*

*Ethic. li. 10.
cap. 2.
D. Tho. 1. 2.
quest. 57.
ar. 5.*

10 And this is euident by the vertie nature of vertue, whereto nothing is more requisit, then to make a good election of the end, of euerie actiō (and therefore *Aristotle* teacheth, that no morall vertue, can be without prudence, whereto the choise of the end in all vertuous actiōs, especially belongeth.) Where vppon it followeth, that seeing reason teacheth, that God is not onlie the first cause, and creator, but also the natural end of all creatures, it must needes be the office of true prudence, to direct all humane actions, first and principallie to him, and secundarilie to other lawfull ends in which respect the action which is not finallie, & cheeflie referred to God, cannot be prudent, nor consequentlie trulie vertuous.

*Ethic. li. 1.
c. 10. & li.
10. ca. 5.*

11 And although it is not altogether vnprobable, that some few amōgst the Paynimes, I meane the philosophers (or at least some of them,) might haue, or perhaps had, some relation in their actions, to the authour of nature, (that it is to say to God) either in particular, or in general, neuertheles, it cannot be said, that they could arriue to anie perfection of morall vertue, because there is requisite thereto, not onlie to make a good choise of the end of euerie action, and to performe the same with due circumstances, but also to haue a perfect connexion, of all the morall vertues, and to perseuer in the continual vse, and practise of them, yea, and to eschew all maner of vice (as *Aristotle*, and all other philosophers teach expresse) which no paynime euer did, nor is anie way possible for mans weake, and corrupt nature, except it be repaired, and cured by grace.

*D. Tho. 1. 2.
q. 109. ar.
2. 6.*

12 For although, when mans nature was sound, and vncorrupt (as it was in *Adam* before his fall) he might doe all thinges, which were proportionable to his nature, and consequentlie performe all the acts of morall vertue, yea and perseuer in the exercise thereof, yet now his nature being so weakened, and corrupted as it is, he cannot doe either of both of himselfe, and yet neuertheles, being not wholie corrupted, (his reason retaining still some superioritie ouer his inferiour powers) he hath so much force, and power left, that he may with diligent premeditation, and heede, doe some particuler acts of vertue: euen as a sick man, may performe some acts, of a whole and sound man, but not all that which a sound man can doe untill he be perfectlie cured, and healed.

Furthermore, great difference is to be noted betwixt the power, and habilitie to auoid all vice, and to eschew anie one particular vice, or sinne. For those two powers, do depend on diuers causes, and therefore must needs be verie different betwixt them selues.

The power to auoid anie one sinne, proceedeth of a particular cause, that is to say, of the natural subiection of the appetit to reason, and of the libertie of mans will, whereby he may (not withstanding the corruption of his nature) resist, as I haue said, some light temptations, and auoid some particular sinnes, but the power to eschew all vice, or sinne dependeth on an vniuersal cause, that is to say, on the due subordination, and subiection of all the inferiour powers of the soule to the superiour (to wit to reason, and to the will) and that they be subiect to God, and gouerned and moued by him, as I haue signified before. For although a man may, by the libertie of his will, withstand some motions, or teptations, which he forseeth, or expecteth, keeping due watch vpon himselfe, yet as long as his will is alienated from God, and all the inferiour powers of his soule so prone, and headlong to their obiects, and so rebellious against reason (as in our corrupt nature they are) he cannot still perseuer in his watch of himselfe, but shalbe, often caried away with the vehement, and suddaine temptations of the world, the flesh, and the deuil, especiallie seeing that (as Aristotle saith) in suddaine motions, a man commonlie followeth his habite and inclination, rather then his premeditate purposes. Besides that the motions, and temptations of sinne, are often times so manie at once, that he cannot haue sufficient praemeditation, against them all, but by seeking to auoid one, he shall fall into an other, except he be supported by some supernaturall helpe.

Chap. 15.
nu. 33. & sequent.
D. Tho. 1. 2.
q. 109. ar. 3.

Arist. li. 3.
Ethic.

14 Where vppō it followeth, that the Paynims, or Infidels could neuer of themselves, attaine to the perfection of moral vertue, but were contaminated with manie vices, & foule sinnes, before they could come to get any one vertuous habite. And therefore the nature of sinne being such, that when it hath once got possession of the soule of man, it draweth still into it more corruption, and infection, except it be cleansed by grace, it is no maruaile that they, being void of grace, were so depressed with the weight of their owne sinnes, that they could neither raise themselves to the perfection of vertue, nor yet withhold themselves from horrible vices. For, euen as a bowle, or stone cast downe a hil, gathereth still force, as it goeth, and runneth euer the longer, the faster, vntill it come to the bottome: euen so a sinner not reclaimed, or staid by Gods grace, falleth com-

S. Greg. in c.
34. Job. c. 9.

Psal. 90.

Hierem.
Thren. 1.

monlie frō sinne to sinne, and euer the longer the worse, vntill become, (as the wise man saith) in profundum, into the depth of sinne; where vpon, S. Gregory saith, that the sinne, which is not washt away with repentance, draweth a man, with the weight thereof to other sinnes. And the psalmist saith to the same purpose. *Via impiorum senebra, & lubricum.* The way of the wicked is darke, and slippery, because being destitute of the light of Gods grace, he slideth still from one sinne, to an other, which also the prophet Hieremy, affirmeth of Hierusalem, and of all sinners. *Peccatum, saith he, peccauit Hierusalem, & propterea instabilis facta est.* Hierusalem hath sinned a sinne, and is therefore become unstable. And S. Christofome expresseth the same, with a notable example, or similitude saying; that euen as a shipp which lacks a sterne, cannot goe, whither the pilot will, but whither the storme, or wind driueth it: so also the man, that is void of Gods grace, is carried away with vice, and sinne, vntill he runne vpon the rocks of all wickednes. Finallie this may be confirmed by the experience, that hath bene had, of the bad, and vicious liues of the best philosophers, notwithstanding their doctrine, and vaine ostentation of vertue, as I haue shewed sufficientlie in the first part of this treatise.

15 Therefore I conclude vpon all the premisses, first, that although some of the Gentils did some notable acts of moral vertue, some in one kind, and some in an other (whereby, as I signified in my first part, a few in manie ages were counted vertuous) yet none of them euer arriued to anie perfection of moral vertue, or were trulie vertuous, partlie because they neuer had that connexion of all the vertues, which in the opinion of all the philosophers is requisit, to the perfection of moral vertue, and partly because they were all of them vicious, and wicked in some kind of vice, or other: and lastlie, because they were void of Gods grace, which is the onlie meanes to repaire the corrupt nature of man, and to enable him, to doe all that, which is necessarie to perfect vertue.

16 Secondlie, I conclude, that seeing the perfection of moral vertue, is requisit to the perfection of common welth, and that the same cannot be had without the grace of God, and againe that Gods grace is (as I haue shewed in the last chapter) proper to Christian religion, it must needs follow, that Christian religion is most political, and necessarie for gouernment of common welth.

17 All this wil be yet more euident, if we consider more particularlie, the maruelous, or rather miraculous effects of Christiā religiō, in reforming the mindes, & māners of mē. For although I haue said somewhat thereof already, yet I thinke it conuenient to add also somewhat more concerning the same point, to the end, it may be as cleare, as the sunne. There-

Chap. 15.

fore La-
boured
lofoph
ough
of man
or voca-
heredi-
partici-
(as nar-
lophie
man, t
free, o
man
endeu-
no fur-
18 T
one fo-
mans
ledge,
leitur
(as it
doe, a
learn
indici
judges
the c
that
firme
God f
thereo
ues, a
man
19
husb
the e
philo
beare
20
of p
nate

fore *Lactantius* endeavouring to shew, how vaine the philosophers laboured to reforme the mind, and manners of men, by their morall philosophie, teacheth that the remedie of mans infirmitie and corruption, ought to be such (in respect both of the priuat, and of the publike weale of man) that it may extend it selfe to euerie man, of what degree, state, or vocation soeuer he be. For as euerie man participateth of the disease hereditarie to humane nature: so it is reason, that euerie man also may participat of the remedie. In which respect, some of the philosophers, (as namelie the Stoicks) thinking the knowledge, and practise of philosophie, to be absolutelie necessarie for the perfection, and felicitie of man, taught that all sorts of men, and women, rich, and poore, bond, and free, ought to be philosophers, wherein, (as *Lactantius*, noteth verie well) *omnis sunt facere, quod veritas exigebat, sed non potuit ultra verba procedi.* They endeouored to doe that which veritie, and truth required, but could goe no further then to wordes.

18 Thus saith he, and most trulie, for two reasons before declared. The one for that their philosophie could not reach to the roote, and cause of mans disease: and the other because none could attaine to the knowledge, and practise of it, but onlie a few, such I meane as had habilitie, & leisure from other employments, to attend to the studie thereof, which (as it is euident) the greatest part of the common welth by farre cannot doe, and if they could, yet verie manie haue not sufficient capacitie to learne, and studie it, and therefore *Cicero* saith. *Philosophia est paucis contenta, indidibus, multitudinem consulto ipsa fugiens.* Philosophy contenteth it selfe with the iudgement of a few, and purposefully flieth from the multitude, that is to say, from the common sort of men. Where vppon *Lactantius*, cōcludeth verie well, that therefore philosophie, is not true wisdom, as the philosophers affirmed, and taught it to be. For if wisdom, saith he, be giuen by almightie God for the benefit of mankind, he gaue it to the end, that euerie man may be partaker thereof, but these philosophers doe vsurpe this common, and publike benefit to themselves, as though they would hoodwinck, and blindfould all other men, and that no man but they should see the same, &c.

19 Therefore seeing the nature of man is capable of wisdom, it is conuenient, that husbandmen, artificers, women, and men of all sorts, and vocations, be taught it, so the end they may become wise thereby, which is an euident argument to proue, that philosophie is not true wisdom, the mystery whereof, hath more ostentation in a long heard, and a cloake, then good effect in workes, and actions.

20 Thus saith *Lactantius*, signifying notable, the defect, and insufficiēcy of philosophie and other humane meanes, for the reparation of humane nature, and the reformation of mens manners, which he teacheth also to

E e ij be the

Lactant. li. 3. c. 25.

Idem ibid.

Cicero Tusculan. q. li. 5.

Lactant. li. 3. c. 25.

Idem ibid.

be the true, and proper effect of Christian religion in these wordes.

21. That which the philosophers, by the instinct of nature, thought could ueniet to be donne, & yet could neuer doe theselues, is performed by the heauenly doctrin (of Christiā religion) which onlie is true wisdom. For can the philosophers perswade anie man, who could neuer fully perswade themselues? Or can they repress anie mans passions, temper anie mans wrath, or restraine other mens lust, when they themselues are ouercome with vice, & therfore must needs acknowledge the force of their owne corrupt nature? Whereas dailie experience sheweth, what power the commandements, or the law of God haue in the mindes of men. For let a man be neuer so colerick, or furious, and with a few words of God, I will make him as meeke, & quiet as a lambe; let him be couetous, auaricious, or nigardlie, I will make him liberal, & to giue his money freelie with his owne handes; let him be neuer so timorous, and fearefull of torments, or death, he shall contemne gallowes, fire, and the bull of Phalaris, let him be libidinous, adulterous, and riotous, you shall straight see him, chaste, and continent; let him be cruell, and bloudie, his furie shall suddainlie be changed to clemencie; let him be vniust, a foole, and a sinister, he shall become iust, prudent, and innocent; for with one onlie washing (that is to say of Baptisme) all his malice shalbe abolished, &c.

22. And was there euer anie of the philosophers, that euer did, or was able to doe these thinges, who when they had spent all their liues in the studie of philosophie, could neither make them selues, or anie man els, the better, if nature did neuer so litle repugne? Therefore all that their wisdom could performe, was to hide vice, and not to reforme it, whereas the commandements of God, doe so wholie change a man, and cast him in such a new mold, that you will not know him to be the same mā.

Thus saith *Lactantius*, declaring his experience, aswel concerninge the philosophers which liued in his time, as also touching the effects of Christiā religion in the Gentils, who were dailie conuerted in his daies, which was in the time of *Constantin* the great, to whome he wrote.

22. This mutation of mind, and manners, whereof *Lactantius* speaketh, is (as I haue said) a special effect of Gods grace, infused into the soule of man, *per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis*, by the holie Ghost which is giuen vnto vs, whereof, *s. Ambrose* saith *Cui adest spiritus gratia, nihil deest, & cui spiritus sanctus infunditur magnarum plenitudo virtutum est. He that hath the spirit of grace, wanteth nothing, and whosoener hath the holie Ghost infused into him, hath the plenitude, or perfection of great vertues.* That is to say, of the three vertues, called Theological, to wit, Faith, Hope, & Charity, which by mans vnderstanding is illuminated, and his will not onlie inflamed

Rom. 5.
D. Ambros.
in Euang.
Luc. c. 1.

with

with the loue of God, but also drawne, moued, and disposed to the execution of his commaundements, and the inferiour powers of his soule are made obedient to the superiour, and consequentlie to the law of God, which (as I declared before out of the prophet,) is written in the heart of the faithfull, in so much, that those things which before seemed, and were to mans corrupt nature impossible, (as the perfect practise, and exercise of the morall vertues, and the obseruation of Gods commaundements) became afterwards, not onlie possible, but also easie to be performed.

23 This the prophet foretold, when speaking of the comming of Christ, *Esay. 46.* and the vocation of the Gentils, he said. *Erunt praua, in directa, et aspera in uias planas. The crooked shalbe made straight, and the rough wayes shalbe made even, and plaine,* that is to say, the peruerse, and crooked natures, and conditions of men shalbe rectified by grace, and the way of vertue, and of Gods law, which before was full of asperitie, and difficultie, shal become facil, and easie, yea, sweete, and pleasant, and therefore the Royall prophet saith, of the commaundements of God, that they are. *Dulciora super mel, et sauium. More sweete then the honie, and the honiecombe.*

Of which point I will speake more particularly, and amply after a while, when I shall treat of the end, and felicitie of man, and common welth.

24 And although almighty God for the humiliation of his seruants, & their greater merit, giueth them manie times his grace by degrees, yea, & permiteth them to haue great, & long cōslicts, with their owne peruerse natures, before they can ouercome them (suffering them to fight, & assisting them therein, and giuing thē in the end both the victorie, & crowne, for their fight) neuertheles, for his owne greater glorie, and our cōforts, he bestoweth manie times his grace in such abundance, & worketh such sodaine conuersions of men from Infidelitie to his faith, & frō vice to vertue, that it cannot iustlie be ascribed to anie other meanes, then to the force of his grace, though Infidels, & wicked men, who haue not had anie experience, or tast thereof in them selues, so litle vnderstand it, that Porphy the philosopher, and Iulian the Apostata, taxed either our holie scriptures of vntruth, or the Apostles of leuitie, and follie, for that they followed our Sauour Christ at the first call; which cauil s. Hierome answered. *Hier. l. 1.* *reth notably well saying, that if there be such force, (as we see) in Ier, and the comment. in* *Mat. c. 9.* *badstone, to draw vnto them straw, and yron: how much more was the lord of* *all creatures able to draw vnto himselfe, those whom it pleased him to call.* Thus saith s. Hierome, whereto I add, that if the Apostles were fooles for following Christ at his call, then many greate philosophers, yea, & the whole world conuerted by thē, & by such other, had lesse reason to be Christiāns

then they, and may farre more worthilie be noted of follie.

25 But no meruaile, that almightie God wrought such suddaine, and strange mutations in men by his owne Sonne, whiles he was here one earth, seeing he hath donne the like euer since in all ages, and daily doth, both by his seruants, and also by other meanes, through the merits of his said Sonne, our Sauour, as appeareth in our holie scriptures, by the suddaine conuersion of three thousand soules, at *S. Peters* first sermon; and of the Eunuch by *Phillip* the disciple, with onlie one conference, and of *Saul*, who of a persecutor suddenlie became an Apostle, and of the great philosopher *Dionisius Areopagita*, conuerted also by one sermon of the same *Saul*, then called *Paul*; as also of diuers others, which I omit, to the end I may alleadge a few examples out of other histories of later times, thereby to shew the admirable effects, and operation of Gods grace in Christian religion from time, to time.

*Euseb. li. 3.
c. 17. Chris-
tost. ad
Theodor.
laphsom.
Ioan. Cas-
sian. collat.
24. c. 21.
Baron. an.*

26 We read in *Eusebius*, and diuers other authors, that *S. Iohn* the *Euangelist*, hauing recommended a yong man, to the care, and instruction of a certaine Bishop, and vnderstanding after some yeares, that the yong man had not onlie abandoned the Bishop, and the Christian faith, but was also become a captaine of common theeuers and murderers, he would needs goe seeke him, where he vsed to robbe, and spoile the passengers, & falling first into the hands of his copanions, he desired to be brought to their captaine, who, as soone as he saw him, beganne to runne away, but *S. Iohn* cried vnto him to stay, telling him that he desired nothing at his hands, but his eternal good, offering to pawne his owne soule for his saluation, where vppon the yong man returned, and with abundance of teares craued pardon, of God, and him, submitting himselfe vnto his direction, and so entire, was his repentance, and conuersion, that shortly after *S. Iohn* made him Bishop.

*Sexto, ecclef.
hist. l. 1. c. 17.
Ruffin. li. 1.
ca. 3.*

27 We reade also of an other strange, and suddaine conuersion of a great philosopher to the Christian faith, in the first general councell of *Nice*. This philosopher disputing with Christian Bishops, could not be gained, and conuerted by way of arguments, or other meanes, vntil at last, an vnlearned, but a verie holie Bishop called *Spiridion*, proposed vnto him simplie our Christian doctrine of Christ incarnat, and crucified, and asked him, whether he beleued it, or no, whereto he answered, that he beleued it, and confessed himselfe to be ouercome, gaue him great thanks, and protested publikelie, that by an vnspokeable, and deuine power, he was already conuerted to the Christian faith.

*D. Aug. l. co-
fess. 8. c. 6.*

28 *S. Augustin*; also recounteth an admirable effect of Gods grace, in two companions of his friend *Positanus*, at *Treners* in *Germany*, the emper

your

your be
men w
from t
and fro
sons, w
mit, wh
tours c
the lon
vppon
labours i
re have
danger i
reus, if
sently, v
he was
and to
would
sons, bu
determ
there.
29 T
all abou
ding th
them, i
their le
reser in
earth, v
S. Aug
bene b
of their
red in t
reth, a
uersion
occasio
30 S.
chees, an
solute i
fession
grace,
into ab

your being there. The storie is thus. *Potirianus*, and three other secular men walking abroad, in an orchard, two of them, seuered themselves from the other, onlie to talke together more priuately, and passing too, and fro, found by chance a poore cottage, or cell of some religious persons, where there was a booke of the life of *s. Anthony* the famous hermit, which the one of them (who was a man of account in the emperours court) beganne to read, and was within a while, so inflamed with the love of God, by the example of that holie man, that he cast his eyes vpon his freend, and said. Tell me I pray you, what doe vve pretend by all our labours in the court? Doe vve seeke ought els, or can vve hope for greater happ, then in haue the emperours fauour? And if vve obtaine it, how fickle a thing, and full of danger is it? And by how many dangers doe vvee tend to greater danger? Wherein, if vve will seeke to haue Gods fauour, and friendship, vve may haue it presently, with security. Thus said he, and pausing a while, told his friend that he was resolved to leaue the court, and the world, at that verie instant, and to remaine there to serue God during his life, asking him, what he would doe, who being no lesse moued by his example, then by his reasons, but most of all by Gods grace, which moued, & guided them both, determined also wholie to renounce the world, and to stay with him there.

29 Towards the euening *Potirianus*, and his other companion, seeking all about for them, found them at last in that poore cell, and vnderstanding their firme resolution, and being requested by them, not to molest them, in case they would not take the same course themselves, tooke their leaues of them, with manie teares, and (as *s. Augustin* saith) *Trahentes in terra, abierunt in palacium*. Drawing their hartes after them vpon the earth, went backe to the emperours palace, whereas the other two hauing, saith *s. Augustin*, settled, and fixed their harts in heauen, remained in the cell, hauing bene both of them handfast, and betrothed, to two maids, who hearing of their resolution, dedicated also their virginitie to God. This was related in this manner by *Potirianus* himselfe to *s. Augustin*, who also declareth, a notable, and strange operation, of Gods grace in his owne conuersion, which I thinke good to touch breefely, seeing I haue had this occasion to speake of him.

30 *s. Augustin*, hauing forsaken the companie, and heresie of the *Manichees*, and yet neither being baptized, nor reclaimed, from his former dissolute life (which still withheld him from Baptisme, and the perfect profession of Catholicke religion,) he felt one day, such motions of Gods grace, and thereby had such a conflict with himselfe, that he burst forth into aboumdance of teares, and cast himselfe prostrate vpon the ground, where

*D. Aug. li. 3.
confes. c. 12.*

where after a while he heard a voice, as it were of a boy, or a child, saying these words, *tolle lege, tolle lege, take up, and read, take up, and read,* and not seeing anie likelihood, that it could proceede from anie child, or other mortal creature, he perswaded himselfe, that almightie God admonished him thereby to take a booke, and to note for his owne instruction, that which he should first chauncé to cast his eie vpon, as he had vnderstood the like of *s. Anthony*, the Heremit, who opening the new Testament, by chaunce, and lighting vpon the words of our Saviour, *Goe, and sell all that thou hast, and giue it to the poore, &c.* tooke the same as spoken vnto him, and there vpon determined to abandon the world. With this conceit *s. Augustin* opened the booke, of the new Testament, wherein that which first occurred to his sight, was these words of *s. Paul*, to the *Romans*, *Honeste ambulemus, non in comestationibus &c. Let vs walke honestly, not in bequetting, and drunkennes, not in bedds, and lasciuiousnes, not in contention, and emulation, but put vpon you our lord Iesus Christ, and doe not pamper your flesh in concupiscences &c.* Which when he had read, he shut the booke being fullie satisfied; for hauing read but so farr, he felt presentlie, as he saith, such a light of securitie infused into his hart, that all obscuritie, and further doubt, was cleane expelled, in so much, that he affirmeth of himselfe, that from that time forward, he determined to liue chaste, and to haue no further hope, or care of this world, resolving to become a perfect Christian, and to dedicate the rest of his life, wholie to the seruice of God, which he after performed to Gods glorie, and to the great good of his Church.

31 I cannot omit, the strange conuersion of the famous *Pachomius*, founder of the religious monkes of *Aegypt*, called *Tabennesiota*. This *Pachomius*, being a Gentil, and prest for a souldiar, in the wars betwix the emperour *Constantin*, and *Licinius*, passed by *Thebes* in *Aegypt*, where there were manie deuout Christians, who of their ordinarie charitie to all strangers, releued greatelie *Pachomius*, & his companie, being all in great necessity, for lacke of victuals, wherewith *Pachomius* being much moued, demanded what maner of men, and of what profession they were, that vsed such extraordinary pietie, and curtesie to strangers, and being told that they were Christians, and that it was one special point of their profession, to vse great charitie towards all men in necessitie, he was presentlie illuminated, faith the storie, in his vnderstanding, and enflamed with the loue of God, and of Christian religion, in such sort, that his hart being withall full of ioy, he went a litle aside, and after seruēt praior to almightie God, vowed to become a Christiā, & when that warre was ended, was baptised, and became, a man of great fame, for his miracles, & austerity of monastical

Matth. 9.

Rom. 13.

Metaph. huf.
14. May.
Bavon. an.
316.

monastical life, hauing vnder his gouernment seauen thousand religious disciples, as *Paladin* testifieth.

Palad. de vita SS. Patrum. c. 38.

An other conuersion no lesse strange, and admirable, then anie of the former, hapned in Fraunce, by the ministerie of *S. Bernard*, in *villia* Duke of Aquitany, & earle of *Poytou*, a man no lesse famous for the huge greatness, strenght, and valour of his person, then infamous for his wicked, and vicious life, being giuen ouer to all vice, and wickednes, and a great protectour, and defendour of the Antipope *Peter Leon*, against the true pope *Innocentius*, the second.

Theobald. apud Suriæ. 10. Febru.

This duke being excommunicated for his schisme, and great persecution of good men, was manie times solicited by *S. Bernard*, and others, to change his course of life, and to reconcile himselfe to the Church, but all in vaine, for he shewed him selfe dailie more obstinate, raging, threatening, and blaspheming, vntill at length in an assembly of the nobilitie, and clergie, *S. Bernard* (moued no doubt by the spirit of God) brought the blessed sacrament to him in presence of all the people, and said, I, and manie other seruants of God, haue entreated thee in Gods name, to haue care of thy owne soule, & no longer to trouble the vnion, and peace of the Church, and thou hast contemned vs, and thy owne salvation, now, thy Lord, and God him selfe commeth to entreate thee, behold him heere, the Sonne of the virgin, and the Lord, & head of that Church, which thou persecutest, in whose name the knees of all creatures, in heauen, & earth, and hell doe bow, thy Iudge, in whose hand, and power thy soule is, & euer shalbe to be punished, & rewarded eternally, wilt thou then despise him, as thou hast despised his seruants? The duke hearing this, tumbled, & fell to the ground before the Blessed Sacrament: at the feet of *S. Bernard*, and would not arise vntill the holy man, bad him stand vp to heare his sentence, which was, that he should submit himselfe to the Bishop of *Poytou* there present, whom he had in former time violentlie driuen out of his Church, and that from thenceforth, he should be obedient to *Innocentius* the true pope, and his supream pastor, which he presentlie performed, crauing pardon of the Bishop, and promising obedience to pope *Innocentius*, and so abundant was Gods grace in him, that he not onlie presentlie reformed his wicked life, but also shortlie after gaue ouer his Dukedome; distributed his goods vnto the poore, retired himselfe from the world, and spent the rest of his dayes in most religious, and austere penance. He died in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand one hundreth fiftie six. And it pleased God to glorifie himselfe in him by so manie notable miracles, both during his life, and after his death, that he was

Bernardus Abbas Bonenual. in vita S. Bernardi. Baronius Tom. 12. anno. 1135.

Obijt. an. 1136.

ff canonized,

canonized, and is worthilie honored in the Church as a Saint.

33 I omit for breuitie sake manie wonderfull conuersions of such of Infidels, as wicked Christians, to speake of one amongst diuers other wrought by the prayers of *s. Caterin of Siena*. There was in that city, a wicked, and desperat yong man called *Nanni di Seruanni*, by profession a fouldiar, who had mortall quarrels with diuers for one cause, or other, and being requested as well by them, as by others to make peace, and composition with them, he could by no meanes be induced vnto it, but remained resolute to doe them some mischeefe, as oportunitie should serue, where vpon some good men his freendes, by great importunitie perswaded him onlie to speake with *s. Caterin of Siena* (who was then liuing in the cittie, and famous for her holie life) by whose meanes they hoped, that God might impart his grace vnto him, but he assured them, that though he went vnto her it should be but in vaine, for he wastefolued to be reuenged, and afterwards hauing talked with her to satisfie his friends, he told her, that nothing in the world but the blood of his enimies, should be able to make peace betwixt him, and them, and so would needes depart. Where vpon she being moued with great compassion of his desperate state, eleuated her mind to God, crauing the assistance of his grace, for the yong mans conuersion, which through Gods goodnes, wrought such effect, that he staied vpon a suddaine, as it were amazed & exclaimed saying, o Lord, what is that which tieth, & holdeth me, that I cannot depart? and presentlie fell downe at her feete, and with manie teares promised to doe what soeuer she would haue him. Behould then saith shee, how merciful God is towards you, I spoke to you for your owne good, and you would not giue care vnto me, I haue spoken to God for you, & he hath heard me, whereby you may see, how much you are bound to his deuine maiestie. And so with manie good lessons she dismissed him verie repentant, and he proued afterwards a verie charitable, and good man.

34 Diuers other suddaine, and miraculous conuersions of great, and greuous sinners, by the prayers of that holie woman, are also witnessed by graue authours, who liued in the same time, which I let passe, to conclude with the relation of the like strange effects of Gods grace in the reputation of mens minds, by the prayers, and endeouours of a holie man in these our daies, to wit father *Ignatius Loyola*, founder of the holie societie of *Iesus*, who whiles he remained in *Rome*, laying the foundation of his societie, had no lesse contradiction therein, then other founders of holie orders haue had heretofore, by the malignitie of the diuel, & especially in the yeare one thousand siue hundred thirtie eight, at what time,

Raimund.
de Capua in
vita B. Ca-
tar. l. 3. c. 14.

Ribadeneira
in-vita B.
Ignatij.

amongst diuers other (who by the malice, and practise of euil men were incensed against him) the Cardinal *Domenico de Cuppis*, deane at that time of the colledge of Cardinals, was so farre transported with false reports, that he laboured to alienat from him, and his brethren, one of their greatest benefactors called *Quirinio Garzonio*, in whose house father *Ignatius* lay, but *Quirinio* being often admonished, and solicited by the Cardinal to abādon the father, beseeched him at last, that he would talke with him, and admit him to his purgation, for such things, as were laied to his charge; the Cardinal was content he should come, and bad *Quirinio* bring him vnto him, saying that he would handle him, as he deserued. The father came, and was with him two houres in his chamber alone, in which time almightie God wrought such alteration, and change in the Cardinal, that, as he after told himselfe to *Quirinio*, he cast himselfe at the fathers feet, demanding pardon of God, and him, for the euil opinion he had in former time conceiued of him, & the wrong he had donne him, in reporting euil of him, and in conclusion, ordained presentlie a great almes to be weekelie giuen to him, and his companie, and was euer after ducing his life, one of their greatest patrons, and protectors.

And no lesse force God gaue also to the same fathers words, and persuasions, not onlie for the conuersion of sinners (as may appeare by very many, whom he suddainelie drew to repentance, and change of life) but also in appeasing the troubled consciences of manie in temptation, as (to omit diuers other examples;) was most euident in a Iew called *Isaac*, who being conuerred to the Christian faith, and remaining with other conuerstis in the house of the fathers to be instructed, and prepared for Baptisme, had one day such a violent temptation, that he was vppon a suddaine as it were distracted, and out of his wits, crying out to haue the dore opened, that he might be gone, being fully determined, as he said, not to be Baptized, & no request, or perswasion of the other fathers would serue to appease his fury, vntil father *Ignatius* himselfe came, who saying no more to him, but onlie, *Restate con noi Isaac*, Stay with vs *Isaac*, wrought such a change in him (through the operation of the holie Ghost concurring therewith,) that he presentlie returned to his former tranquillitie, and peace of conscience, and after receiued the holie sacrament of Baptisme.

These few examples shall suffice to shew the great force, and notable effects of Gods grace, in the suddaine change of mens minds, and manners, whereby it may appeare, whence proceedeth all the perfection of the moral vertues, consisting in the perfect commaund, and gouernment of mans passions, and affections, wherto some men attaine sooner, and

idem ibid.

Cor. 15.

some latter, according to the measure of Gods grace, mouing their wills, and cooperating together with them, in which respect the Apostle saith. *Non ego sed gratia Dei mecum.* Not I but the grace of God with me; whereof I shall haue occasion to speake more amplie els where.

37 Therefore I conclude, that seeing the perfection of common welth, dependeth vppon the perfect vertue of the members thereof, and that the perfection of vertue proceedeth onlie from grace, which cannot be had, but by Christian religion, it followeth not onlie, that Christian religion is necessarie for common welth, but also that no common welth can be perfect without it: which would yet be much more euident, if I should treat particularlie of the most effectual, and excellent meanes, whereby God giueth his grace in Christian religion, to wit of the holie sacraments, praier, fasting, mortification, pious, and holie workes, whereof I omit to speake here, because I must necessarilie treat thereof in the third part of this treatise.

38 And therefore this shall suffice for the present, touching the necessitie of Christian religion in common welth (so far forth, as concerneth the perfection of moral vertues) which was the first of the two points, that I promised to handle. And now I will come to the other, and proue the dignitie, and necessitie of Christian religion in common welth, because the felicitie of man in this life, and consequentie of common wealth, consisteth therein: which point I hold to be so necessary, and important for euerie man to know, and well to ponder, that I must craue thy patience, good Reader, whiles for thy speciall benefit, I enlarge my selfe some what in the discourse, and discussion thereof, and of manie notable considerations incident thereto.

The necessitie of Christian religion, for the good gouernment of state is further proued by the end, and felicity of man; and common welth, because the same cannot be obtained but by Christian religion. And for as much, as it is declared before, that asruel the Pagan philosophers, as our Christian deuines, place the felicity of man, and of common welth in contemplation (which is an act of religion,) it is here discussed what manner of contemplation, the philosophers required in this felicitie, what practise they had of it, what delight they taught to be in it: and lastlie, what experience they had of that which they taught concerning the same.

Being now to shew that the end, and felicitie of man in this life, and of common welth consisteth onlie in Christian religion, I am to put thee in mind, good Reader, of two things, which thou must haue obserued before. The one is, that when I treated of religion in general, and of the happines of man: considering therein, I proued my intent by the testimonie, as well of theould Philosophers, as of holie Scriptures, and Fathers. The other is, that although *Aristotle*, and *Plato*, with their followers the *Peripateticks*, and *Platonists*, as also *Trismegistus*, and other philosophers, seemed now and then to dissent in words, concerning the end, and felicitie of man in this life, yet they agreed all in effect, placing the same in the contemplation of God, requiring thereto the loue, and worship of him, with the continual exercise of all vertues, all which concurring, is nothing els but religion.

Therefore now, being to applie all that former discourse of religion in generall, to Christian religion in particular (whereto it serued, but for a preamble) I will prosecute the same course, that before I held, confirming our Christian doctrine, with the testimonies of the philosophers, shewing also, as occasion shalbe offered, how farr they had knowledge of the truth, and in what they erred concerning matter of religion. And for asmuch, as I proued euidentlie in the fourth chapter, that the happines of man in this life, and of common welth, consisteth principallie in the contemplation of God, and seeing also that manie doe not know either what contemplation is, or how it may beatifie man, and common welth, neither yet perhaps doe beleuee, or conceiue, that there is anie such sweetenes or delectation therein, as may make it worthy to be counted felicitie; I hould it necessarie to treat as well of philosophical, as of Christian contemplation; and to shew wherein they agree, and how they differ, what the philosophers required to theirs, what delectation they taught to be therein, what sight, or knowledge of God, or what vnion with him they had, or could haue by the practise thereof: as also what Christian contemplation is, what is requisite thereto; how notable, and necessarie is the vse and practise of it. Lastlie, how incomparable is the delectation, and benefit thereof, whereby it shall manifestlie appeare, that the onlie true felicitie, which man in this life, and common welth may possible obaine, consisteth therein. In all which discourse,

I hope thou shalt find (good Reader) diuers things, as well for thy instruction, as for thy edification, and euidentlie see the great dignitie, and excellencie, not onlie of Christian contemplation, and religion, but also of a Christian common welth, wherein true Christian religion flourisheth. In which respect, I hold this subsequent discourse of contemplation, most pertinent, and necessarie to this treatise, seing it belongeth no lesse to common welth it selfe, then to religion, and hath not benne treated in our tongue, for ought I know.

3 First then I will speake of philosophical contemplation, which is nothing els, but a knowledge of God, got onlie by humane reason, and discourse, iudging of the cause by the effects, and ascending by creatures, as it were, by degrees, to the consideration, or speculation, of their creator, whose sempiternal, and inuisible prouer and diuinity is (as the Apostle saith) understood, and scene, per ea quæ facta sunt, by those things which are made. Whereuppon Cicero saith, *quis tam uocors est, qui cum in calum suspexerit, Deum esse non senserit?* Who is so senselesse, that beholding the heauens, doth not thereby perceiue, that there is a God? And as there is nothing, which is not partaker of the deuine goodnes, so also there is not anie thing, wherein the same appeareth not some way, or other. Wherevpon Trismegistus saith notable thus, *Deus totius inuidia expert* &c. God being void of all enuy, doth shyne, and shew himselfe euerie where, in euerie litle part, or particle of the world, and doth manifest himselfe vnto vs, that we may not onlie understand him, but also, as I may say, handle him with our handes, for his image, doth on every side present, offer yea and inculcat it selfe into our eyes. Thus saith he.

4 But for as much as all naturall, and philosophical contemplation of God, is grounded vpon a weake foundation, the same must needs also be weake in it selfe. For the knowledge of God, which is had onlie by his creatures, and all the reach of natural reason, whe it is void of grace, is subiect to so manie ambiguities, doubts, and difficulties, that it is also accompanied with obscuritie, and vncertantie, as may appeare, by the infinit errors of the philosophers, and their dissensions, touching God, about whome they held no lesse then three hundredth seuerall opinions, agreeing all in this, that there is a God of infinit wisdom, power, and goodnes, and differing almost in all other things concerning the deuine nature.

5 Therefore the more weake, and vncertaine is the knowledge of God, the weaker also and more vncertaine must needs be the effects, that it produceth. For whome we know lesse, him we loue lesse, and whome we loue lesse, him also we worshipp with lesse reuerence, and affection: wherevpon it followeth, that all philosophical contemplation and religion.

Rom. 1.
Cicero de
Arusp. res-
ponfis.

Mercurius
Trismegis-
t. Piman. c. 5.

Socrus. eccl.
Hist. li. 4.
cap. 27.

religion, being built vpon such weake, and feeble groundes, is consequentlie it selfe, subiect to great weaknes, and imperfections.

6 Neuerthelesse such was the delectation, that the philosophers partly found in the contemplation of God, and partlie saw by reason must needs follow of it, that they worthilie held it for the greatest felicity of man in this life; as shall further appeare after a while, when I shall first haue signified the meanes which they vsed, to attaine to the perfection thereof.

7 First then, they considered a subordination of all things, in heauen, and earth, whereby they ascended, as it were by degrees, from the lowest to the highest, and so to their Author, and Creator, whose infinit, and incomprehensible wisdom, power, and goodnes, they noted in the admirable order, disposition, conuexion, conueniencie, beautie, vtilitie, operation, multitude, magnitude, and infinit diuersitie of his creatures, some corporall, other spirituall, some terrestiall, others caelestiall, some senseles, others sensitiue, some onlie vegetable, others reasonable, and finallie others purelie intellectual; in all which, they noted different degrees of perfection, and yet that the most perfect, was in some degree vnperfect, as hauing motion, multiplicitie, and a participation, and dependance of a supreme and most perfect essence: and therefore by the orderlie motion of the heauens, and all creatures, they considered the omnipotencie, and wisdom of a first mouer, and Creator, by their multiplicitie, his vnitie, by their participation and dependance, his simple, independant, and eternall essence, by their goodnes his bountie, by their beautie and excellent properties, the infinit, and superminient excellencie of his perfections, according to the axiome of Aristotle. *Quod est causa alijs vt alia sint, ipsam est maxime tale.*

Mercurius
Trismeg. in
Pimandro
ca. 5.

Proclus. de
anima
demonstr.

Aristotle
Metaph. l. 2.

8 These considerations were common to all the Philosophers, and though for the most part, they tended to nothing els thereby, but onlie to the knowledge of God, the author of nature, yet some of them (who were more contemplatiue then the rest) extended the same further, drawing from thence reasons, and motiues, to incite them selues to the loue of God, whereby they might be vnited with him, and therefore Plato teacheth in his *Epinomis*, that the office, or part of a philosopher, and wise man, is to consider Gods workes in the world, to the end, that finding out the deuine reason thereof, he may be kindled and inflamed, with the loue of their author, and consequentlie may worship and serue him, and so come to enioy him, first in this life, and after in the next (as I haue declared before more ampie in the second, and third chapter:) and to this end, he amply proueth in *Parmenides*, the necessitie of one

Plato in *Epinomis*.

Idem in *Parmenide*.

beginninge,

beginninge, by the multiplicatie of creatures, according to the like consequence of the necessitie of an vnitie in *Aristotels*, concluding that as there could be no number, if there were not a vnitie (which is the beginning of number) so there could not be manie things, and creatures in the world (as we see there are) if there were not one beginninge, from whence they were produced.

9 To the same end also he, and his followers teach their contemplatiues, to eleuat their mindes to the speculation of the deuine nature, by the consideration of musicke, wherein they proceeded from the sensible harmonie, consisting in sound, to the intellectuall, and from thence to the authour, and fountaine of all conueniencie, harmonie, and delectation.

10 Also from the beautie of the bodie, they passed to the consideration of the beautie of manners, from thence to the beautie of the sciences, & then to the beautie of the mind, or soule, and from thence to the contemplation of beautie it selfe, which is God.

11 And in like maner they vsed to the same end, the helpe of the sciences, and especiallie of the *Mathematikes*, and *Metaphisick*, whereof the first doe accustome the vnderstanding of man, to abstract it selfe from corporall things, and consequentlie dispose it to the speculation of the intellectuall and deuine, and the latter, to wit *Metaphisicke*, leadeth directlie to the contemplation of God. Therefore *Plato* hauing taught that the foundation of all true happines, is wisdom, pietie, and vertue, and that the speculatiue sciences, are also most necessarie to the perfection of wisdom, addeth, that except those sciences, being diuers, and manie, be referred to one deuine end (that is to say, to the knowledge of God) they are but vaine and friuolous, but being referred thereto, they are thereby connected, and vnited amongst them selues, and helpe to raise the mind of him, that possesseth them, to the contemplation of God, and to that vniou with him, wherein consisteth the happines of man in this life.

12 And to omit some other pointes (for it were to no purpose to lay downe all) they taught a numerical meditation, to ascend to the onlie one, and true vnitie, by certaine degrees of numbers, whereof some were called, *sonantes numeri*, some, *occursores*, some *progressores*, others *sensuales*, others *memoriales*, other *iudiciales*, and some *artificiales*, which I forbear to explicate, as conteining matter of more curiositie then profit. Neuerthelless, he that desireth to see more thereof, may read *S. Augustin*, in his booke de *Musica*, where following the doctrine of the *Platoniks*, he treateth ampie of all these differences of numbers, and of the vse thereof.

13 To conclude, all these contemplatiue philosophers, thaught vniformelie two other points, most necessarie to attaine to the perfection of contemplation.

Proclus de anima & demone.

*Idem ibid. Platon Cō-
nitio vide
Comment.
Maxim. Fi-
cini in Con-
uini. orat. 6.
c. 18.*

*Idem ibid. Proclus ubi
supra.*

*Plato in Epi-
nomide.*

*Aug. li 6. de
musica.*

contemplation. The one was, to transcend at last all corporall things, & other creatures whatsoever, clearing the vnderstanding of all imaginations, and phantasies, to the end, it might contemplat God, whom they called, *Bonum per se, pulchrum per se, & ipsum unum. Goodnes it selfe, beautie it selfe, and the only one*, being such a simple, pure, and perfect essence, that no conceit, imagination, or phantasie, can be framed of him.

14 The other point, which they thought absolutelie necessarie to the perfection of cōtemplatiō, was a singular & puritie of hart, & sincerity of conscience, whereto *Trismegistus* addeth the hate of our owne body, & a most pure love of God, for it is impossible, saith he, to attend to both at once, such being the difference betwixt things corporal, and spirituall, mortall, and immortal, humane, and deuine, that he which adhereth to the one, loseth the other. Thus saith *Mercurius*, who also representeth the same vnto vs, with a most pathetical exhortation, which I thinke good to sett downe in his owne wordes, for they are notable to this purpose, and verie admirable, the author considered.

15 *Quo ruisis*, saith he, *mortales ebrii*? &c. Wither doe you runne, or fall headlong, you drunken mortall men, who haue drunke vp the wine of ignorance? Seing your heads are not able to beare it, cast it vp againe, become sober, and behould with the eyes of your soules, and if you cannot all of you doe it, yet doe it at least so manie of you as may. The plague of ignorance ouerthroweth all earthlie men, it corrupteth the soule, which is shut vp in the prison of the bodie, and doth not suffer it to take the way of saluation: suffer not your selues, to be drowned in the lake of corruption, and death, breath a while, and runne to the fountaine of life, that is to say, to God, who will lead you into the secrets of his temple of truth, where shineth cleare light, without anie mixture of darkenes, where none that entreth doteth with drunkennes but are all sober and awake, and with the sharpe sight of their soules see him, who wilbe scene, & can neither be heard with eares, nor scene with bodilie eyes, nor expressed with speech, but you must first cast of the garment, which you carrie about you, and is nothing els, but a garment of ignorance, a foundation of wickednes, a bond of corruption, a liuing death, a sensitiue carkas, a mouing sepulcher, a domesticall theefe, which while it flattereth you, both enuieth, and hateeth you, for such an enemie, is the shadowed veile wherewith you are compassed and couered, which draweth you downe to it selfe; least perhaps you might come to hate it, and perceiue the deceits of it, if you should cast vp your eyes to see the comelines of truth, and the true good, which is neere you, and therefore it dulleth, and darkeneth

the light of the interiour senses, making them drunke with an abominable, and fastidious delight, to the end you may neuer heare, or see those things, which are worthy to be heard, and principallie to be seene.

16 Thus saith *Mercurius Trismegistus*, exaggerating the impediment which the soule receiueth in contemplation, by the bodie; In which respect other philosophers also call the bodie, *pestem animæ*, the plague of the soule, and compare the mind of a carnal, and passionat man, to a heauie, and grosse vapour, which cannot eleuat it selfe, vntill it be purified. And *Socrates*, *Plato*, and all their followers, whose doctriu tended cheeflie to contemplation, as the perfection, and consummation of philosophie, taught principallie the correction of manners, and suppression of passions, for that God cannot be perfectlie knowne, or contemplated, but by pure, and cleane mindes, purged from all filth of earthlie, and carnal affections, to which purpose *Plato* saith, that the soule of man being defiled with sinne, is no more capable of true wisdom (which he held principallie to consist in the knowledge, and contemplation of God) then the aire being obscured with clouds, is capable of the light of the sunne, as I signified vpon an other occasion, in the first part of this treatise.

17 And further he affirmeth, that the felicitie of man, which may be had in this life, cannot be obtained, but by those onlie, which are in the bodie, as it vvere out of the bodie, and liue to God rather then to themselves, in which respect also the *Pithagorians*, and some *Platonicks*, namelie *Porphyrus*, prescribed to those which aspired to perfect cōtemplation, a strickt abstinence, and frequent fasts from meates and drinckes, to the end, that the bodie being extenuated, and weakened, the soule might more clearely speculat, and the more easelie abstract it selfe from the bodie, which is the special office of a philosopher; Wherevpon, *Cicero*, calleth the philosophers life, *Mortis commentationem*, the meditation of death, for when a man, saith he, doth vse to vnishdraw, and abstract his mind or vnderstanding, from his body, and senses (as philosophers doe) what doth he els, but learne and accomme himselfe to die.

18 *Iamblicus* and *Proclus*, require in a contemplatiue man fise things, which serued as it were, for as manie stepps, and degrees, to mount vp to the perfection of philosophical cōtemplation; the first is, the knowledge of God, and of his deuine nature, and proprieties; the second, a conformitie to almightie God, in puritie, and sanctitie of life; the third, an earnest endeouour, and eleuation of the mind, aspiring to the contemplation of him, and of heauenlie things; the fourth, the influence of the deuine light into the soule, to dispose, and enable it, to know, and contemplate his deuine nature; the fift, and last is, an vnion, and coniunction of the soule

Plutar. in Catone & in Romulo. Aug. de ciuit. dei. li. 8. c. 3.

Porphyrus de abstinentia animalium.

Plato in Theagene. & in ep. ad Syracusanos.

Chap. 28. nu. 6.

Plato in phadro. phadone, & rep. vide argument. Marfilij Ficini in Epinomidem.

Porphiri de abstinentia animal.

Cicero Tuscul. q. li. 1.

Iambli. de mister. Ægip. vide Marfilium Ficini. in Compendio in Timæum. aa. 6. exmente Iamblici & Procli.

the
19 For
rie of
our vne
corrup
rs, we
onlie d
shalbe
of all o
uine li
20 T
the con
of Plu
ninge,
respec
satisfic
moued
attain
we ma
not on
nal ap
vnion
the lik
confer
serued
bodie
die. T
is our
him
of Ch
21 A
ted, th
the in
enabl
meth
ching
cessar
gath
ged t
of G

State with God, whereby it shall receiue true happines.

19 Furthermore they teach, that by the frequentation, and continual vie of this contemplation, our cogitations, and actions, shall be reformed, our vnderstanding purified, and perfected, our soules purged from the corruption that they contract of the bodie, the loue of God encreased in vs, we made capable, and partakers of the deuine light, and become not onlie disciples of God, but also his familiar freinds, and lastlie, that we shall be no longer our owne, but his, and being abstracted from the loue of all other things, shall remaine wholie rauished, and absorpt in his deuine light.

20 Thus teach *Iamblicus* and *Proclus* in substance, concerning not onlie the contemplation, but also the fruition of God, euen in this life, whereof *Plinius*, yealdeth this reason. Forasmuch as God is both the beginning, and the end of all creatures, and the cheefe object of our loue (in respect that he is the cheefe good) our desire cannot naturallie rest, or be satisfied, but onlie in him: and as our appetite, and desire is euer naturally moued, and inclined to our cheefe good, so also it is requisite, that we may attaine thereto (for other waies our inclination were vaine) yea, & that we may haue a naturall fruition of it, that is to say, that we may enioy it, not onlie in imagination, or by knowledge, but in deede, not by an external application, or touching, but by such an intrinsecal coniunction, & vnion, that we may be made all one with it, whereof we see, saith he, the like experience in our bodie, and senses, which desiring naturallie conseruation by the meanes of meates, and corporall sustenance, are conserued not onlie by a real, and perfect coniunction of meate with the bodie, but also by the conuerſion thereof into the substance of the bodie. Thus discourseth *Plinius*, to shew that our fruition of God (who is our end, and cheefe good) consisteth in a real, and perfect vnion with him, which shall be further declared, and explicated, when I shall treat of Christian contemplation.

21 And now for the present to returne to *Iamblicus*, I wish it to be noted, that he requirerh to contemplation, in the place before alleadged, the influence of a deuine light, that is to say, Gods grace, to dispose, and enable the soule of man, to contemplat the diuine nature, which seemeth also to haue beene the opinion of *Plato*, and all his followers, teaching that adoration, sacrifice, praier, and other acts of religion, are necessarie to the acquisition of the cheefe good, besides that, *S. Augustin* gathereth out of *Porphyrie* (who was a platonick (that he acknowledged the necessitie of Gods grace, to the knowledge, and contemplation of God.

*Iamblic. in
myster. A-
gipt. vide
etiam Mar-
fil. Ficm. ubi
supra.*

*Plotinus li.
9. Ennead. 6.
de bono
vel vno c. 9.*

*Marfil. Fi-
cin. ex mote
Plotini. li. 9.
Ennead. 6.
de bono. c. 9.
Aug. l. 10. de
ciuit. dei.
c. 29.*

*Mercur. in
Pimian. c. 5.*

22 But of all other philosophers, *Mercurius Trismegistus*, teacheth it most expresselie, adding also thereto, the necessitie of praier, to obtaine the same, saying notably thus. *Vnicum id ingentum incomprehensibile, phantasia*, &c. That which is the onlie vnbegotten, & vncreated (that is to say god), is incomprehensibile to the phantasia of man, and as all things haue their beautie, and light from him, so he also sheweth himselfe, and shineth in all things, and appeareth speciallie to those, to whom it pleaseth him, to communicat the knowledge of himselfe, and therefore (my sonne *Tarins*) pray thou deuoutelie to our Lord, and Father, that thou maist be worthie of his mercie, for so shalt thou be able to know, and vnderstand him, if some beame of his light, shine vpon thy vnderstanding. Thus faith he, whereby we may perceiue, that besides the knowledge of God, by the meanes of his creatures, and the puritie of mind, and conscience (which all philosophers held most requisit, & necessarie to contemplatiō) some of them acknowledge, & taught expresselie, the necessitie of Gods grace, and of mans humble, and deuout praier to obtaine it.

*Mercur. in
Pimian. c. 10.*

23 And now to say some what, of the great delectatiō, & ioy, which they held to be in the vse, & exercise of it, I will content my selfe with the testimonie of two, or three of them: as first of *Mercurius*, who discourseth verie strangelie thereof in this manner. You are not (saith he) to thinke, that the sight or vision of the true good, that is to say of god, doth like the sunne beames corrupt, or blind the eyes of the behoulders, but that it cleareth, and illuminateth them, with a farr greater measure of light, according to the capacitie that euerie one may haue, to receiue the influence of that intelligible splendor. Those who being yet in their bodies, haue any plentiful participation thereof, are oft times cast, as it were, into a slepe, by the excessiue beautie of that which they see, as were *Celins*, and *Saturnus*, our progenitours &c. The true knowledge thereof consisteth in a deuine silence, or quietnes, and an earnest, or vehement application thereto of all our powers and parts: he which vnderstandeth it, can thinke of nothing els, he which behouldeth it, can see nothing but it, he which heareth it, can heare nothing after it, nor moue the members, or parts of his bodie, but is, as it were, loosd, and dissolued from his senses, and all affectiōs, for he which giueth light to all things els, doth fullie irradiat, and illustrat the mind, and abstracteth the soule from the bodie, and transformeth it whollie into the essence of God, for it is not possible, that the soule lying in the dreggs of the bodie, should take vpon it the deuine forme, neither can anie man see the beautie of God, except he be first reformed vnto God.

24 Thus farre *Mercurius*, more like a contemplatiue Christian deuine,

then a
which
(which
this is
be, w
in the
phera
that I
conce
templ
at. A
of en
beaut
deth
he wi
trash,
is adm
vertu
becau
26
whom
ling
phaci
and n
what
quif
nes,
how
mira
doth
it, is
shed
som
he se
bear
fair
wh
ligh
only
to b

then a Pagan philosopher : who also affirmeth els where , that he which in contemplation shall arrive to the sight of the infinit good (which is God) will despise all bodilie, and earthlie things, and thinke this life which we liue here, to be miserie. But how true that is like to be, which he affirmeth of *Celins* and *Saturnus* (to wit that they saw God in their rapt) or what sight of him, or vnion with him these philosophers had, or might haue, in their contemplations, I will declare after that I shall haue added , a testimonie or two more of the philosophers, concerning the exceeding delectation, which they taught to be in contemplation.

25 *Plato* hauing declared , how a man may ascend from the speculation of one faire , and beautiful thing, to an other, and then to other more beautifull, and by degrees, to the contemplation of beautie it selfe, addeth that when he shall come to behold that pure, and simple beautie, he will esteeme all gold, rich apparel , and corporal beautie, to be but trash, and concludeth, that therefore the life of the contemplatiue man is admirable, and happie, and that he is partaker of solyd, and true vertue, beloued of God , and immortal, if anie man in this life may so be called.

26 To *Plato*, I will onlie add one of his followers, to wit *Plotinus* , by whome we may perceiue the doctrine of the rest, he therefore treating of the onlie one, and true good, teacheth, that by the contemplation thereof, the soule is translated, and turned into a deuine nature, and made God, being wholie Gods, and made one with him: And of what infinit delight the same is, he also signifieth, saying: *Id igitur quisquis videt &c.* Whosoeuer, saith he, seeth it (that is to say true goodness, and beautie) how wonderful is the loue wherewith he is inflamed? how great the desire he hath, to be ioyned, and vnited with it? how admirable is his delight? feing nature hath so ordained, that he which doth not yet see it, doth desire it, as the true good, and he which seeth it, is infinitelie delighted with it, as with true beautie, being replenished with ioy, and contentment, astonished with a pleasant, and holysome stupiditie, affected with a true, and extreame loue, and therefore, he scorneth, all other loues, and affections, and contemneth all other beauties, enioying true beautie it selfe, which makes her louers trulie faire, and louelie, *quam quisquis assequitur, euadit felici visione beatus &c.* Which whosoeuer obtaineth, he is blessed with a happie, vision, or light, as on the other side, he is most miserable, that looseth it, for the onlie gaine whereof, all the kingdomes, and empires of the world ought to be reiected.

Ibid. c. 4.

Plato in conuinsio. vide Comentar.

Marfil. Ficini in conuinsium Platonis ca. 18. orat. 6.

Plotin. li. 9. Ennead. 6. de bono. vel uno c. 9. & 10.

Idem li. de pulchritudine c. 7.

27 Thus saith *Plotinus*, with much more excellent matter to the same purpose; Whereby we may see, what was the iudgement, and doctrine of the philosophers, concerning mans felicitie in this life, consisting as they taught, in his vnion with God, by the meanes of contemplation. And yet neuertheles it is not to be thought (as before I haue said) that they had the practise, and experience, of all that which they wrote: for although they might by the light of reason know, that God is of such infinit goodnes, beautie, and perfection, that he is, as *Plato* saith, to be beloued, *amare infinito, & sine modo, & termino, vwith an infinit loue, & without measure, or limit*, and that man being his image, and ordained to serue him, and capable of his knowledge and loue, might euen in this life, be thereby vnited with him, and consequentlie enioy true contentment, & pleasure: yet it was not possible, that by anie force of nature, and light of reason, they should arriue to anie other vision of him, then speculative, such I meane, as they might haue of the nature of the heauens, or of the Angels, by onlie speculation, without anie supernaturall vnion with him, or sight of him, which could nor be had without grace.

28 Therefore, whereas some of the philosophers held, that man may see God, by the force of humane nature (against whom both *S. Chrysostome*, and *S. Gregory Nazianzen* did write notably,) and some others againe, taught the necessitie of grace, to the vision of God, and vnion with him, as may appeare by that, which I haue alleadged out of *Mercurius Trismigistus*, & the *Platonicks*, I wish it here to be vnderstood, that when I speake of philosophical contemplation, I meane not a contemplation of God, assisted and persfited by his grace (for so the contemplation of the philosophers and of the Christians, may be all one) but I meane a contemplation, restrained within the boundes, and limits of nature onlie, and of humane vnderstanding: For it is not to be denied, or doubted, but that manie amongst the Gentils, and consequentlie some philosophers, might haue the helpe and assistance of Gods grace, as well for the better, and more cleare contemplation of God, as also for their saluation, seeing we read in holic scriptures, that *Iob*, and his three friendes, being Gentils, before the law of *Moses*, were not onlie greate seruantes of God, but also great philosophers, as I may tearme them, and deuines. And *S. Dionysius Areopagita* witnesseth, that manie amongst the Gentils were induced, & brought, to the true knowledge of God, by the ministerie of Angels, which he exemplifieth in *Melchisedech* king of *Salem*, whose priesthood, prefigured the priesthood of our Sauour.

29 Therefore, that which I affirme of the philosophers, and their contemplation, is, that neither these, whose testimonies I haue here produced,

*Plato in com-
munio.*

*S. Chrysost.
ho. 5. de in-
comprehensibili natura
Dei.*

*S. Greg. Nazianz. orat.
42. quae est
2. in pascha.*

*Dionys. Ca-
lesti Hierar.
ca. 9.*

ed (to wit Trismagistinus, Plato and the Platonicks his followers,) did euer arrive to that vnion with god, or that happie sight of him, whereof they write, neither could anie other, by the onlie force of nature attaine thereto, it being euident, as *s. Thomas* saith, that whosoever is raised, and elevated, to anie thing exceeding the nature thereof, must be first disposed thereto by some supernatural disposition, in which respect, he also teacheth, that no man can see god, but he must be first disposed thereto, either by the light of glorie (as are the glorified soules in heauen) or by the light of grace, whereby a farr more liuelie representation, and similitude of god, may be framed in the vnderstanding and conceit of man, then can possible be framed by nature.

30 To which purpose it is to be vnderstood, that the soule of man, while it is in the bodie, can not see, or vnderstand anie thing though present, but by the meanes of some kind of image, or similitude represented (as *Aristotle* teacheth) partlie by the senses, and partlie by the matter it selfe, neither yet can it haue anie vnderstanding, or conceit of a thing absent, and vnknowne, but by some kind of shape, or image, framed in like manner, in the imagination, and taken from some thinges, scene, or knowne before which neuertheles, how vnlike they are to the thinges themselves, it plainlie appeareth, when a man commeth to see that, which before he conceiued, and imagined: wherevpon it must needs follow, that seeing almighty god, is a most pure, and simple essence, voyd of all matter, and so farr surpassing all capacitie of man, that not so much as anie true opinion, conceit, or imagination, can naturallie be framed of him (as I haue sufficientlie declared before) it is not possible, that man should haue anie vision, or perfect knowledge of him in this life, except he be disposed thereto, by some supernatural light. In which respect, the Apostle saith of god, that *habitat lucem inaccessibilem, quem nullus hominum vidit, sed neque videre potest.* He dwelleth in an inaccessible light, whereof no man hath euer scene, nor yet can see, that is to say, by the force of nature. And the Psalmist also saith, to the same purpose, *with thee o Lord, is the fountaine of life, and in thy light we shall see light.* And lastlie *s. Iohn*, speaking of the societie of the blessed, or glorified soules in heauen, saith. *Charitas Dei illuminabit illam,* the clearenes or brightnes of god shall illuminat, or enlighten it.

31 Yt cannot therefore be imagined with anie reason, that anie Pagan, or gentile, could by the force of philosophical contemplation, and by the light of reason, haue anie vision of god, and much lesse such a perfect vnion with him, as the philosophers aboue named treat of, and require to the felicitie of man in this life, of whome I may also boldlie affirme, that

s. Tho. 1 p. q. 12. ar. 5 in Cor.

Arist. 3 de anima.

1. Tim. 6.

Psalm. 35.

Apoc. c. 22.

Matth 5.

Chap. 28.
num. 6. & 7.
Chap. 10. per
totum.

Plutar. in
Marcello.

that they neuer arriued thereto; either by the light of reason, or by grace, seeing it is manifest, that they were all of them wicked men, who were not onlie our deuines, but also they themselues teach, that puritie of mind, and conscience, is absolutelie necessarie to the vision of God, and vnion with him, and therefore our Sauour said. *Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt.* Happie are those who are cleane and pure of hart, for they shall see God, and all the most learned philosophers, as well Peripateticks, and Stoicks, as Platonicke, require integritie of life, and perfection of vertue, to the felicitie of man, as I haue declared before, besides that I haue signified at large, in the first part of this treatise, how vicious, and wicked both Aristotle, and Plato were, and generallie all the philosophers, notwithstanding their profession of vertue, & the excellent precepts which they gaue thereof, it being also manifest, that they were all of them impious Idolaters, as appeareth no lesse in *Trismegistus*, then in all the other, whose workes we haue at this day: where vpon it followeth, that they were most abominable in the sight of God, and no way participant, of anie vision of him, or vnion with him, which is the greatest reward, and blessing that he bestoweth vpon his dearest seruants, and best beloued friends.

32 But then perhaps you will aske me, how these philosophers came to know, and treat of rapt, and of the great delectation of contemplation, in such sort as they doe. Whereto I answer, first concerning rapt, that I doe not hold it impossible, or improbable, that they might haue some kind of extasis, or rauishment of mind, in the exercise of their contemplation, seeing that experience teacheth, that the speculation of some liberal science, may so occupie the vnderstanding of a man, that his senses, and inferiour powers, may remaine tied, and bound for the time, in such sort, that they cannot execute their functions, and in the meane while, the mind be replenished with delight.

33 This was euident in *Archimedes*, the great geometrician, who was so transported with the delectation of his science, that commonlie he forgot to eate, or drinke, except when he was put in mind thereof, or sometimes compelled thereto, and therefore being other whiles caried by his seruants by force to the bathes, to be annointed, and washed (as the vse then was) he occupied himselfe in nothing els, whiles he was in the bath, but in drawinge geometrical figures with his finger, in the oyle that was vpon his bodie. And finallie the citie of *Syracusa*, where he dwelled, being surprised by *Marcellius* the Roman, he was so attentiu to the triall of certaine geometrical conclusions, at the sea side, in the land, that he was not aware of the surprise of the towne, till at last he was

found

found by a souldiar, and commaunded to come to *Marcellus*, but he so little regarded what was sayd vnto him, that the souldiar thought himselfe; and his generall to be contemned by him, and in a rage killed him, wherewith *Marcellus* was greatlie greued, for the great fame he had heard of him, and the experience he had also seene of his skill, by his admirable engines, wherewith the towne had benne a long time defended against the Roman armie.

34 But much more meruellous is that, which *S. Augustin* recounteth of a priest called *Resitutus*, who could so recollect his mind, and vnderstanding, and sequester it from his senses, when he listed, that he remained as it were dead, not onlie without motion, and breath, but also without sense, or feeling of pricking, or burning, or anie other violence donne vnto him, & yet neuertheles, he could (as he said) heare the voice of men, when they spoke to him aloud, though it seemed a farr off. And the like also *Cardanus* reporteth of himselfe, who saith, that when he listed seriouſlie to contemplat of anie difficult point of philosophie, or other learning, he could cast himselfe into a traunce, and that although then his bodie was senseles, yet his mind did speculat, & find out great secrets of nature, and this he said he vsed often to doe, to auoid the paine of the goute, whereto he was much subiect, and that during his extasis, or traunce, he had no feeling thereof, nor of anie thing els, that was donne vnto him.

Augustin. de ciuit. dei. li. 14. ca. 24.

Cardanus de varietate

35 Whereby it may appeare; how great may be the force of contemplation, and that it may withhould, and diuert the vnderstanding of man, from all communication with the senses: the reason whereof is, for that the vitall spirits doe wholie retire themselues, to the inferiour powers of the soule, weakened by the diuersion of the vnderstanding from them, such being the proprietie of nature, to draw aswell the spirits, as the humors of the bodie to the succour of the weakest, and most affected partes, as we see in those, which are suddainelie taken with some extreame feare, whose face groweth pale, and bodie trembleth, because the spirits and blood, doe retire from the exterior parts, to strengthen the hart, that laboureth, and is distressed.

36 And this retrait of the spirits, to the inward parts, and the alienation thereof from the senses, commoſlie happeneth, when mans vnderstanding fixeth it selfe vpon some high, and mistical matter, that moueth him to admiration, and especiallie, when his will, and affection, is also moued with some extraordinarie, & exceeding delight, as it may be obserued in the musick, which *Aristotle* calleth *Enthasiasticam*, vsed by the priests of *Aristot. Politic. li. 8. c. 5.* *Iupiter Olympicus*, in their sacrifices, wherewith the hearers were so

Hh

raushed,

rauisht, that they lost the vse of their senses, and remained in a trance for some time.

37 Therefore, seeing there is nothing which may either more occupy, and astonish the vnderstanding, or potentlie moue the affection of a well disposed mind, then the contemplation of God, whom (as the philosophers confessed, and taught) neither the vnderstanding can comprehend, nor the affection sufficientlie loue, of whom there cannot be framed naturallie, so much as an opinion, conceit, or imagination as he is in himselfe, (who though he be all in all, yet is nothing of all that, which we either know, or can conceiue) it is no maruaile, if the contemplator of such an infinit maiestie, and incomprehensible bountie, and beautie, not being able to penetrat the least of his deuine perfections, remaine suspended in the speculation thereof.

38 And thus farre the contemplation of those philosophers, whose authorities I haue alleadged, might extend, though (as I haue said) it is not probable, that they had, or could haue, anie such vision, or sight of God, or such vnion with him, as they pretended, whereof neuertheles they might speake, or write probablie, and trulie, partlie by reason of the traditions, that remained from time to time of the doctrine, and extaticall contemplations, of the ould patriarkes and prophets, and of manie other faithful seruants of God amongst the Gentils, and partlie by the knowledge, which manie of them had of the scriptures, of the ould testament.

S. Aug. de ci- (as S. Augustin affirmeth of Plato, concerning manie pointes of his doctrine agreeing with ours:) besides that all the latter philosophers since
uit. Dei li. 8.
ca. 11. Christs time, especiallie the *Platonicks*, had the sight, not onlie of the old, and new testament, but also of the writings of the first Fathers of the primitive Church, by the which they learned manie things, as wel concerning the deuine nature, as other misteries of our Christian faith, and so came to writ farre more excellentlie of contemplation, then their predecessors.

39 This hath bene notablie well obserued, and acknowledged, by a great *Platonick* in the last age, to wit, *Marsilius Ficinus*, who saith thus. *En certo reperi &c.* Truly I haue found, that the cheefe misteries in *Numenius*, *Philo*, *Plotinus*, *Iamblicus*, and *Proclus*, were taken by them out of *S. Iohns gospel*, *S. Pauls Hierothems*, and *Dionysius Areopagita*, for what soauer they write magnificentie of God, the Angels, and other things, belonging to Theologie, they manifestlie vsurped, and rooke from them. Thus saith he.

40 Finallie, it is also verie probable, that almightie God, did illuminate their vnderstanding in manie thinges, for the instruction, and good of others, and to serue for some disposition of the Gentils to Christianitie,

for which cause he also inspired the *a Sibilla*, and *b Balam* the gentill, with the spirit of prophesie.

a S. Aug. de ciuita. Dei. li. 18. ca. 23.
b Num. 22. c. 23.

41 Therefore vpon this precedent discourse, I conclude three things, concerninge philosophical contemplation, and the philosophers themselves. The first is, that so long as philosophical contemplation, doth not exceede the limits of nature, though it may cause some extasis, or rauishment of mind, yet it cannot bring a man to anie certaine, and perfect knowledge of God, and much lesse to anie vision of him, or vnion with him. Secondlie, that although some philosophers amongst the Gentils, might by the exercise thereof, and with the concurrence of Gods grace, haue some supernatural vision, and knowledge of God, and be most happily vnited with him in this life, yea, and finally be saued, yet none of these, whose authoritie I haue here alleadged, and whose workes are now extant, did euer attaine to either of both, being all of them wicked men, and therefore farre from all vnion with God, or vision of him: wherevpon also it followeth, that they neuer had the experience of that which they wrote, of the admirable delight; that the contemplation of God yealdeth, but that they knew it, either by tradition from others, or by reading our holie Scriptures, or other Christian authors, or els by discourse of reason, by the which it is euident ynough, that the contemplation of God, must needes produce such effects, whensoever it is had in perfection, as in like sort also, *Plato* and the *Platonicks* taught expresslye our Christian doctrine, concerning the felicitie of man, (to wit, that it is imperfect in this life, and shalbe consummated, and persited in the next) though they themselves neuer had, nor could haue anie experience thereof.

Plato in Epinomide.
Porphyrius Plotinus.
Iamblicus Proclus.

42 Thirdlie, whereas *Mercurius Trismegistus*, writeth of *Calim*, and *Saturnus*, that they saw God in their rapt (as I haue signified before) it is to be vnderstood, that either he fained it, to authorize his doctrine, or els that liuing in *Aegypt* (where the memorie, as well of the rapt of the people of God, during their captiuitie there, as also of manie points of their doctrine, might still remaine) he ascribed the same to *Saturnus*, and *Calim*, of whose diuinitie he, and the superstitious people of that time, had a conceit, and beleefe, especially seeing their custome was, to celebrat the famous acts of Gods seruants, vnder the names of their false Gods.

Nu. 23.

43 For, so we reade, that they called *Noe*, *Tanm*, painting him with two faces, the one looking backward, and the other forward, because he had scene, as it were, two worlds, the one before the flood, & the other after. And in like manner the *Aegyptians*, honored *Moyse* for a God, vnder the

Genebrard chron.

2. 100. de
prepar. E-
uang. li. 4.
c. 9.
Act. c. 4.
Clem. Ale-
xand. li. 6.
stromatum.
ca. 1.

D. Basil. in
orat. super
Euang. in
principio erat
verbum.

Philostrat.
in vita A-
pollonii.

Plutarc. de
defectu ora-
culorum in
fine.

Chap. 14.

name of *Mercury*, as *Artapanus*, an ancient greeke historiographer doth testifie. And we read also in the Acts of the Apostles, that the people of *Lystra*, seeing the miracles of *S. Paule*, and *S. Barnabas*, called the one *Mercury*, and the other *Iupiter*, and would haue done sacrifice vnto them. And *Clemens Alexandrinus* sheweth by manie examples, that the gentils did not onlie steale from the patriarks, and prophets, manie notable points of doctrine, but also transferred manie of their miraculous workes to themselves, disguising them with the addition of diuers fabulous circumstances, wherevpon also *S. Basil* saith. *Furatur nostra diabolus, & suis ea largiri conatur*. The diuel doth steale from vs those thinges which are properly ours, and seeketh to giue the possession thereof to his owne children, and seruants.

44 Therefore it is not improbable, that *Trismegistus* attributed to *Calim*, & *Saturnus*, those thinges which he had heard, and held for most admirable, amongst the faithful people of God, though also it is not to be doubted, but that manie amongst the gentils, being Magicians, were partlie deluded by the deuill, and partlie helped to delude others, pretending to haue great communication, and familiaritie with God in their contemplations. In which kind, verie admirable thinges are written by *Philostratus*, of the rapt or trances of *Apollonius Thyaneus*, a most famous Magician (in the time of *Domitian* the emperour) though by professiō a *Pythagorian* philosopher: as also the same was euident, in the last *Pichonissa*, which seruēd in the temple of *Apollo*, and gaue the oracles at *Delphos*, imitating the extatical gestures, & actions of the holie prophets of God, vntil at length, she appeared manifestlie, to be possessed with a deuill, crying out so hideouslie, & horriblelie, that not onely certaine strangers, who were come to haue answer of the oracle, but also the priests of the temples, that were present, fled away for feare, & shee her selfe being terriblelie tormēted, and distracted of her senses, died within a few dayes after, as *Plutark* recounteth in his treatise intituled, *why the oracles ceased*.

45 Also *Mahomer* the false prophet of the *Turkes*, being much troubled with the falling sicknes, made the people beleeeue, that the Angel *Gabriel* vsed to appeare vnto him, so resplendant, and bright, that he could not endure the sight of him, but was bereaued of his senses for the time, and that then, during those trances, he had manie strange visions and revelations, as I haue declared more ampie before in the 14. chapter. But howsoever it is, it cannot be doubted, but that the extaticall visions of God, whereof wee read in the philosophers, were eyther mere fictions, or els perhaps, true effects of the contemplation, of gods seruants, ascribed by the gentils to them selues, for the reputation of their doctrine, & religion. Thus much concerninge philosophical contemplation.

of christ

of Christian contemplation what it is, how it serueth it selfe of philosophical contemplation, and how it differeth from it, what excellent meane it hath to attaine to perfect vniõ with God, in the which consisteth the end, and felicitie of man, and common wealthe: Also of three wayes practised by contemplatiue Christians, to arrive to the perfection of contemplation, to wit, the Purgatiue way, the Illuminatiue way, and the Vnitie way: and first some practise is shewd of the Purgatiue way, verie necessarie for beginners, and for the conuersion of sinners.

C H A P. 13.

THou hast seen, good Reader, what the philosophers beleueed and taught concerning their contemplation, and therefore I will now passe to treat of the contemplation of Christians: wherein first is to be considered, that though there be great difference betwixt it, and the former, as wil appeare hereafter, yet the difference consisteth not in anie contrarietie, or exclusion of the one from the other, but that Christian contemplation admittinge the philosophicall, and seruinge it selfe thereof, as of her handmaid, excelleth it in all kinde of perfection, and as I may say, hiteth the marke wherat the other shott, and arriueth at the port, whereto the other directed her course, though shee could neuer attaine vnto it: for, the contemplation of the philosophers, hauing no helpe of gods grace, nor other ground, as I haue signified, but the knowledge of god by his workes, and creatures, was irremediablie distracted with inextricable difficulties, doubts, and ambiguities, whereas our Christian cõttemplation, is grounded vpon the solid, and sure foundation of faith, which beinge infused by the grace of the hollie ghost, is not onelie more certaine the anie humane knowledge, or sight of our senses, but also doth illuminate our vnderstanding with a deuine sight, whereby wee doe the more clearlie conceaue, and speculate the abstruse, and incomprehensible properties of the deuine nature. Therefore the prophet *Isay* saith, according to the 10. interpreters: *nisi credideritis, non intelligetis: except you beleuee you shall not vnderstand:* And *s. Thomas* teacheth, that the light of grace, both fortifieth the light of nature, and also frameth in our imagination farr more pure, and significant phantasies, or images representinge the deuine nature, then those which nature, and sense can afford: besides that the misteries of our faith, are like to the flint stone, for if they be strooken, as I may tearme it, with

H h iij

the steele

Isay. 7.
S. Tho. 1. p.
quæst. 12.
ar. 13.

the Steele of serious consideration, they yeeld fire sparkes of the loue of God, which falling into a well prepared, and purified soule, doe kinde therein great flames of pure deuotion, and heauenlie consolation, as shall appeare manifestlie hereafter.

2 But to declare, before I proceed further, what *Christian contemplation* properlie is, and what are the effects thereof, *S. Thomas* defineth it to be: *A simple, and pure sight, or speculation of the eternal truth, without varietie of discourse with the help of Gods grace, and greare affections of admiration, and loue; or as Albertus magnus saith, it is a recollection of the affections, and of all the powers of the soule, to know with admiration and delight, such things as belong to the deuine nature, or to his secret iudgements and most holie will.* Thus doe they define *contemplation*; the effects whereof are, to vnite the soule of man with his cheefe good, to make him like to Angels, and to God himselfe, to perfect the two principall powers of his soule, that is to say, to illuminate his vnderstanding with true wisdom, and to kinde in his will, the fier of charitie, which is the loue of God, where vpon proceedeth also the loue of his neighbours, feruour of spirit, sweetnes of deuotion, puritie of hart, and integritie of all his actions.

3 Furthermore, whereas *cogitation, meditation, and speculation* being acts of the vnderstandinge, haue some affinitie with *contemplation*, and are necessarie thereto, it is to be vnderstood how they differ from it, and how they helpe to the perfection thereof; It is therefore to be considered, that in *cogitation*, the minde wandreth without labour, or fruit; in *meditation* it pondereth, discourseth, and searcheth, both with labour and fruit; in *speculation*, it considereth, and seeth, (though some what obscurelie, & *tanquam per speculum*, as through a glaſs) yet without labour, & with fruit; in *cōtemplatiō* it beholdeth farr more cleerlie, not onlie without labour, but also with admiration, astonishment, vnspeakeable fruit, and delight.

4 For *contemplation*, is then in perfection, when all the powers of the soule are collected in themselves, and vnited with God, enioying, him, admiring, his deuine perfections, and wholie reposing in him, with inefable contentment, and ioy; whereto *cogitation, meditation, and speculation*, doe make the way, being as it were, stepps & degrees to mount thereto; For first we cogitar, or thinke, of what we would meditate, speculate, & contemplat, from *cogitation*, we passe to *meditation*, to find out by discourse the truth, which we would specular, and hauing found it, wee then, as it were behold it, with the eye of our vnderstanding, pondering, and considering it by *speculation*, from the which wee passe to *contemplation*,

5 For although *speculation, and contemplation*, are manie times cōfounded,

D. Tho. 2. 2.
q. 180. ar. 3.

Albert. in
paradiso a-
nima c. 33.

Albert. mag.
in paradiso
anima c. 33.
S. Aug. l. 15.
de Trinitate.

S. Bonavent.
de 7. itine-
rib. aseruit.
scilicet 3. dist. 3.

and vnd
taken fo
wee wil
obseru
befaid
nine na
templat
the con
a most
with hi
6 And
soule, r
employ
in the
in spiri
is conu
functi
7 Th
the ma
sentin
dome.
all oth
nistre
8 T
medi
tines
ues, a
mou
as for
of so
hum
our
to do
stirr
the
9
(in
con
also
alm

and vnderstood to signifie one thing (and sometimes also *speculation* is taken for a degree of *contemplation*, before it arriue to perfection) yet if we will consider them, as they may be distinct in this exercise, we may obserue this difference betwixt them, that the speculation of God, may be said to be onlie an act of the vnderstanding; as it considereth the diuine nature, without the concurrence of the affection, but in the contemplation of God, the vnderstanding, and the affection concurre, so that the contemplatiues both know God, by an assured faith, and loue him by a most feruent, and perfect charitie, whereby they arriue to perfect vniō with him, as shalbe declared further heereafter.

6 And for as much, as it is also requisit, that all the three powers of the soule, to wit, the *memorie*, *vnderstanding*, and the *vwill*, be euerie one of the, employed in this exercise, according to their seuerall functions, not onlie in the meditation, and speculation of hollie, and diuine thinges, but also in spirituall, and mentall conferences with almightie God: Therefore it is conuenient, that I also declare heere, what are the proper offices, and functions of these three powers in the exercise of contemplation.

7 The first (to wit the *memorie*) is employed, not onlie in remembring the matters & points, whereof we meane to meditate, but also in representing to the eyes of our soule, the presence of almightie God, his wisdom, mercie, bountie, iustice, and other excellencies, our sinnes past, and all other thinges necessarie to be remembred, according as matter is ministered, and occasion offered in our meditation.

8 The office of the *vnderstanding*, is to discurre vpon the points of our meditation to ponder them dulie, and to draw out of them, hollie motions of the feare, and loue of God, and of the true knowledge of our selues, and to represent the same to the *vwill*, to the end it may thereby be moued to exercise the function and acts, which properlie belong to it: as sorrow for our sinnes, contempt and hate of our selues, the true loue of God, confidence in his mercie, due praises, and thanks for his benefits, humble petition of his grace, good desires, and firme purposes to amend our defects, resignation to his hollie will, and franke offer of our selues, to doe, or suffer, whatsoeuer it shall please him to ordaine: and to the stirring vp of these affections (which are the acts of the *vwill*) tendeth all the discourse of our *vnderstanding* in meditation.

9 And because, all the acts of these three powers, are properlie mentall (in respect that in this exercise of meditation, they are for the most part, conceiued onlie in the mind, and not expressed, with the voice) and that also, there passe, therein manie spirituall, and mentall conferences with almightie God, wherein the soule offereth to him praises, and thanks, bewaileth

*Idem ibid.**B. Ignatius in primo exercit. prim. hebdom.**P. Luyx. dela Puente. Introduction de la oracion mental.**Idem ibid.**Idem ibid.*

Psal. 83.

Psal. 64.

Albertus
magnus de
adhaerendo
deo. ca. 9.
S. Tho. 2. 2.
q. 180. ar. 1.
Plato in Epi-
nomide.

Psal. 70.

Matth. 4.
Luc. 9.

bewaileth her infirmities, vnfoldeth her griefes, confesseth her sinnes, and craueth pardon, remedies, graces, and fauours, therefore the exercise, and practise thereof, is called *mentall prayer*, whereby the contemplatiues, doe with the inward voice of their soules, treat familiarly with almightie God, negotiate the reliefe of their necessities, and obtaine pardon, grace, and all vertues, aspiring, and mounting vp, to the heavenly tabernacles, where, *replentur in bonis domus Dei, they are filled with the pleasures of Gods house*, being vnited with him by deuotion, and loue, in which vnion consisteth the perfection, and end, of all Christian meditation, praier, and contemplation.

10 Herein neuerthelesse this difference is to be noted, betwixt the philosophers, and vs Christians, that the philosophers tended in their contemplations, onlie to the perfection of their owne knowledge, they say, to know perfectlye the deuine nature, in which respect, they proceeded for the most part, the perfection of mans contemplation, and fellowship in the understanding, but the Christians tend principallie to the loue of God, aspiring to the true knowledge of him, to the end, they may sincerely loue him, and be beloued of him, & therefore they place in the perfection of contemplation in this life. And whereas the philosophers taught, that the exact knowledge of all the sciences, is absolutely necessary thereto (in so much that Plato, and his followers, held, that it is not possible for anie but philosophers, and men of great learninge, to attain vnto it (and of them also, verie few) Christians both teach, and try by experience, that all the perfection of true contemplation proceedeth rather of pietie, then industrie, of charitie, and not of knowledge, of Gods grace, and assistance, and not of mans witt, or iudgement. And therefore we see that amongst Christians, the most ignorant man, assisted by Gods hollie spirit, may trulie say with the royall prophet: *Quoniam non cognoui litteraturam, introibo in potentias Domini: Because I knew no kind of learninge, I will enter into the powvers of our Lord*, that is to say, for asmuch, as I am altogether ignorant, and void of humane science, I will wholly relieue vpon the confidence of Gods grace, and the light of his hollie spirit, and so make no doubt, to enter, into the consideration, or contemplation, of his great, and wondrous workes, and of his deuine power.

11 So were the Apostles of most rude, and vnlearned fishermen, made great doctors, and deuines, so the poore became preachers, after the cominge of our Sauour, and so also, (I meane by the light, and helpe of grace) not onlie simple, and ignorant men, but also women, may be, and are amongst Christians, most perfect contemplatiues, as may appeare by that hollie Marie, in whome the contemplatiue life is represented in the Gospell.

And of whom our Saviour said, that shee had chosen the best part, *Luc. 10.*
 also there hath bene manie notable examples in Gods Church,
 of contemplatiue women, and great Saintes of God, as *S. Brigitt*,
S. Contrade, *S. Caterin of Siena*, and diuers others, both in former
 times, and in this present age, of whom I shall haue occasion to speake
 hereafter.

None thelesse, we doe not so farre presume vpon grace, that we vtterly
 neglect all helpe of humane science, or of the knowledge of God by
 his creatures (which is the ground of philosophicall contemplation)
 and much lesse doe wee neglect the light, and gifts of nature, all which,
 though they are not so absolutelie necessarie for Christian contempla-
 tion, but that the want of them may be, and is, in manie supplied by
 grace, yet they are so conuenient thereto, that they facilitate the same,
 and are greatlie to the perfection thereof, when they concurre with
 grace, and are guided thereby, for grace doth not abolish nature, or
 humane cooperation, but admitteth, and perfitteth both, & there-
 fore *Thomas* teacheth, that the images, or representations framed by
 grace, in the phantasie of the contemplatour, are so much more excel-
 lent, and cleare, by how much the light of nature is stronger in
 him. *D. Tho. 1. p. quest. 12. ar. 13.*

And *S. Hierome*, also vpon the same reason obserueth in *S. Paule*, *S. Hieron. quest. 11. ad Hedibiam To. 3.*
 that though he had the gift of tongues, by the grace of God, yet he was
 alwaies more eloquent in the Hebrew (which was his owne naturall
 tongue) then in the other languages, which he had by infusion. And the
 like is also to be said of humane industrie, and indeuour in contempla-
 tion, for although of it selfe, without grace, it can effect nothing (as nei-
 ther doth grace commonlie worke without it) yet how much greater
 humane diligence, and endeour is, so much more excellēt, are the effects
 of grace, and therefore though *S. Paul* say: *Gratia Dei, sum id, quod sum,*
& gratia eius in me vacua non fuit: by the grace of God, I am that, which I am, *1. Cor. 15.*
 and his grace, hath not bene vaine, or without effect in me, yet he addeth,
sed abundantius omnibus laboraui non ego autem, sed gratia Dei mecum, but
 I haue laboured more abundantly, then they all, not I truelie (alone) but the
 grace of God with me.

In like sort, the Christian contemplatiue, doth not neglect the
 knowledge of God by his creatures, and workes, but vseth the same in
 his contemplation, no lesse then the Philosophers did, and with farre
 greater fruit, then they: and therefore he saith, with the Royall pro-
 phet, *Meditatus sum in omnibus operibus tuis, & in factis manuum tuarum* *Psal. 141.*
 I haue meditated on all thy workes, and on those thinges, which
 thou hast done by thy handes

*S. Athanasius
in vita S.
Antonij.*

the handes haue wrought. And *S. Anthony*, the notable cōtemplatiue Hermit, being demaunded in the wildernes, what bookes he had for his instruction, shewed the heauens, and the whole world, saying, these are the bookes wherein I daileie cōtemplat, the infinit wisdome, power, and goodnes of almightie God.

15 Therefore, the difference in this point, betwixt the philosophers, & Christians, is, that whereas the philosophers, being guided onlie by the light of nature, had no other meānes to know God, but by his workes, and creatures (which kind of knowledge, as I haue declared before, is accompanied with manie doubtēs, and difficulties, and consequētie is vncertaine, and obscure) we Christians haue not onlie the same meānes, which they had, but also others, farre clearer, surer, more potent, and effectual, to wit, the light of gods grace, and the helpe of infused vertues, as of *faith, hope, and charity*, of the which, *faith*, being infused by almightie God, and therefore not possible subiect to falsitie, or error, serueth for a most solid, and sure foundation to all the building: and *hope*, proceeding from the sound, and sure ground of *faith*, raiseth, as I may say, the strong walls of our cōtemplation to the heauens, that is to say, to the speculation of heauenlie things, with a most comfortable confidence of Gods mercie: and lastlie *charity*, *diffusa in cordibus nostris*, per *spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis*, being diffused, and spread in our hart by the holly Ghost, which is giuen vs, doth consummat, and perfect the whole building, yning our soules with almightie God, as I will make manifest after a while.

Rom. 5.

16 Furthermore these vertues, and especiallie *faith*, doth not onlie fortifie, and assure in vs the knowledge of God, which we haue by his creatures, but also doth discouer vnto vs therein, diuers abstruse, and hidden secrets of his deuine nature, whereof the philosophers neuer had, nor could haue anie knowledge, or beleefe; as namelie of the high misterie of the blessed Trinitie, whereof we find a notable representation, in manie things, especiallie in the verie soule of man, wherein the *memory* vwill, and *understanding*, being three seuerall powers, and but one substance, are consequētie an expresse image of almightie God, who though he be three distinct persons (to wit the Father the Sonne, and the holly Ghost) yet is but one deuine substance, and essence.

*D. Ber. de
interiori. do-
mo c. 67.*

17 This *S. Bernard* explicateth notable in this manner. Consider, *saith* he, o soule, thy owne nobilitie, for as God is whole euerie where, geuing life to all things, mouing, & gouerning them, so thou art whole in euerie part of thy bodie, giuing life vnto it, mouing, and gouerning it, and as God is, liueth, and knoweth, so thou also after thy manner, art, liuest, and knowest.

knowe
the holi
memori
the holi
thy vnd
as the F
all thre
thy wil
but all
18 So
deitie, r
phical o
there v
gion; to
Sauious
substan
annihil
space o
tempt;
and pai
nocent
slaves, r
sinners
enique
coheir
dent ar
fable b
plenish
effectu
choose
proph
w heare
19 Fi
what
to God
firme
the on
comp
basen
with

knowest, and as in God there are three persons, the Father, the Sonne, & the holie ghost, so thou hast in thee three powers, thy vnderstanding, thy memorie, and thy will, and as the Sonne is begotten by the Father, and the holie Ghost, proceedeth from them both, so thy will is engendred of thy vnderstanding, and thy memorie proceedeth from them both; And as the Father is God, and the Sonne God, and the holie ghost God, and yet all three but one God, and three persons, so thy vnderstanding is thy soule, thy will is thy soule, and thy memorie thy soule, & yet not three soules, but all one soule, and three seuerall powers. Thus saith *S. Bernard.*

18 So that when we behould the cleare light, and shining funne of the deitie, not onlie through the obscure, and fallacious clouds of philosophical contemplation, but also in the true glasse of our faith, yea, and add there vnto the consideration of the other misteries of our Christian religion, to wit, of the incarnation, natiuitie, life, passion, and death of our Sauour *Iesus Christ* (as that he, being the Sonne of God, equall, and substantiall with his Father, *seipsum exinanauit*, did as it were emptie, and annihilat himselfe, take flesh of a virgin, and liue here on earth, for the space of three and thirtie yeares, enduring hunger, cold, pouertie, contempt, infinit iniuries, slanders, blasphemies, and finallie a most shameful, and painefull death vpon the crosse for our sakes, the innocent for the nocent, the iust for the vniust, the lord and master, for his seruants and slaues, that is to say, omnipotent God for most wretched, and vngrateful sinners, to the end he might redeeme vs being lost, and of his slaues, yea eniemies, make vs his friends, brethren, the adopted children of God, and coheires with him,) when I say we well waighe these so great, and euident arguments of his bountie, mercie, & loue towards vs, and the inestimable benefits, that grew to vs thereby, how can wee choose, but be replenished with exceeding comfort, and ioye, and feele in our selues, most effectually, and forcible motiues to pierie, and deuotion? How can we choose, but be inflamed with the feruent loue of God, and say with the prophet; *concaluit cor meum intra me, & in meditatione exardescit ignis; my heart was heated with me, and there burneth a fire in my meditation?*

Philip. 2.
Psal. 38.

19 Furthermore, this flame of diuine loue being kindled in our harts, what wonderful effects must it needs worke in vs, of praise, and thanks to God, of sorrow, and contrition for our sinnes, and of holie desires, and firme purposes of amendment? For when we shall consider Christ on the one side, and our selues on the other, who he is, and what we are, comparing his omnipotencie, with our infirmities, his maiestie, with our basenes, his all, as I may say, with our nothing, his bountie, and goodnes, with our malice, his loue to vs, with our ingratitude to him, the great-

nes, and worthines of his innumerable benefits, with the turpitude, enormity, and infinit number of our sinnes, his humility, with our pride, his pouertie, with our superfluitie, his meekenes, with our wrath, his patience, with our peruersitie, his fasts, with our surfeits, his teares, with our dissolute laughter, and finallie his painefull passion, with our sinfull pleasures, shall we not be confounded in our selues, and say with the royall prophet: *Sana me Domine, quoniam conturbata sunt ossa mea, & anima mea turbata est valde: Heale me o Lord, for my verie bones are troubled, and my soule is greatlie afflicted?* Shall we not labour, and trauel (as the same prophet saith) in our sorrow, and mourning, and wash our beds with teares: yea, and crucifie our flesh, and concupiscences with Christ, to the end we may die to sinne, and rise with him to life, and not onlie loathe our former ingratitude, but also shew our selues more thankfull, hereafter? shall we not then be ashamed, to appeare emptie handed in the sight of our Lord, and say with the prophet, *Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus que retribuit mihi, what shall I render to my Lord, for all that which he hath giuen me?* shall we not then take, *calicem salutaris, the cup of saluation, and call vpon the name of our Lord?* that is to say, shall we not offer to him the most holie, and dreadfull sacrifice of his most blessed bodie, and blood, instituted by himselve, in *memoriam mirabilium suorum, for a memorie of all his maruails*, or wondrous workes, for a remembrance, and representation of his passion, for the remission of our frequent offences, and for the dailie foode of our soules? whereby we may not onlie be most gratefull vnto him, but also most admirable vnited with him? For who can sufficientlie expresse, the admirable coniunction, and vnion, that we haue with God, by the participation of that blessed sacrifice, receiuing the ineffable sacrament of vinity (as *S. Hilary* calleth it) wherein vnder the formes of bread, and wine, we trulie eate the verie bodie of our Saviour Christ, and drinke his blood, wherevpon there groweth (as *S. Hilary* also amplie testifieth) a natural vnion betwixt Christ, and vs, we being (as *S. Cyril* also saith) *concorporei consanguinei eius*, made one bodie, and one blood with him, and not onlie our soules adorned, and filled with his grace, but also our bodies fedd with his flesh, and nourished to immortallitie.

20 Who then seeth not what pregnant, and potent meanes, the Christian contemplatiue hath to arriue, euen in this life, to that vnion with God, which is the end of contemplation, and the true felicitie of man? And this will yet further appeare, if we consider, both the most excellent doctrin, and also the exquisite practise of our contemplatiues, in the vse, and exercise of three waies, whereby the soule of man is raised, and ele-

Psal. 6.

Ibid.
Gal. 5.

Psal. 115.

Ibid.

Psal. 113.

Hilar. de
Trinit. l. 8.Idem ibid.
S. Cyril. lero-
sol. catheche.
mistagog. 4.
Irena. li. 4.
aduers. he-
res. ca. 34.

ented,
vnion
21 Th
from th
illustra
dispos
rue, v
loue,
accom
hearea
22 O
Some v
of the
seeing
this pl
conten
wealth
well v
being
follie
whic
Custia
to lay
make
mou
also
talt h
first l
23
I ho
rain
gues
and
ge,
I ha
par
reb
mi
nin

anted, as it were, by degrees, to perfect contemplation, and a most happy union with God.

11 The first way is called *Purgatiue*, by the which, the soule is purified from the filth of sinne. The second is called *Illuminatiue*, whereby it is illustrated, and enlightned with the light of truth, encrease of grace, and disposed to receiue all perfection of vertues. The third is tearmed *Vni- tiue*, whereby the soule is vnited, and ioyned with God, by feruorous loue, and affection, which three waies, are most aptlie applied and accommodated, to three sorts, and states of men, as shalbe declared heereafter.

12 Of all these three wayes, and the practise thereof, I thinke good somewhat to enlarge my selfe, in respect aswell of their excellencie, as of the fruit that I hope, the Reader may by the way reape thereby. For seeing that the subiect, whereon I speciallie treat, doth exact of me in this place, a full declaration of the nature, and dignitie of Christian contemplation (because the end, and happines of man, and common wealth consisteth therein:) and forasmuch as the same cannot be so well vnderstood otherwaise, as by the exercise, and practise of it (such beinge the nature of spirituall, and deuine thinges, that they cannot be fullie knowne, and conceiued, except they be first tasted, and tried, in which respect the psalmist, speaking of the sweetenes of God, saith, *Gustate, & videte, tast and see:*) for this cause, I say, I hold it conuenient, to lay downe some practise of our Christian contemplation, thereby to make thee (good Reader) the better to conceiue, what it is, and to moue thee with all, not onlie by reading it, the more to esteeme it, but also by practise, to make some triall of it, that so thou maiest come, to tast how sweete our Lord is, and reape the vnspeakeable fruit thereof, first here in this life, and after eternallie.

23 And I am the rather induced thereto, in respect of the benefitt, that I hope, may grow thereby, to such as doe not vnderstand Latine, and foraine languages. For although there are manie notable treatises, in all tongues, concerning the practise of contēplation, as will appeare heereafter, and diuers excellent bookes written by Catholikes in our owne language, touching meditation, and other matters tending to this exercise, yet I haue not seene, or heard, of anie in our tongue, that treateth of all the partes thereof, or giueth anie method for the practise of the whole, thereby the better to vnderstand it, & therefore not knowing whither to remit such, as are vnlearned, for their satisfaction in this behalfe, & imagining also, that the learned theselues (such I meane as vnderstand the latine

S. Bonanen-
tura in par-
uo bono.

Dionisius
Carthus li.
de via pur-
gatiua.

Effercitio
della vita
spirituale

P. Luz de
la Puente en
la introdu-
cion de la

oració men-
tal.

B. Ignatius
in Annota-
tionibus an-
notat. 10.

Psal. 33.

and other tongues, and yet haue no knowledge of this exercise) may rather desire to see somewhat of it presentlie, then to be deferred, and remitted to others (especiallie seeing, that with a few leaues, more, or lesse, I may hope to giue them some contentmēt therein, or at least more effectuallie moue them to search out other authors, for their further satisfaction) I haue therefore, I say, resolved to vndergoe this labour, hoping to performe it, with as great perspicuitie, and breuitie, as the difficultie, importance, and worthines, of the subiect may permit, meaning rather to giue thee (good Reader) some tast of this mysticall Theologie, then anie full instruction, which would require not onlie a larger discourse, then were conuenient for this time, and place; but also farre more knowledge, and practise of it, then I can iustlie challenge to my selfe.

24. Now then to come to the matter, Yt is to be cōsidered, that whereas I signified before, that the whole practise of contemplation, is deuided into three waies, to witt, *Purgatiue*, *Illuminatiue*, and *Vnitue*, and the same appropriated to three sorts of men, the *Purgatiue* (whereof I am first to treat) is speciallie applied to those, who hauing led a wicked life, or benne verie negligent in Gods seruice, are moued by his grace, to rise out of the fuds (as I may say) of their former sinnes, and to purge their soules from the filth thereof. And this way consisteth, in the due meditation of such thinges, as may moue them to a perfect knowledge, or contempt of themselves, to the feare of Gods iustice, and to the consideration of their owne ingratitude, towards his deuine maiestie, and of the lamentable sequell thereof, in respect of the punishment, both temporall, and eternall, iustlie due to them for the same; by which meanes they may be induced to hartie sorrow, and contrition for their sinnes, and so through the merits of our Sauours passion, obtaine remission thereof, and iustification, which is the end of the *Purgatiue* way.

Ecc. 18.

P. Bartholomaeo Ricci.
instruct. de
medit. par. 1.
c. 8.

a Chap. 19.
from the 4.
namb. to
the 31.

b Ite Chap.
20. from the
4. numb. to
be 25.

35 And now to come to the practise; The hollie Ghost aduiseeth vs, in *Ecclesiasticus*, alwaies before we pray to prepare, & dispose our soules conuenientlie thereto, lest other wise, wee be like to a man, which tempteth God, and therefore whereas there are manie thinges requisite, to the due disposition, and preparation of our selues (whereof I will treat amplie hereafter, when I shall come to speake of the *a* illuminatiue and *b* vnitiue way) I thinke it conuenient in this place to lay downe onlie one, which is, not onlie the immediate, but also the most necessarie preparatiue to all meditation; to wit, that those, which are to meditate (hauing chosen a fitt time & place of retrait, whereof I will also say some what hereafter) doe lift vp their hartes, and all the powers of their soules to almightie

God, &
the Roy
of my ha
reth the
that the
bow th
of their
ling (if
and so t
Lord, th
offering
particu
medita
whollie
merits
36 An
that is
euerie
him to
of his
merits
37 A
said Sa
he, be
chafse
diarou
and fo
his gr
38 I
ging
ther,
then
beeles
their
fanci
medi
ries
mak
perf
39

God, & with the eyes of a strong faith, behould him present, saying with the Royall prophet. *Meditatio cordis mei in conspectu tuo semper.* The meditation of my hart is alwaies in thy sight, assuring themselves, that he seeth, and heareth them, yea, and searcheth into euerie corner of their consciences, and that therefore they ought, as in the presence of his deuine maiestie, to bow the knees, not onlie of their hart (as the scripture speaketh) but also of their bodie, either prostrating themselves, vpon the ground, or kneeling (if they be not hindred, by some corporall weakenes, and infirmities) and so to adore him *in spirit, and truth*, acknowledging him to be their Lord, their God, their Creatour, and Father of infinit power, & maiestie, offering vnto him their soules, bodies, liues, and all other actions, and particularlie whatsoeuer they shall think, say, or pray in their present meditation, most humbly beseeching him to ordaine, & direct the same, whollie to his owne eternall glorie, and the profit of their soules, for the merits of our Sauour Iesus Christ.

¶ And this praier they may adresse, not onlie to the blessed Trinitie, that is to say, to the three deuine persons iointlie, but also particularly to euerie one of them, offering the same, first to God the Father, beseeching him to vnite, and incorporate, their praier and meditation, in the praier of his Sonne our Lord, and Sauour, and to accept it for his sake, and merits.

¶ And then they may turne their cogitation, to the Sonne of God (our said Sauour, and redeemer) crauing of him with all humility, that seeing he, being eternall God, equall, and consubstantiall, with the Father, vouchsafed, out of his infinit goodnes, to take our flesh, and become our Mediatour in his humanitie, it may please him, not onlie to pray with them, and for them to his Father, but also to heare, fauour, and assist them, with his grace, as their Lord, and God, for his owne merits, and mercie.

¶ Lastlie, they may direct their praier to the hollie Ghost, acknowledging him to be also their Lord God, equall, and coeternall with the Father, and the Sonne, the light of hartes, and giuer of all good giftes, and then confessing their owne ignorance, and infirmities, they may humbly beseech him to illuminate their vnderstanding, to moue, guide, and direct their will, to quicken, and refresh their memorie, to stay their wandring fancie, and to recollect their scattered thoughts, to the end, they may meditate, and pray with due attention, and reuerence, penetrate the misteries whereof they are to meditate, see, and duly bewaile their sinnes past, make hollie purposes, and resolutions of amendement, and afterwards performe the same, with his deuine helpe, and assistance.

¶ And here by the way it is to be noted, that they shall not neede to continue

Idem ibid.

ca. 11.

P. Ignatius
in exercitijs
bebdo. 4.

Psal. 15.

P. Ricci ubi
supra.2. Paral. ca.
vlt.

Ioan. 4.

P. Luyz. de la
Puente en la
introduçt. de
la orat. men-
tal.Idem au-
thores.

ibid.

Iohannes
Climac. de
orat. gradib.
28.

continue this preparatiue praier, anie longer then for the space of a *paternoster*, an *Aue*, and a *Credo* at the most, except they find some extraordinarie consolation, and sweetnes therein, in which case, it shall not be a misse to rest vppon it, turning the preparation into meditation, so long as the deuotion, and consolation continueth, according to the aduise of the ancient contemplatiue, *Iohannes Climacus*, who giueth this generall rule to be vsed, throughout all the course of mentall praier. *Cum in orationis verbo*, saith he, *vel dulcedine perfundi, vel compungi te sentias, in eo persiste, tunc quippe custos noster nobiscum orat*: whensoever thou feelest thy selfe, either moued with sweetenes, or with contrition, in anie word, or part of thy praier, persist in it, for then our keeper praierh with vs. Thus he.

40 This preparation being made, they may enter into a serious consideration of themselues, what man is, of what substance he was made, and what he hath of him selfe, as that he is the creature of God, consisting of soule, and bodie, both of them created of nothing (for though the bodie of our first father *Adam*, was framed of earth, and clay, yet the same was first made of nothing:) wherein is also to be considered, the infirmities, and weakenes, of a humane bodie, the loathsome filth, that floweth from it, the innumerable sicknesses, miseries, calamities, and death, whereto it is subiect, and that it endeth in a carreine stinking carcase, which putrefieth, and is finallie dissolued into dust.

41 The due, and frequent consideration whereof, may serue for a notable antidot, against the poison of pride, vaine glorie, and all worldlie vanities. Besides that, it is also further to be considered, that the soule of man, though it be created to the image of God, and is immortall, capable of the knowledge of him, and of eternall glorie, yea, and was in our first fathers, adorned with wisdom, and excellent gifts of grace, yet it is now so wounded, weakened, and corrupted, partlie by their fall, and partlie by euerie mans proper, and particuler sinnes, that it is vtterlie deformed, blinded, and replenished, with ignorance, & error, vntill it please God, to reforme, renew, and illuminat it, with the light of faith, and giftes of his grace: so that if we trulie distinguish, betwixt that which is Gods, & that which is our owne, we shall easelie see, that wee are nothing, and worse then nothing: for yealding to god, that which is his (to wit, not onlie the giftes of his grace, but also our wisdom, our knowledge, our substance of soule, and bodie, our beautie, our strenght, our breath, and life) there remaineth nothing to vs, but blindness, ignorance, error, infirmities, filth, miserie, death, and finallie nought els, but the nothing, whereof we are first made, nothing I say, except sinne, which is worse then nothing: all which being well waied, then may the meditators,

denat their mindes to almightie God; & yeld him all due praïse, honour, & glory, hübling theselues most profoundlie in his sight, acknowledging him to be all in all & the selues to be nothinge, to know nothing, and finally to deserue nothing of theselues, but cōfusión, shame, & eternall dānation; whereby they may lay in their soules, the fōdatiō of true humilitie, which is the roote of all vertue, & the groundeworke, whereon the true contēplation of God is to be built. For as *S. Bernard* saith, *nisi super humilitatis stabile fundamentum, spirituale adificium stare non potest. No spirituall building can stand, but vpon the stable, and sound foundation of humility.*

*D. Bernard.
supra cant.
serm. 36.*

41. This being dōne, they may passe further, & profoundlie pōder the end, for the which God created & ordained the (which was no other, but his seruice, & their eternall saluatiō) & then cōsider the worthines, & excellencie of this end, the obligation that mā hath to almightie God for the same, the extreame follie, & madnes of those, that neglect it, yea, & how lide care they themselues haue had thereof; as, that being created to the most excellent image of God, they haue deformed the selues by sinne, & made theselues images, & slaues of the diuell; how they haue to the great offence of God abused, not only al the powers of their soules, their senses, all the partes of their bodies, and all the creatures of God, but also God himselfe, contēning his iustice, presuming to offēd him, the rather for his mercy, & patiēce: distrusting his prouidēce, preferring their owne wills, before his will, reiecting his hollie inspiratiōs, disobeying his ministers, and his spouse the Church, breaking all his, and her commaundements, and finallie abusing most iniuriōuslie his deare Sonne, our Sauour *Iesus Christ*, recompenſing his vnſpeakeable desire, and care of their saluation, with extreame negligence, and contempt of his seruice, and with intolerable ingratitude towards him.

*Rom. 6. Cas.
sian. collat.
4. & 5.*

43. To all which, they may also add, the cōsideratiō of Gods rigorous, & iudgemēt, in punishing sinne, remēbring *S. Peters* admonitiō, and inferēce. *Si iustus vix saluabitur &c. If the iust man, shall hardly be sauēd, where shall the wicked man, and sinner appeare, and againe? Si Deus Angelis non pepercit &c. Ibid. ca. 2.* If God spared not the Angels, which transgressed his commaundements, but cast the downe to hell, to be eternally tormented, how can vniust & wicked men, expect to escape, the like iudgement? To which purpose, they may also consider, that *Lucifer*, and his fellowes, were condemned for one sinne of pride, cōmitted onlie in thought, whereas they haue cōmitted innumerable sinnes, as well in the same kind, as in all other, not in thought only, but also in woord, & deede, whereby it may appeare, what seuerity is due to the, yea, & the better to discouer, the horror of sinne, they may sett before their eies, our Sauour *Christ* crucified, in who they may behould the rigour of

K k

Gods

Gods iustice, in punishing their sinnes in him, being his owne Sonne, & thereby conceiue how greuous a penaltie they shall pay for the same themselves, if they doe not repent, and amend their liues in time.

44 And this being well pondered, then may they reflect vpon themselves, and their owne miserable state, considering the seuerer punishment due to them for their sinnes, which they haue multiplied (as the psalmist saith) *super capillos capiti*, more then the haire of their head, or as king, Manasse, said, *about the sandes in the sea*, whereby they may haue iust occasion, to admire the wonderfull patience of almightie God, and his infinit mercie towards them, in suffering them so long, especiallie seeing that there are an infinit number of soules in hell, which haue not committed so manie sinnes as they, and manie perhaps who were condemned for some one, or a few mortall sinnes, whereas theirs are innumerable.

45 Therefore, let them lift vp their hartes to almightie God, and with a most reuerent, and trembling feare of his iustice, humblye thanke him, for his ineffable mercie towards them, not onlie in sparing them so long, but also in giuing them grace, now to see, and consider their danger, and detestable ingratitude towards him, most humblye crauing pardon of him for the same, through the merits of our Sauour *Iesus Christ*, and purposing fullie to amēd their liues heareafter, with the assistance of his grace.

46 This prayer being ended, they may then proceede, with their meditation, and ponder maturelye their owne mortalitie, how certaine their death is, how vncertaine the hower, and place, and the manner thereof, how manie die suddainelye euerie day, some by water, some by fier, some by sword, or sicknes, and of those which die in their beddes, how few haue their senses, and remembrance to the last, how stronglie the diuell will tempt them at that time, how weakelie they are likelie to resist, when they shalbe miserablie distracted, and afflicted, partlie with bodily infirmitie, partlie with torment of conscience, and the temptation of the diuell, drawing them to dispaire, and partlie by the feare of gods iudgements, and the extreame greefe, that then they are like to haue, to leaue their wealth, substance, and worldlie pleasures.

47 Lastlie they are to consider, how litle all their strenght, beantie, friendes, riches, dignities, and delighes of the world, shall then auail them, their bodies being to become woormes meate, and their soules to yeald a straight accounte, for euerie idle word, euil thought, and negligence committed in this life, before a rigorous Iudge, who as the psalmist saith, *iustitias indicabit*, will iudge, and seuerelye examin, not onlie the bad workes of the wicked, but also the good workes of the iust, whether they had anie imperfection in them or no, and finding but anie one mortall

Psal. 39.
2. Reg. 17.

Psal. 74.

Sophon. 1.

sinne vnrepented in this life, will condemne them to eternall fire, and Math. 8.
paines of hell, *ubi erit fletus*, saith our Sauour, & *stridor dentium*, *ubi* Luc. 13.
there shall be, weeping, and wailling, and gnashing of teeth. And as Iob saith, Iob. 10.
Nolui ordo, sed sempiternus horror. No order, but sempiternall horror. Where the
newerding worrne of conscience bitech & gnaweth perpetuallie, where
saith s. Bernard, the tormentors are neuer wearie, and the tormented neuer die, s. Be. nar.
where the fire so consumeth, that withall it preserveth, where nothing is heard, but Mediat.
weeping & wailling, & gnashing of teeth, where nothing is seene, but the hideous ca. 3.
faces of the tormentors, to wit, ouglie, and monstrous diuells, where the sorrow, &
paine is intollerable, the feare horrible, the stinke abominable, and the death both of
soule and body sempiternall, without anie hope of pardon or mercy. Thus saith s.
Bernard, with much more to the same purpose, which I omit to auoide
prolixitie.

48 Who then is to desperatlie wicked, that shall well way, and ponder
all this, and will not bewaile his owne lamentable case, and wonder at
his owne follie, yea and say to himselfe; how hast thou benne so blind-
ed, and bewitched with sensualitie, and selfe-loue, to offend thy Lord
god so oft, and hainoullie, as thou hast donne, and thereby expose thy
selfe to the danger of such endles, and vnspokeable torments, being so
vncertaine as thou art, of the time, that thou maist be cast headlog there-
into, which may befall thee, and is by Gods iustice due to thee, yea &
happeth to one or other euery day, and houre? Ys it selfe-loue that hath
seduced thee? how canst thou be said to haue loued thy selfe, or to haue
had respect to thy owne good, when thou hast so greuouslie offended
the onlie authour, & geener of all good, and ventred thy owne eternal
saluation, for transitorie trifles, and vaine delites, yea for nothing?

49 Couldst thou commit greater follie, & madnes, then like Esau to
sell thy primogeniture, or inheritance, for a messe of portage, that is to Genes. 25.
say, heauen for earth, and euerlasting felicitie, for short, & friuolous plea-
sures, mixt with much infelicitie, and miserie? Where was thy wit, thy
iudgement, thy prouidence, & the care of thy selfe, which thou art wont
so carefullie to employ in euerie trifle, that neuer so litle cōcerneth thee;
whiles neuertheles thou hast been most careles, and negligent, or rather
senseles in that which most importeth thee? Could all the world if it
should conspire against thee, doe thee halfe so much harme, as thou hast
donne thy selfe, by making him thy enemy, from whose power, no
power can free thee, and who being thy Lord, & iust Iudge, will punish,
or reward thee eternallie?

50 Call therefore thy wits to thee, and consider what an extreame pre-
sumption it is for such a base, vile, and wretched woorme, as thou art,
to offend

to offend the infinit maiestie of God thy creatour, yea & to make warre vppon him with his owne weapons, that is to say, with the gifts that he geueth thee, wherein truelie thou maist wonder at his bountie, and pacience, in that he doth not denie thee the ordinarie concourse of his helpe, euen in those things wherein thou hast offended him, expecting still thy repentance, though how long he will doe it, thou art vncertaine, and therefore reflect vppon thy owne danger, and say vnto him, out of an humble, and sorrowfull hart.

51 Eternal god my creatour, behold me wretched sinner thy poore creature, prostrat at the feete of thy mercie, crauing pardon most humbly of thy diuine maiestie for my horrible ingratitude towards thee, in that being made by of nothing to thy owne image, and ordained to enioye thee eternallie, I haue made no account of thee, but preferred euery trifle before thee, and heaped sinne vppon sinne with extreame cōtempt of thy iustice, and abuse of thy mercie, longanimitie, and paciēce; Therefore how admirable hath thy clemencie benne towards me, in that thou hast forborne to powre downe thy vengeance vppon me, to strike me with suddaine death, and to cast me headlong to hell, as thou hast donne manie others, not so greuous sinners as I, whiles neuertheles thou hast spared me. But seeing it hath pleased thee, out of thy infinite goodnes, now to open my eies, and to discouer vnto me, both the horrour of my owne conscience, and the bottomles pit, whereinto I was reddie to fall, vouchsafe, I beseech thee, to consumat, & perfect thy owne good woork in me, geuing me an humble, & contrit hart, that my eies may be cōduits, & fountaines of water to bewaile my sinnes, that my teares may be my bread day, & night, that I may doe the worthy fruits of penāce, & (through the merits of thy deare Sonne my Sauour) yeeld some part of satisfaction to thy iustice in this life, whereby the ineuitable and dreadfull houre of my death, may serue me for a happie, & sure passage to those euerlasting, and incomprehensible ioyes, whereto thou hast out of thy infinit mercie ordained me.

52 Thus may they say, or some what els to the same purpose, either metallie, or vocally, whereby they may with the helpe of Gods grace excite, & stirre vp the selues to a confusio, & shame for their ingratitude, to the feare of Gods iustice, to cōtritiō, & sorrow of their sinnes, to an effectual desire, & purpose of amēdment, & to a true mortification of them selues, by doing the worthy fruits of penance, and vsing the meanes which our Sauour Christ hath left vs in his Church, for the reconciliation of sinners, that is to say, the holly sacraments, whereby the merits of his passiō may be applied vnto the for their iustification, which is the end of the purga-

Psal. 118.

Psal. 41.

Matth. 3.

Matth. 3.

time way: whereof also the speciall office is, to purge the soule, & dispose it to receiue the light of grace, & the infusion of Gods gifts, to rectifie the will, & cleanse it of inordinat desires, to purifie the vnderstanding of errors, the memorie of culpable negligence, and forgetfullnes, the appetit of passions, the senses of superfluities, and finallie the soule of all vicious customes, and habits, which neuertheles the purgatiue way cannot of it selfe fullie accomplish, and performe, without the helpe of the illuminatiue way, whereof I am now to treat.

of the Illuminatiue way, and the practise of it, with certaine obseruations for the remedy of distractions, and spirituall desolation or sterility of spirit, which may occurre in the exercise thereof. Also certaine meditations, to be practised by those, that desire to profit in the seruice of God, and in the way of vertue, and to arrive to the perfection of contemplation.

CHAP. 19.

1. **T**His way hath certaine degrees, according to the degrees of charitie, which as *S. Augustin* obserueth, hath her infancy, *D. Aug. trac. 5. super. 1. canon. Ioan. D. Tho. 2. 2. 9. 2. 4. ar. 9. Apoc. 22.* encrease, & perfection, whereof the two first are proper to the illuminatiue way, & the third to the vniue. The first, to wit, the infacy of charitie, beløgeth to those that are newly iustified, & desire to encrease, and augment their iustification, according to the saying of *S. Iohn, qui iustus est, iustificetur adhuc, he which is iust, let him be iustified yet*, to whom the masters of contemplatiue doctrin, applie the meditations of the misteries of the incarnation, natiuity, circumcision, presentation, and infacie of our Sauour Christ, drawing out of the same notable motives, & considerations, as well for the prosecution, and perfection of the purgatiue way (by the mortification of inordinat passions) as also for the beginninge of the illuminatiue way, by sowing in the soule, the seeds of all such vertues, as are most requisite for the state, and condition of euerie one, as I will shew more particularlie after a while.

2. The second state, or degree of charitie (to wit encrease, & growth of grace) is proper to those that haue already made a good beginninge, & doe proceede, and daile profit in the way of vertue, & mortification, tending a pace to perfectiō, to which kind of men, are applied for matter of meditation, the misteries of Christs life, as his baptisme, his going to the desert, his fasting, preaching, & miracles, his last supper, & lastly the particular points, & circumstances of his passiō, & death: the due consideration whereof, together with the former misteries of his incarnatiō, natiuity, and infancie, may worke in anie pious mind foure effects, necessarie for

P. Luyz dela Puente To. 1. 4. introduc. de la oracion mental.

Idem ibid.

euerie Christian man. The first, a perfect vnderstanding, & a high conceit of the inestimable worthines of our Sauours person. The second, the knowledge of our obligation, and dutie to him. The third (proceeding of the two former) a seruent affection, and loue to him, as well in respect of his infinit dignitie, and excellencie, as of his loue, and benefits to vs. The fourth, an earnest desire, and endeuour, to imitate his vertues, which euerie man is bound to doe, more or lesse, according to his vocation, and state.

3 But forasmuch, as it happeneth, not onlie to Nouices, or younge beginners, but also to the greatest contemplatiues, to feeble sometimes great ariditie, and desolation in their soules, and sometimes againe, to be molested with distractions, by the meanes of vaine phantasies, and cogitations, therefore I thinke good, before I proceede further, to giue some aduertisements to yonge beginners, concerning the causes of distraction, and desolation, and the remedies of both.

P. Bartholomeo Ricci
instruc. di
meditare
p. 3. c. 2.

4 *Distraction*, growing of wandring cogitations, and thoughts, which hinder our attention in meditation, proceedeth for the most part, either from our senses, drawne to their objects, or from our phantasie, framing chimeras, and building (as a man may say) castles in the aire, or from the passions of anger, enuie, loue, feare, or sorrow, and such like, mouing vs to thoughts conforme to their natures, and to some occasions ministered before: or els it proceedeth, from some serious busines, or perhaps from some earnest studie, wherewith we were latelie occupied: or lastly from the suggestion of the diuel, who serueth himselfe of all these meanes, and manie other to distract, and molest vs in our meditation, and praier.

Ioan. Casian. Collat.
10. ca 14.

5 The remedie against distraction, proceeding from our senses, and phantasie, is to vse preuention, which may be donne diuers waies. The first is, to accustom our selues ordinarielie, as well out of praier, as in praier, to restraine our senses, as much as may be, from their objects: for the lesse, that the soule scattereth it selfe abroad by the senses, the more it is recollected within it selfe, and able to performe the worke of contemplatio, whereof we haue a notable example in *S. Bernard*, who being a yeare in a cell, could not tell so much, as what kind of roofoe it had, neither yet whether there was more then one window in a Church, which had manie windowes, though he had gonne thither daile for a long time: besides that passing a whole day by the great lake of *Losanna*, either he saw it not at all, or els tooke so litle heede of it, that at night he remembered it not, so obseruant, and heedefull was he in the vse of his senses, that he applied them to nothing, but to what necessitie required,

P. Bartholomeo Ricci.
instruc. di
meditare.

Combattimento spirituale.

moving himselfe alwaies with in himselfe, whereby he easelie, and speedie became a most perfect contemplatiue.

6. And the like is written of a holie man in our daies, called *F. Pedro de Alcantara* a Spaniard, of the holie order of *S. Francis*. This Father was three yeares in a couent, and knew none of his brethren by sight, for that he neuer lifted vp his eies, and when he was to goe anie whither abroad with the rest, he neuer looked vp but followed them, and in manie yeares he neuer beheld anie woman, by which meanes he arriued to admirable perfection of contemplation, and sanctitie of life, whereof I shall haue occasion to speake more hereafter.

But because this kind of remedie cannot be practised, either by secular men, or such religious as embrace the mixt life, which is both contemplatiue, and actiue (as was the life of our Sauour, and his Apostles, and is of the greatest perfection, as I will declare more amplie hereafter) therefore to such, I say, that they must seeke to preuent the distractions in praier, which proceede of the fantasie, and senses (not so much by flight, or auoiding all occasions, which in their course of life is not possible) as by the way of combat, and victorie, vsing preuention in the practise of two things.

7 The one is, that they vse to draw spiritual lessons, and documents, out of all that which representeth it selfe to their senses and phantasie, obseruing therein, either the power, or the wisdom, bountie, mercie iustice, or iudgements of God, according to the nature, or qualitie of the things, or matter represented vnto them; and further to seeke to glorifie God in all his creatures, and by all mens actions, be they good, or bad, taking occasion by all things that occurre to their senses, or imagination, to praise God, to thanke him, for his gifts, or to craue his grace; as for example, when they perceiue their senses to be ouermuch fixed vpon anie creature, let them seeke presentlie, to penetrate the same with the inward eye of their faith, & to see in it almightie God, who created, and conserueth it, and say vnto him (at least in their soule) Thou o Lord, art in all thy creatures more present, then they are to them selues, and yet vngratefull, and carelesse wretch, doe not thinke vpon thee, doe not loue thee, nor honour thee, as I should.

8 And when they nore in an other man, either power, or wisdom, iustice, bountie, or anie other perfection, let them lift vp their mind to God, and say in their soules, behold the riuers that flow from the increased fountaine, and from the bottomlesse sea of the deuine perfections, and then considering, how incomprehensible the same are in his deuine essence, let them stirre vpp themselves to reioyce, and ioy therein, yea

more,

*M. Teresa
nella vita
sua ca. 27.*

Combattimento Spirituale.

Ibid. ca. 13.

more, then if they were their owne. And if they find themselves at anie time to be ouer much drawne, and delighted with the beautie of anie creature, let them passe presentlie to the consideratiō of the deuine beautie, and say, when shall I, o Lord, place all my delight in thee, and see the incomprehensible beautie of thy glorious face?

9 Also they may in other manner, repress the excesse of anie vaine delight, that shall offer it selfe vnto them in anie creature, if they consider, that the infernall serpēt lieth hid vnder the same delight, readie to sting, and strike them to death, and therefore they may say. O curst serpent, how craftilie liest thou lurking in Gods creatures to kill me? And then raising their mind to god they may say vnto him: Blessed art thou my Lord, that hast discovered vnto me the deceit of my enemy, who might otherwise haue ouerthrowne me.

10 Moreouer, in the varietie of all humane accidents, that may happen vnto them, or to anie other, they are to consider the eternal prouidence of God, thereby to moue themselves, to take cōsolation in that his holly will is fulfilled, and the effects of his infinit wisdome, bountie, iudgements, and iustice shewed therein, be it in sicknes, health, heate, cold, good, or ill successe of busines, or what soeuer happeneth to men in this life.

11 Finallie, whensoever they shall haue, either these, or anie other good thoughts, they ought to acknowledge the same, as a speciall grace, and fauour of his deuine maiestie, and most humbly to adore him in their soule, and thanke him for it. For if the custome, and practise of these aduises, grow once to an habit, it will follow, that whatsoeuer occurreth to the senses, or is suggested by the diuell to the phantasie in time of praier, it shall at least minister matter, and occasion of good, and meritorious thoughts to his confusion.

12 The other meanes to preuent distraction, is, that when their phantasie is not occupied with some necessarie busines, they vse to frame to themselves imaginations, either of our Sauours person, life, and passion, or of his glorie in heauen, and other heauenlie things, to the end, that such cogitatiōs, being by custome become vsuall, and familiar with the, may not onlie alwaies easelie occurre, but also exclude idle thoughts, and vaine imaginations, and stirre the soule to deuotion, and to the loue of God: for he that vseth to feede his fancie with toies, and vaine cōceits, shall not be rid of them when he would, & therefore to be free of them in time of meditation, we must not admit them at other times: as he that will not be bitten, and troubled with gnats in the night, must keepe his windowes shut in the day, for when they are once entred, it is to late to

expell them, in which respect *Cassianus* aduiseeth vs, to be such out of the time of praier, as we would be in praier.

13 The like preuention is also to be vsed against the distractions that rise by the passions of the mind, to wit alwaile to combat with them, & to labour to resist, & repress them, accustoming our selues, when they molest vs, to ruminat, & meditat seriously vpon the houre of death, the seuer and terrible iudgements of God, and the horreur of hell, and eternal damnation; whereto I will add two notable, and necessarie remedies.

14 The one, to accustom our selues, as soone as wee feeble their verie first motions, to lift vp our harts to God, & to say with the psalmist, either vocallie, or mentallie; *Miserere mei Domine quoniam infirmus sum; haue mercy vpon me* o Lord for I am vweake: or, *Adiutor & liberator meus es tu Domine, ne morieris: thou art my helper, and deliuerer, O Lord, doe not stay, or make delay: and if the assaults continue, or be violent, then to say: Domine, vim patior, responde pro me: O Lord, I suffer violence, answere thou for me: or, Saluum me fac Deus, quoniam intrauerunt aque vsque ad animam meam: Saue me, o Lord, for the waters haue entred euen into my soule, or such like.*

15 The other remedy is, by way of preuention: first, most earnestly to craue of almightie God euerie day in our mornings meditatiōs, his grace, & assistance against those passions, whereto we are most subiect: secondly to stand, as it were, vpon our gard, & to keepe watch vpon our selues all the day, that we be not ouertaken with them: Thirdlie if by frailtie we fall into them, to doe some kind of penāce, either presentlie (if it may be done with out note,) or els as soone after, as may be, as for exāple, to saie some verse of a psalme, or short praier, or to giue some almes: or if the fall be greater then ordinarie, to depriue our selues of some part of our dinner, or supper, or of the whole, and neuer to dispenche with our selues in this custome; which will make vs euerie day be more warie then other, and almightie God seeing our good desire, and endeavour, will, vndoubtedlie, help vs with his grace.

16 And it shall not be amisse to vse this exercise, principallie against some one passion, for 10. or 15. daies together, and then to passe to another, for as manie daies more, and after to an other, and so to returne againe to the first: as, to combat in this manner against pride, and vaine glorie, for 10. or 15. daies, and then against enuie, for as manie, and in like māner against euerie imperfection: which practise, no doubt, will in short time aduance vs to greate perfectiō, especially, if we seeke not onlie to roote out these vices, but also to plant in our soules the contrary vertues: as for example, when we combat against the vice of pride,

Cassianus
colloq. 10.

ca. 13.
P. Ricci in-
structione di
meditare
p. 3. ca. 3.

Psal. 6.
Psal. 69.
Esay. 38.
Psal. 68.

P. Pinelli
nella breue
istruzione
al lettore nel
principio
della medita-
tione sopra
li sette pec-
cati &c.

idem ibid.

not onlie to craue in our praiers the vertue of humilitie, but also to determine with our selues, to doe euerie day during those 10. or 15. daies, some acts of that vertue, and euerie euening to examin our selues, whether we haue donne them, or no; and if we haue, then to thanke God for it, but if we haue not, then to doe some penance, (as is a foresaid) especially if we haue wilfullie omitted, and neglected to doe it; when some good occasion hath benne offered: and for conclusion of this practise, I would thinke it conuenient also, to receiue the blessed sacrament once within 10. or 15. daies, of purpose to demaund Gods grace, and assistance for the exclusion of the vice, and the infusion of the vertue: And I doubt not but whosoever shall duly practise this, he shall within a while, with Gods helpe, free himselfe from the tirannie of his passions, & peruers affections, not onlie in the time of meditation & praier, but also in all other occasions, with vnspcakable contentment, and peace of soule. Thus much concerning the distractions that grow of our passions in meditation.

17 In like maner, the distractions that rise by the occasion of worldlie busines, may be in great part preuented, and remedied, by the obseruation of these points following, to wit, that we neuer vndertake anie busines, but that it may be some way for Gods glorie, that we referr all our endeouours, and negotiations thereto, calling the same to mind oft times, or rather continuallie (as much as our frailtie may permit) that we neuer suffer the affection, or loue of anie worldlie affaire, so to possesse our soule, that we doe not principallie affect and attend to our cheefe busines, which is the seruice of God, and our owne saluation; and that therefore we accustome our selues, amidst all our negotiations, to eleuar, and lift our mindes often to almightie God, with manie holie aspirations, & iaculatorie praiers, praises, and thanks to him, crauing his grace, and assistance as occasion shall require; and finallie that we accustome our selues, to consider in all our temporal negotiations, how vaine, fraile, and casual, are all the affaires of mortall men, & all other worldlie thinges, whereby we may be moued in all occasiōs, to contemne the world, and all the vanities thereof; where vpon two speciall commodities will follow, the one, that God will giue the better successe to our busines, and the other, that the loue of temporall affaires, shall neuer take such roote in our soules, but that the loue of God shall euer predominat, and easilie expell it, especially in time of recollection, and praier.

18 And such wilbe the fruit of this exercise, that whosoever doth duly practise it, he shall not onlie meditate, and pray, but also conuerse with men in all kind of affaires, without much distraction, and shalbe, as it

were, retired, and alone, euen amongst milliōs of men, as *S. Bernard* signi- *S. Bernard*
 fiesh notable, saying. *O sancta anima sola esto &c.* *O holy soule be alone &c.* *sepe* *super cant.*
 thy selfe from companie, I meane, not in body, but in soule, in intention, in deu- *ser. 40.*
 otion, in spirit &c. thou art alone, if thou doest not occupie thy mind with ordinary co-
 grations; if thou doest not set thy affection vpon present, and worldly things, if thou
 desirest that which most men admire, if thou dost loath that which all men desire
 &c. For other wise thou art not alone, though thou be neuer so solitarie, so that thou
 seest both how thou maist be alone amongst many, and amongst manie when thou
 art alone. Thus saith *S. Bernard*. And the verie like saith *S. Gregory*, conclu- *S. Greg.*
 ding, that the highest perfection of mental solitud, that is to say of contem- *Moral. li. 30.*
 plation is to be attributed to those that liue in conuersation, meaning those that
 leade the mixt life (partlie contemplatiue, and partlie actiue) and yet
 haue true solitud and recollection of mind in action and negotiation,

19 An other meanes to preuent distractions, growing by busines, is,
 that we passe not immediatlie from anie serious negotiation, or earnest
 studie to mental praier, but to interpose some time betwixt the one, and
 the other, and to dispose, or prepare our minds to meditation, either by
 some vocal praier with conuenient attention, or by reading some spiri-
 tuall booke, for reading concurring with meditation, and praier, is the
 most speciall meanes to attaine to perfect contemplation, as a certain
 contemplatiue father witnesseth, saying, that reading doth minister, as it
 were, meate to our mouthes, meditation doth ruminat, and chew it, praier obtai- *Scala parad.*
 neth the tast of it, and contemplation is the sweetenes it selfe, which recreateth, & *inter opera*
 delighteth, and this (saith he) our Sauour may seeme to haue insinuated *Aug. To. 9.*
 in these wordes, *querite, & inuenietis, pulsate & aperietur vobis*, that is to
 say, seeke by reading, and you shall find, by meditation, knock, by praier, and it
 shall be opened vnto you, by contemplation. Thus he.

20 But forasmuch as there are some, who for want either of health or
 of natural habilitie, and capacitie cannot discourse with the vnderstand-
 ing, and meditate, or vse mental praier, I think good to aduertise them
 by the way, that they doe not discomfourt themselues therewith,
 as though they were excluded thereby from the effect, & fruit of contem-
 plation, for almightie God who expecteth not, or desireth more of vs
 then we haue habilitie to performe, is wont out of his infinit bountie, to
 supplie the natural defects of such as doe their best endeouour, and aduan-
 ce them manie times to a heigher degree of contemplation in a short
 time, then men of greater talent in manie yeares.

Therefore such as cannot meditate or pray mentallie, may content
 themselues with the serious reading of some devout prayers, or spiritual
 matters, with due ponderation of the sence, & frequent eleuatōs of their
 mind

Scala parad.
inter opera
Aug. To. 9.

Matth. 7.

Padre Luis
de la Puente
introduction
a la orat.
mental. §10.

P. Ribera
nella vita
di. M. Tere-
sa. l. 4. c. 8.
Camino de
perfection.

mind to god, as the matter may minister occasion vnto them, and if they cannot read, they may vse onlie their vocal praiſer, with greater attentio, and desire of deuotion: for, this being accompanied with continual diligence, and endeouour to mortifie their passions, & affections, (which in this exercise most importeth) may suffice to raise them to the perfection of contemplation, and vnion with God, whereof the experience hath bene seene in such, as could neuer in their liues, say other praiſer then their *Pater noster*.

Ibid.

Thren. 3.
O Jes 2.

22 Furthermore it is a special helpe against all kind of distractions, to retire our selues in time of praiſer to some solitarie place, for as the prophet witnesseth, *Sedebis solitarius* &c. the solitary man shall sit, & hold his peace, because he will raise, or eleuate him selfe above him selfe, and the Prophet says, *ducam eam in solitudinem*, & *ibi loquar ad cor eius*, I will lead her, (that is to say a contemplatiue soule) into the desert, and there I will speake to her hart. And this our Sauour Christ both aduised, and practised, who,

Matth. 6.

Luc. 6.

Matth. 26.
Luc. 22.

not onlie counſelled vs to enter into our chamber, and to shut the doore when we pray, but also vsed to retire him selfe oft vnto the mountaine, where he passed whole nights in praiſer, & though, a litle before his passion, when he went into the garden, he tooke with him three of his disciples, yet he withdrew himselfe from them, (saith the scripture) *a Stones cast*, to the end he might pray alone, & this he did onlie for our example, being himselfe alwaies so recollected within him selfe, that no companie, or occasion could distract him from the highest, & most perfect contemplation.

23 It is also a soueraine remedie against distractions to frame in our imaginations the forme, and manner of the actions persons, and places whereof we are to meditate, which being well printed in our minds at the first, and after renewed, as occasion is offered, doth helpe greatly to entertaine, and stay the phantasie from wandering to other matters. Therefore B. Ignatius (founder of the holie societie of Iesus, and an exact maister of contemplation), was wont before he went to meditation, steadfastlie to behold some Image or picture, representing some such misterie of our Sauours life, or passion, as he meant to make the subiect of his meditation, to the end that it might rest the better settled, & engrauen in his phantasie. And this being well practised in our mornings meditations, will serue for a notable entertainment of our soule, and an excellent remedie against distractions in our praiſers all the day after, especially if we seeke now & then to renew the imagination thereof, whereby we shall also easilie remember all the good purposes which we made therein, and be the more redde to execute them, as occasion shall be offered.

P. Bartolom.
Ricci in vita
Christi ex
euang. pra-
fat ad lecto.

24 Also it importeth greatly for the auoiding of distractions, that the matter of our meditation be well disposed, ordered, and deuised into

points, which being committed to memorie, afford sufficient matter of discourse to the vnderstanding, and motiues to the will to exercise her acts of deuotion, and loue to God: For although we are not so to tie our selues to anie certaine matter, or method in meditation, that we may not take hold of anie other that shall be ministred vnto vs in time of praier by inspiratiō of almightie god, (whose impulse, & motiō, as it is the special cause of this holie woorke, so ought it principallie to be regarded therein) neuertheles such is the ordinary course of his deuine prouidēce, that he then cōcurreth most with our actions, when we vse the greatest diligence on our part, & therefore it cōmonly fallerh out that our meditation is so much the more currēt, & fruitfull vnto vs, by how much better it is disposed, & prepared before hād, wherby our mind may be the more easily staid, & freed frō distractions, which we can hardly auoid, when for lack of sufficient preparation, we are forced to seeke matter whiles we meditat, by wandring, & leaping from one thing to an other, which is of it selfe a distraction, and therefore ought to be preuented.

25 Finally it specially importeth against all kind of distractiōs, most humbly, & seriously to implore the assistāce of the holy Ghost, & to craue the illuminatiō of the holy angel, our keeper, & gardiā, & the prayers of the blessed virgin Mary, & of all the blessed saints, not only in the beginning of our meditation, and mental praier, but also through out the whole course thereof, as oft as we find our selues much molested; & if neuertheles the molestation of the distractions doth still cōrinue, it is to be borne with patience, & acknowledged, as a iust punishment for our sinnes, and former negligences, with such other considerations, as I will presently signifie for the remedies of desolation, whereof I am now to treat.

26 Desolation comprehendeth all kind of spiritual sterilitie, ariditie, or drinnes of soule, & obscuritie of vnderstanding, besides manie violent temptations which manie times concurre.

27 And this happeneth, now & then euen to the greatest cōtēplatiues, & dearest seruāts of God, as the royal prophet signified of himselfe, saying, *Cor meū conturbatū est &c. my hart is troubled, my vertue, or force hath abandoned me, & the very light of my eies is not with me,* & againe he cōplaineth that his enemy persecuted his soule, that he was placed in obscurity, & darknes, *sicut mortui seculi, like the dead mē of the world, that his spirit was full of anxiety,* & that his soule was *sicut terra sine aqua, like earth without water,* that is to say sterill, & dry, needing, & expecting some influēce, or inundation of Gods grace. Thus lamented the royal prophet his owne desolation, & the like hath occurred to the holiest mē in all ages, as to omit other examples, we read of saint Francis, that he had greate desolation, and ariditie of soule for two yeres and a halfe.

P. Luyz de la Puente meditat. de los misterios Eccl. ca. 3. To. 1.

P. Ricci instructions di meditare, p. 3. c. 5.

B. Ignat. exercit. Reg. ad motus Eccl. reg. 4.

Psal. 54. Psal. 142.

Psal. 142.

F. Bartholo. da Salustio nel paradiso de contēplaw.

28 Of these desolations, diuers causes may be giuen, for some times they may proceede in great part of some indisposition, and infirmie of the bodie, loaden, and oppress with melancholie, or perhaps with other humors, where vpon the deuill taketh the aduantage to tempt, & afflict vs, which the meditatour ought curiously to search, and examine in himselfe, for in that case, it were not good for him to strue to much with his owne weakenes, least perhaps he may oppresse nature, but rather to leaue his meditation for that time, and to take some other exercise of vocal praier, or reading some spiritual booke with great attention, pausing vpon such passages, and places as he findeth to moue, and stirre him most to deuotion.

29 Secondlie, desolation may grow of Gods iustice, punishing vs either for some negligence in his seruice, or for some ingratitude in refusing his holie inspirations, or for some inordinat delight in earthly things, or for some vaine glorie, and spiritual pride, or perhaps to preuent our fall into these, or some other sinne, where vpon s. Bernard saith: *Superbia inuenta est in me &c.* pride hath bene found, or discovered in me, and there vpon hath groovne my sterility of soule, my want of deuotion, my lacke of compunction and reares, in so much, that I haue neither delectation or tast in reading, nor in praier, nor in my wonted meditations, no inebriation of spirit, no serenity of mind, no joy or peace in the holy Ghost. Thus saith he. And a litle after he addeth, that although our conscience doe not accuse vs of pride, or vaine glorie spirituall, yet we may well feare, that God either findeth it in vs, and of his iustice correcteth it, or els foreseeeth, that we would shortlie fall into it, and of his mercie preuenteth it, by shewing vs our owne infirmities.

30 Thirdlie almightie God, not onlie prooueth his best beloued seruants, but also purgeth, and as it were refineth them by this fire of spiritual tribulation, to their farre greater merit, and encrease of their vertues, by the exercise of their humilitie, patience, faith, hope, and charities for in their desolation they serue him onlie for pure loue, without their wonted pay, and reward of present consolations, with no lesse confidence of his loue and mercie towards them, then when they receiued the greatest fauours, which now they euidentlie see proceedeth of his meere bountie, and liberalitie, and not of anie merit in them, yea and fearing least for some offence, or negligence on their part, god may vicerly abandon them, they redouble their resignation, penance, & mortification, to the exceeding benefit of their soules, and therefore it commonlie falleth out, that after the greatest desolations, God giueth them the greatest comforts, and illustrations, according to the laying of the royall prophet.

Secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum &c. According to the multitude of my

s. Bernar.
ser. 54. in
captiua.

Psalm. 37.

Forerover thy consolations. O Lord, haue giuen ioy to my soule.

Thus I say, it fareth now, and then, with the greatest cōtemplatiues, and most faithfull seruants of God. But it falleth our manie times much otherwise with others, for some serue God with great seruour, so long as they feelee sweetenes, and sensible deuotion in their praier, yea, and conceiue otherwhiles that they are already growne to a great perfection of hollines, in so much, that they expect reuelations, or some miraculous operations in them selues, or to be donne by their meanes, and when afterwards they fall into some desolation, and find themselves depriued of all sensible comfort, they are vtterlie dismaied there with, & become so impatient, that they leaue their wonted exercise of praier, and meditation, & within a while doe vtterlie loose their spirit, shewing thereby that they serued not God for him selfe, but for his giftes, and sought not him, but them selues, and their owne delight, and finallie that they are those, who (as our Sauour said) *doe take no roote in his seruice, but beleene for a* Luc. 8. *time, and in time of temptation forsake him.*

Therefore, I will for the remedie hereof, sett downe some points to be considered and practised by yong beginners, in time of spiritual desolation, whereby they may receiue some comfort, and the better continue their exercise of meditation, vntill it please God to restore them to their former serenity.

First they are to consider, that the perfection of contemplation doth not consist in sensible deuotion, and spiritual sweetenes, or delectation (which is manie times rather a natural, then a spiritual affection) but in a strong faith, profound humilitie, true resignation of will, to the will of God, contempt of the world, pure, and seruient loue of God, and a desire to suffer for him, and further more that it pleaseth him sometimes, to withhold all spiritual comfort from his seruants, and as it were to hide himselfe from them, euen within themselves for a time, to appeare more glorious vnto them afterwards, to their farr greater comfort, as to omit manie other examples, it appeared in *S. Katherin of Siena*, when once, in time of great desolatiō, she was exceedinglie tempted and afflicted with impure, and filthie thoughts: for afterwards when our Sauour appeared vnto her, and comforted her, and shee complained ynto him of the great affliction which shee had endured, yea, and asked him, where he was during her conflict, he answered, that he was in her hart: how could it be, quoth shee, that thou wast in my hart, whiles it was so full of filthie thoughts? But didst thou, said he, consent vnto them? And when shee answered, no, then said he, thereby thou maiest vnderstand, that I was there, for otherwise thou couldest not haue resisted. The like also passed,

M. Teresa nella vita sua. c. ii. Blosius ubi supra, & in institut. spir. c. 7.

P. Ribade-neira en la vida de S. Katerina.

*S. Athanasius in vita
S. Antonij.*

passed with *S. Anthony*, and other holie men, whom God exercised, and proued in that manner, seeming to leaue them to them selues for a time, though neuertheles, he did not abandon them, but gaue them sufficient grace to resist the temptations of the enemie, to their great encrease of merit.

*Lodouic.
Blossus.*

34 But how soeuer god suffereth this in his best beloued seruants, and men of the highest contemplation, onlie for their probatiō, yet younge beginners shall doe well to perswade themselues (as with great reason they may) that their desolation, is a iust punishment for their sinnes, and therefore let them take occasiō thereby, to enter into a deepe, & serious examination of themselues, by what sinne, negligence, or ingratitude, they haue deserued it, and finding the cause thereof, let them labour by contrition, penance, and mortification, to satisfie the iustice of God, and to amend what they haue done amisse; and though their conscience accuse them of nothing, yet as *S. Bernard* aduiseeth, let them feare the rigour of Gods secrete iudgement, and rather impute it, to some hidden fault of theirs, then thinke that God onlie prooueth them thereby for their greater merit, let them I say, humble themselues most profoundlie in the sight of God, acknowledging with the royall prophet, that they are nothing els, but *vanity*, and as *Iob* saith, *folium quod vento rapitur*, a leafe caried away with euerie wind, of vaine cogitations, *Stipula sicca*, a dry straw, and as the Apostle teacheth, *not able to thinke a good thought of them selues, as of themselues, but that all their sufficiency is of God.*

*S. Bernard.
ser. 54. super
Cantica.*

*Psal. 38.
Iob. 13.
Ibid.
2 Cor. 3.*

35 Furthermore, they may also consider that they ought to hould it for sufficient honour, and a special fauour for them, to be but *abjects* in the house of God, and admitted into his familie, though it be but to digg, and delue in his garden, all the daies of their liues, rather for loue, then reward, for dutie, and not for interest: and therefore let them say with the prodigal child, *Fac me quasi unum, ex mercenarijs tuis*, &c. make me, o Lord, one of thy *uoorke* men, or hyrelings, for I am not *uworthie* to be called thy child: and let them offer themselues as his creatures, to serue him in what sort, or condition soeuer it shall please him, though it be to no other end, che to beare his burthens like a packe horse, saying with the psalmist, *umentum factus sum apud te, & ego semper tecum*, I am become thy packhorse, a bearing beast, and will alwaies be with thee, to beare thy burdens, and carry thy crosse after thee, let them I say, offer themselues to serue him, with what disgust, paine, or penaltie soeuer, so that it may please him to graunt them perseverance.

*Psal. 83.
P. Ribera
nella vita
di M. Teresa
li. 4. c. 8.
Luc. 15.*

36 Moreouer, they may call to mind how manie suters in princes court, are not admitted to the speech of some meane officer, and after many

Psal. 72.

and some yeares trauaile, loose all their labour, and expectation, whereas they on the other side, haue free access to the king of kinges, and Lord of lords, being sure to be heard without scorne, or contempt, and not to be affronted, or wronged by officers, and seruants, or excluded by porters, or pages, but fauoured, and furthered by holie angels, and saints, and all the celestiaall court (whose aide and assistance, they may therefore boldlie craue) assuring themselves, that though it seemeth to them, that they are neglected, and contemned, yet they are but onlie delayed for their greater good, and better dispatch in the end, if they haue patience and perseuerance. Therefore let them take the wordes of the psalmist, as spoken to them selues. *Expecta Dominum, viriliter age, confortetur* Psal. 16. *et sustine Dominum. Expect thy lords leaseure, play the man, and be of courage, comfort thy hart, and beare, or sustaine thy Lord.* Let them say to their owne soules. *Quare tristis es anima mea &c. Why art thou sad my soule, why dost thou trouble me? hope in God, for I will still cōfesse him.* And with Iob; *Etiamsi occideris sperabo in eum. Though he kill me, I will hope in him.* Iob. 13.

And if they haue had anie speciall fauours, and spiritual consolations from almightie God in former times, let them now remember it in their desolation, and say with Iob. *Si bona de manu Domini suscepimus, &c.* Iob. 2. *If we haue receiued good things from the hand of God, why shall not we also, be content to receive euill? Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit &c.* Our Lord gaue them, our Lord hath taken them away, the name of our Lord be blessed. Yea, and considering Gods infinit mercy, and that it is he, *qui mortificat, & uiuificat, who mortifieth, and reuiueth,* let them comfort them selues with hope of faire weather after this storme, saying also with Iob. *Rursum post tenebras speraui lucem. After this darkenes, of desolation, I hope againe to see the light of consolation.* 1. Reg. 7. Iob. 17.

Furthermore one speciall remedie against desolation is, to be furnished not onlie with these considerations before mentioned, but also with diuers examples and places of the holie scripture, whereof the remembrance and meditation may at that time yeld them comfort, and help to reduce them to recollection; as for example. They may remember the desolation of the blessed virgin Mary, & s. Ioseph, when they had lost our Saviour, and went vp and doune seeking him amongst their friends, do-
Inc. 2.
 where, saith the scripture, being full of sorrow 3 daies together, vntil they found him at length in the temple; And with this cōsideration they may seeke to moue them selues to a louing and deuout compassion of their sorrow and affliction, and to accompanie them therein, recommending also their owne affliction to them, & beseeching our sweet Saviour, for the merits of his blessed mother & holie s. Ioseph, to giue them grace to

seeke him with such sorrow, diligence and deuotion, that they may find him in the temple of their owne soule.

39 Let them remember how the blessed Apostles, being in a ship at sea, when our Sauour was absent from them, were tossed with winds, and waues, the greatest part of the night, vntil at length he came to them, walking vppon the water, and appeased the storme, and comforted them with his heauenlie voice, saying, *Ego sum: nolite timere. It is I, be not afraid.* Let them I say, humbly beseech him, to behold their trauaile, and danger, in this his absence from them, and to giue them the grace of perseuerance, and strength, to continue their labour, vntil it may please him, to returne vnto them, and with the comfort of his blessed presence, and assistance to appease the storme that tosseth, and tormenteth them.

40 Let them call to mind the woman of Cananea, who still perseuered crying after our Lord, though as the Scripture saith, *he answered her not at all*, and when at the suite of his Apostles, he spoke at last vnto her, and gaue hard language (comparing her to a dogge) saying, *that it was not fit to giue the bread of children to dogges*, shee had neuertheles such confidence in his mercie, that she laid her selfe prostrat at his feete, crauing but the crumes that fell from his table, by which humilitie, and perseuerance, shee obtained her suite.

Let them therefore in like sort crie out after him, and say with her, *Miserere mei Domine, fili David &c. O Lord, the sonne of Dauid, haue mercy vppon me, for my daughter, that is to say my soule, is terrible vexed: and acknowledging themselues to be no better then dogges in his sight, let them craue but some few crumes of his heauenlie comfort, onlie to enable them, to beare their burthen, so long as it shall please him to ordeine.*

41 Let them also consider our Sauours conflict in the garden, when he sweate water and blood, and recommend vnto him their affliction, in the vnion, and merits of his agonie, crauing of him, that as he, hauing then neede of consolation in his humanitie, was comforted from heauen by an angel, so also it may please him to graunt them comfort in their distresse, saying neuerthelesse with him, *Non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu vis, fiat voluntas tua. Let not as I will, O Lord, but as thou wilt, thy wilt donne.*

42 Let them also remember his desolation vppon the crosse, when for our encouragement, and comfort, he was content to be least so comfortles, that he said, to his Father, *Deus, Deus meus, et quid dereliquisti me? My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me.* And for

about
fornic
caring
den
paines
sith his
by ch
therefo
shall p
quequa
fornic
conne
draw
nes
in ani
don h
43
a face
ue auf
salutar
them
Hymn
derin
great
40 reu
44
not to
safe t
time v
no de
grace
rer m
fear
sinne
45
faste
to v
fornic
outa
almuch

death, as the perfection of a Christian man, consisteth in his conformity with Christ; no lesse in suffering with him; then in imitating his vertues; and seeing that his great desolation in the garden; and vpon the crosse, was no doubt the greatest of all the paines that he suffered for vs, let them take comfort in that it pleased him, to giue them some taste of what he suffered therein whereby they may haue also the more conformitie with him; and therefore let them not desire to be eased thereof, further then it shall please him, but onlie say with the psalmist. *Ne derelinquas me viqueque.* Doe not o Lord, forsake me altogether. Vpon which wordes, Cassian noteth, that the prophet David knowing well, that it was not inconuenient, but profitable for him, that God should sometimes withdraw himselfe from him, to make him see, and know his owne weakness; did not absolutelie desire that God should neuer leaue him in anie sort, but that he would not vterlie, or altogether abandon him.

43. They may therefore say with the same psalmist. *Ne proiciam me a facie tua.* Doe not quite cast me of, from thy face: *Spiritus sanctum tuum ne auferas a me:* doe not take from me thy holie spirit: *Redde mihi letitiam, salutaris tui &c.* restore vnto me the ioy, and gladnes of thy saluation. Let them also inuocat the holie spirit of God with that most excellent Hymne, *Veni sancte spiritus, ex amittre celitus, lucis tue radium &c.* pondering euerie sentence of it with special attention, which may greatly helpe; aswell to recollect their distracted thoughts, as also to reuiue in them some heate of the deuine loue.

Robertus rex francie.

44. Finallie, let them beseech almightie God; that if it please him, not to giue them recollection, and peace of soule, yet at least he vouch safe to graunt, that their distraction, and desolation, be not offensive vnto him, or an occasion to withdraw them from his loue, and so no doubt, he will giue them, either present consolation, or els the grace of longanimitie, patience, and perseuerance, with farre greater merit, especiallie if they add to these former meanes some mortification, and penance for the loue of him, and punishment of their finnes.

45. I will conclude concerning this point, with an aduise of Ecclesiastes, worthie to be considered, and practised of all those, that aspire to vniou with almightie God by contemplation. *Sustine, ut in nouissimo crescat conuersiones Dei, coniungere Deo, & sustine, ut in nouissimo crescat conuersiones Dei.* Beare the burdens of God; be united, or ioynd with God,

Ecclos. 3.

M m ij

and beare with patience, that thy life may growe in the end. Thus saith the preacher, giuing to vnderstand, that the union with God in this life, doth not free, or exempt vs from temptations, and afflictions, but rather is infallible conioyned therewith, and that the patient suffering thereof, is the assured meanes, to bring vs to an inseparable, and eternal union with him in the end: and this is to be vnderstood, as well of the desolations, and spiritual temptations (whereof I haue hitherto spoken) as also of all kind of corporall, and temporall afflictions, whereto the seruants of God, are, by his mercifull prouidence, exposed in this life, for their euerslasting good,

46. And as for desolation (whereof I speciallie treat at this present) it is further to be considered, that the same is manie times, farre more secure for the soule, and consequentlie more to be desired, then consolation, and sensible sweetenes, for two respects: the one, because in desolation there is no danger of selfeloue, or spiritual pride, but rather occasion of humilitie, and of the true knowledge of our owne weakenes, whereas sensible delectation, and sweetenes in prayer, doe breede manie times the moth (as I may say) of selfeloue, and vaine glorie, which if it be not remedied in time, will depriue vs of all the fruite of our deuotion, and of Gods grace in the end.

47. The other respect is, the danger of diabolical illusions, which in the desolation, & ariditie of the soule, is not much to be feared, but may well be doubted in spiritual delectation, for that the deuil (who sometimes transformeth him selfe into the angel of light) doth otherwhiles seek to worke, and procure false consolations in a deuout soule, thereby to draw it first to vaine glorie, and after to certaine singularities, & by litle and litle, vtterlie to ouerthrow it, if it be not prevented in time.

48. Therefore, seeing that those which giue themselves to the exercise of contemplatiue disciplin, had neede to beware of illusions, and that it would require a farr larger discourse, then this place will permit to set downe rules for the discerninge of spirits, I wish one general rule to be obserued, which is most necessarie for all such, as vnderake the exercise of contemplation, and may suffice alone, if it be duly practised: to wit, that no man presume to be his owne guide, and director therein, but that he make choise of some expert master (if he be not by regular obedience bound to anie) and open freelie to him, without reseruation all the secrets of his soule, and motions, good, and bad, and that he follow his direction in all humilitie, assuring himselfe that his obedience, and resignation therein, wilbe so gratefull to almightie God, that he will not suffer him to be misled.

*B. Ignatius
exercit. Reg.
alia viles
Eccl. reg. 4.
2. Cor. 11.
Blossus Can.
vita spirit.
ca. 26.*

This is the aduise of all the Fathers, that haue written of this matter and therefore *s. Basil* saith, that euē as God hath ordained that faith, which is his gift, is to be obtained by hearing: so also he hath decreed, that the doctrine of Christian perfection (which is built vpon the foundation of faith) shall not otherwaie be learned, but by the voyce of a master, or teacher. *s. Gregory* also iustificth, that he which so farr presumeth vpon the assistance of the holie Ghost, that he refuseth to be a discipule, or scholler of men, becommeth a master of error. *s. Bernard* saith elegantlie, that he which wilbe his owne scholler, shall haue a foole to his master. And *Ioannes Cassian* affirmeth, that the deuil doth not anie way sooner, or more dangerouslie deceaue those, which giue them selues to the contemplatiue life, then by perswading them, to trust to them selues, and to neglect the aduise, and directiō of a superior, by which meanes, saith he, diuers haue greucously falne, both in ancient, and latter times.

so Also *Ioannes Climacus*, teacheth that one onlie error lurketh, and lieth hid in the course, or way of contemplatiue discipline, to wit. *Cum quisque sibi idoneus &c.* ¶ Then anie man thinks him selfe fit to rule, and gouerne him selfe, which error, saith he, whosoener can auoid, he shall arrive to those things which are good, and spirituall, and most gratefull to God, almost before he beginne. *obediētia enim est &c.* for true obedience is neuer to beleue, or trust our selues, during our liues, no not in those things, which seeme best vnto vs: Thus saith he.

¶ Finallie, that holie and blessed man, Father *Ignatius*, admonisheth, all those that tend to perfection, to consider, that the diuel will labour for nothing more, then to procure, that they conceale his suggestions, & temptations, and that if he can winne but so much at their handes, he will easelie deceiue them. In which respect, it is most expedient, that all such as practise cōtemplatiue discipline, doe not onlie resigne themselves wholie to the direction of a superiour, but also that they lay open vnto him their soules, and all the secrets thereof, to the end that they may be guided, and directed by him, and he that holdeth this course walketh securchie, whereas otherwise there is great danger of diabolicall illusions, and errors, growing of selfeloue, and singularitie.

¶ Now then, to returne to the practise of the *illuminatiue* way, and to sett downe some examples of the meditations belonging thereto. I will briefelie runne ouer some principall points, to be considered in our Saviours Incarnation, such onlie I meane, as concerne himselfe, for bearing for breuities sake, to touch manie most excellent, and notable points of singular edification, which may be obserued in the strong faith, the immacular chastitie, the exemplar modestie, the profound humilitie, and

D. Basil. regul. breu. q. 1

D. Greg. li. 1. dial. c. 1.

D. Bern. o. pist. 87.

Ioan. Cassian. collat. 1. ca. 11.

Ioan. Climacus. de obed. gradu. 4.

Reg. 13. de discernendis spirit.

S. Greg. li. 1. 1. Reg. c. 1. in fine.

Cassian. de institutis renuntiant. li. 4. c. 9. & 37. Item collat. 16. c. 11.

religion of his most worthie mother, the blessed, and incontaminat virgin *Mary*, aduanced to the ineffable dignitie, not onlie to be called, but also to be indeede, the mother of God, in respect of her Sonnes birth, postatall, or personal vnion with God himselfe, with whom also part of her, is by the same meanes, personallie vnited, for which cause, almighty God endewed her with incomparable graces, gifts, and priuileges, and made her a mirrour of puritie, pietie, and all vertue, and therefore shee was worthilie called by the Angel *Gabriel*, full of grace, and blessed amongst all women; by *S. Irenaeus*, the aduocate of *Eue*; by *S. Athanasius*, his mistresse, his lady, his queene: and by *S. Ephrem*, the peace, the joy, the health, and comfort of the world; by *S. Chrysostome*, the incontaminat mother of our God, more honorable, then the cherubyns, and incomparably more glorious then the seraphims: by *S. Grigory Nazianzen*, the light of virgins, the queene of the world, & the joy of mortal men: by *S. Epiphanius*, the mother of all those that haue spiritual life: by *S. Fulgentius*, the window of heauen, by the which God gaue true light vnto the world: and the heavenly ladder wherby God descended to the earth, and men clyme vp to heauen: by *S. Bernard*, (to omit manie others) the mother of mercy, the ladder of sinners, his hope, and the hope of all Christians: and lastlie by all generations, to the worlds end (as shee prophesied of her selfe) she shall be called blessed, and be honored, and serued. But I forbear, I say, for breuities sake, to obserue manie notable points, which occurre concerninge her, in the meditation of our Sauours Incarnation, and will touch onlie some few, amongst innumerable others, which concerne as well his diuinitie, as his humanitie.

Luc. 1.
Iren. l. 1. contra
tra heres.
Athanas.
ser. in Euag.
de annun.
Ephrem. o-
rat. de laude
Dei para.
Chrysost. in
liturgia.
Greg. Naz.
Traged.
Chrysost.
passio.
Epiph. her.
78.
G. Fulgent.
ser. de laud.
Maria.
Bernard. l. 1.
serm. de As-
sumptio. &
in serm. de
Aqueduct.
Luc. 1.

S. Thom. 3.
par. quest. 1.
ar. 1. ec. S.
Damasen.
li. 3. orthodo-
xa fidei
ca. 1.
Ibidem.

Ibidem.

53 First then, herein may be considered his infinite goodnes, as he was con- in that hauing manie other meanes, which he might haue vied for the satisfaction of his iustice, & mans redemptio, yet he would vse no other, but the best, most honorable, and most profitable to man, that might be, that is to say, by taking our flesh, & making himselfe man, wherein also he discovered the infinit excellency of all his perfections, & deuine vertues: For first he shewed therein his infinite bounty, in communicating to man, not only his gifts, and graces, but also himselfe, by a personal vnion of himselfe with man: wherein he also shewed his infinite charity, & love towards him, vniting his deuine nature, and the humane with such a straight bond, and linke, that one & the selfe same person, was both God & man: he shewed also his infinite mercy, in comming himselfe personally, not onlie to remedie our miseries, but also to participat of them, thereby to assure vs, that he would haue the more compassion of vs.

54 He shewed his infinite iustice, in that he made himselfe passible, to pay the penaltie of our sinne, which his iustice required: he shewed his infinite

in finding out such a wonderful meanes, to ioine together things so distant, and different as God, and man; eternal, and temporal, impassible, and passible; and iustice, both of them in the highest degree, without the preiudice of either: he shewed his *omnipotency*, in doing for man the vttermost he could doe, making himselfe man, which was the greatest, and most wonderful worke, that euer he did, he shewed his *sanctity, holyness*, and all his *vertues*, imprinting them in the humanity which he tooke vppō him, to the end, that the same might serue for an example, and paternē for all men to imitat, in all which, nothing seemeth more admirable, then that whereas *Adam* rebelled pouldie against God himselfe, seeking to vsurpe his diuinitie (for the which he deserved that his nature should be annihilated) almightie God did not onlie pardon him, but also humble, & as it were annihilat himselfe, to exalt him, and his progenie, that was his rebellious enemy: yea and most liberallie bestowed vpon him, that which he had so presumptuously affected, to wit, his diuinitie and Godhead it selfe.

¶ This then being well considered, with our infinit obligation to almighty God for the same, we may passe to the serious ponderation of the worke it selfe, of our Saniours Incarnation, as that when the blessed virgin *Mary* had giuen her consent to the Angel, the holie ghost, by his deuine, and omnipotent power, framed in her sacred wombe, a most perfect bodie of her purest bloud, and created withall a most excellent soule, vniting not onlie the one with the other, but also both of them, with the person of the eternal word; the Sonne of God, in such a personal vnion, that, as I haue touched before, man became God, and God became man, and the deuine nature remained, as it were, inseparably wedded to our humane nature. Wherevppon ariseth this consideration (besides many other which I omit) no lesse fruitfull, the comfortable to vs, that every one of vs, is by this meanes, perpetually, allied with almighty god, & that therefore we ought not only to loue, praise, & thank him incessantly for the same, but also to take hart, and courage, amid the infirmities, and miseries of this life, & firmly to purpose (as *S. Leo* saith) to demeine our selues like the kinsmen, and allies of so great a king, and to doe nothing vnworthie of such a worthie, and noble alliance.

¶ And to the end we may the better vnderstand, and know, the inestimable excellencie of our Saniours humanity, we may consider, that whereas God giueth to men graces and giftes, with a certaine measure, that is to say, to no man all, but some to one man, and some to an other, he gaue all to him, without measure, or limitation, which neuer theles may be reduced to these heades following.

*Leo serm. 1.
de nativitate.*

Iohn. 1.

57 The first was, an incomparable innocencie, puritie, and cleane-
of heart, without all kind of imperfection, or possibilitie to erre, or
finne, as it was conuenient for the most innocent lambe, which should take
away the finnes of the world.

Dan. 9.

58 The second was, the grace, or gift of a supereminent sanctitie, where-
by he had all vertues in perfection, in respect whereof, he is worthy to be
called, *sanctus sanctorum, the Holy of Holies.*

Psal. 44.

59 The third was, the full, and perfect vision of the deuine essence,
whereto he was personallie vnited, which from the verie instant of his
creation, he saw farre more clearelie, then all the angels, or the soules of
men euer did, or euer shall doe, wherevppon also followed in him in
like proportion, an vnmeasurable loue to God; and infinit ioy, in which
respect the holie Ghost saith of him in the psalme, *Vniuit te Deus, Deus tuus,*
oleo letitia prae conscribis tuis. God thy God, hath animated thee, with the oile of
gladnes, and ioy aboue all thy companions.

Coloss. 2.

60 The fourth was, an immense, and inestimable treasure of deuine
wisdom, and knowledge of all things, past, present, or to come.

Luc. 4.

61 The fift was, vnlimited power to doe miracles, when, where, and
how it should please him, whereby he might raise the dead, command
the winds, sea, elements, and all creatures.

Matheuw. 9.
& ult.

62 The sixt was, the power to remit finnes, to conuert sinners, to con-
daine, and institute sacrifices, and sacraments, to bestow graces, and su-
pernatural gifts vppon men.

Ephes. 1.

63 The seauenth was, to be head of his mystical bodie the Church; as
well the militant here in earth, as the triumphant in heauen, being the
cheefe, and most worthe of all creatures in heauen, and earth, *Rex Regi,*
& Dominus dominantium, the king of kings, and lord of lords (and as the pro-
phet saith) *Dominus nominatus in signum aeternum, & non auferatur ab eo. Cal-*
led Lord for a sempiternall signe, which shall not be taken from him.

Apoc. 19.
I say. 55.

64 The eight was, to be the first, and principal of all the predestinat, for
whose sake God did also predestinat all the rest, to the end he might
haue manie companions in glorie, or, as the Apostle saith *many brethren*
like to himsefe, as well in giftes of grace, as in nature.

Rom. 8.

65 The ninth, that he should be the redeemer, and Sauour of man-
kind, and the onlie mediator, betwixt God, and man, who hath recon-
ciled vs to his Father in his blood, through whose merits, all other me-
diation in heauen and earth, hath force and effect, be it either of Angels
or Saints for men, or of one man for an other.

1. Tim. 2.

66 The tenth, that he should be, *primogenitus mortuorum*, the first man
that should rise from death, and enter into heauen, and open the gates
thereof.

Apoc. 1.

to the end that we might enter after him, and enjoy the sight of God, and eternal beatitude by his means, and merits.

The eleventh, and last was, that he should be iudge of the quicke, & the dead, and reward, or punish, euery man according to his deserts.

Matth. 24.

Apoc. 22.

Now then, in the consideration of these most excellent prerogatives, and priuiledges of our Sauours humanitie, we may entertaine our selues; pondering euerie one a part, reioycing, and congratulating with him for the same, praising, magnifying; and adoring him, offering our selues to his seruice; and crauing such part of his graces, and vertues, as it may please his deuine maiestie to bestow vpon vs, seeing that out of his plentie, or rather his plenitude, and fulnes, all men

Ioan. 1.

Furthermore, all this being considered, we may waigh with our selues, the heroyical acts of vertue, which the most blessed soule of our Sauour exercised towards God, in the first instant that he saw the deuine essence, wherewith he was vnitd, who behoulding on the one side the infinit maiestie of God, and on the other the innumerable benefits, that he had receiued of him (as that he was created of nothing, and exalted to such an incomprehensible dignitie) performed such most notable effects; which euerie man may, and ought to imitat.

The first was, a feruent loue to God. The second, a most thankfull gratitude, in the acknowledgement of his benefits. The third, a most profound humiliation of himselfe, considering he had nothing of himselfe, but all by the infinit liberalitie, and bountie of God. The fourth, a most prompt and readie offer of a most exact, and perfect obedience to Gods holie will; in all things whatsoever. The fifth was, a most earnest desire of Gods glorie, and resolute purpose to procure, and aduance the same, by all meanes possible; which five points we may applie also to our selues, practising the like loue, gratitude, humilitie, renunciation of our owne will, offer of our seruice, desire of Gods glorie, with a firme resolution, and endeuour, to procure it to our power, and finallie we are most humble to craue the assistance of the holie spirit, through our Sauours merits, for the performance thereof.

Afterwards, we may occupie our selues in the consideration of the most excellent acts of vertue, which our Sauour at the first instant of his creation exercised also towards his neighbours; to wit, the ineffable sorrow which he conceiued, when he saw the most lamentable state of the world drowned in sinne; and the ingratitude of men (his

Nn

brethren

brethren by nature) towards God; his, and their Father, and Creator, whose honour, and glorie he infinitely desired; and knowing, withall, that his Father had ordained him for the remedie of the world (having giuen him a passible, and mortall bodie, to the end he might offer himselfe in sacrifice, suffer torments, and die, for the satisfaction of his iustice, and the redemption of mankind) he receiued vnspokeable ioy, that such an occasion was offered him, to shew both his obedience to his Father, and his loue to his brethren, and accepted the same most willinglie, saying to his Father (as the Apostle noteth of him out of the psalme) *seeing thou wouldest not accept the sacrifices, and oblations of the lawe, for the remission of mans sinne, corpus autem aprasti mihi, but hast framed me a bodie, to be offred in sacrifice for the same, Ecce venio, ut faciam Deum, & lunarem patrem; behold I come to doe thy will: &c.*

72 Moreover, it may be considered, that though he had a most perfect knowledge, and liuelie apprehension at the same time of all the contempt, ignominie, paines, &c. torments, that he should suffer throughout the course of his painefull life, and death; yea, and of the horrible ingratitude of his owne brethren towards him (whereby he began euen then, and continued euer after for three, & thirtie yeares, to drinke the bitter cup of his passion, vntill he had dronke it all vp) neuertheles such was his loue to man, and obedience to his Father, that he was readie to suffer much more, if neede were, not onlie for all mankind, but also for euerie particular man; rather then that any one of his brethren should perish: out of all which may be drawne, not onlie most notable motives to the loue of God, gratitude to our Saviour Christ, hate of sinne, and sorrow for our owne particular offences, but also an excellent, and necessarie document, of the charitie and loue, which we owe to our brethren, in the imitation of our Saviour, who so loued vs all; whereto I add, that in the course of all this meditation, one special thing is to be practised; to wit, most firme purposes, and resolutions are to be taken, to imitate our Saviour, with the helpe of his grace, in the exercise, and practise of all these vertues, and afterwards all diligence and endeavour is to be vsed, for the performance thereof, in the occasions that shalbe offered; which is the speciall fruit, and effect of meditation; and the end of the Illuminative way.

73 But if I should prosecute all such thinges, as our contemplatiues teach to be obserued, and practised in the meditation of the Incarnation of our Saviour, I should make a whole volume of this matter, and much more, if I should proceede in like sort with the rest, of his nativity, life, doctrine, miracles, passion, and death, seeing that euerie word

Hebra. 10.
Psal. 39.

in this, seruetly for our instruction, and euerie act, either for our example, or our edification: and therefore it shall suffice, that I haue for examples sake, touched these few points in particular, and for conclusion of that which I meane to say, concerning the Illuminative way, I will onlie add certaine considerations in general, whereby those that tend to the vnitue way, may more easilie attaine thereto, following our Saviour as their guide and captaine, whose doctrine and example, may both arme them against all the assaults of their spiritual enemies, and adorne them with all kind of vertues.

74 And therefore against the temptation of coueteousnes, pride, ambition, wrath, and reuenge, they may arme themselves, with the consideration of his voluntarie pouertie, humilitie, obedience, patience, contempt of riches, of honours, and of dignities, waying with them selues, his rare examples in these kinds, as, that he made choise of a poore mother, a poore countrie (in respect of manie others) a poore stable to be borne in, a poore cratch, or manger, for his cradle, poore sheapheards for the first witnesses of his birth, a poore offering at his presentation in the temple, a poore trade to liue by, vntil he beganne to preach, & that afterwards he liued of almes, and had not so much as a poore cottage to put his head in. Also, that he chose poore disciples, conuersed with poore people, fled honours, and popular praise, hiding himselfe from those which meant to make him king, and shewing humilitie, & obedience in all things which he beganne to doe, euen whiles he was in his mothers wombe.

75 For when *Augustus Caesar*, for ostentation of his power, and large dominion, commaunded by publicke edict, that the world should be described, and that therefore all his subiects should repaire to certaine places, assigned for that purpose, and there register their names, and pay tribute, our Saviour being then not borne, and yet meaning to discover to the world, how different are the *wayes of God*, from the *wayes of men*, and the cogitations of earthlie kings, from the cogitations of the king of heauen, tooke occasion vpon the Emperours ambitious vanitie, & pride, to shew his owne profound humilitie, both in paying tribute, as a subiect of *Augustus*, as also in being borne by the same occasion in a poore stable, for lacke of a better harbour.

76 The like humilitie, & obedience, he shewed throughout the course of his life, humbling himselfe to receiue baptisme, at the hands of *S. Iohn Baptist*, in the companie of sinners, to wash the feete of his apostles, to be amongst them as their minister, or seruant, to be obedient to *Moses law*, in his circumcision, presentation, and the obseruation of

a Luc. 1.

b Luc. 2.

c Mar. 6.

d Luc. 8.

e Matth. 8.

Luc. 9.

f Matth. 4.

g Ioan. 6.

h Luc. 2.

Luc. 2.

Esay. 55.

Luc. 1.

i Matth. 3.

k Ioan. 13.

l Luc. 22.

m Ibid. c. 1.

n Ibid.

o Ioan. 10.

a Luc. 2.

b Matth. 17.

c Philip. 2.

Luc. 23.

Ber. ser. de
quadruplici
debito.

Psal. 68.

feasts, and ceremonies; obedient to his mother, and supposed father (to whome the scripture saith, *he was subject*): obedient to temporal lawes, and magistrats; paying tribut to *Caesar*, obedient to his very enemies, submitting himselfe to their vniust iudgement, lastlie, *obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis*, obedient euen to death, yea to the opprobrious death of the crosse, hauing first with inuincible patience, endured without contradiction, infinite slaunders, blasphemies, scoffs, and scornes, buffeting, scourging, crowning with thornes, and innumerable indignities, and yet was so farre from seeking reuenge of his enemies, that he freele pardoned them, excused them to his Father, praied for them, and shed euerie drop of his most precious blood, to redeeme, and saue them.

77 Who then is there, so haucie, and proude, that would not by the due consideration hereof be moued to stoupe, and to humble himselfe, seeing the king of glorie, so humble, & obedient? Who hath not cause to be sorry for his impatience, wrath, and reuenges, seeing his Lord, and maker so meeke, patient, & charitable to his enemies? Who should not be induced to contemne riches, & honours, seeing the Lord of all so poore, & abied? Who canne with anie reason, thinke much to be contemned, or wronged, seeing the king of heauen, & earth endure so many wrongs, outrages, & indignities? Who ought not to be ashamed to liue at ease, and pleasure, seeing his Lord, & master in torment, and paine? Finally what Christian is there, who should maturelie consider, that his kinge, & creatour, partlie did, and partlie suffered all these things, not onlie for his redemption, but also for his example (to the end he might follow his stepps) and would not seeke to frame himselfe, to the imitation of such a heauenlie master, and guide, that by the participation of his vertues here, he might be partaker hereafter of his glorie?

78 But let vs heare a little, what one of our contemplatiues mediated vpon this matter. *Quid tibi*, saith *S. Bernard*, *dirup. uel durum esse poterit?* &c. What can be either terrible or difficult to thee, when thou shalt remember what he is, who, being the spendor, and figure of the substance of God the Father (that is to say God himselfe) vouchsafed to come to thy prison, to thy clay and dirt, and there to be sett fast, (as the psalmist saith) vp to the verie elbowes, in the profound, and bottomeles mud of thy basenes? What shall not be sweete to thee, when thou shalt remember all the bitternes, that thy Lord, tasted, & suffred for thee, as the necessitie of his infancie, his labours in preaching, his wearines in his iourneys and trauailes, his temptations in his fasting, his watching in praier, his teares of compassion, the deceipts vsed to entrapp him,

his continual dangers by false brethren, the contumelies, spitting, buff-
 son, whipping, derision, mocks, and scofs, that he endured, and finallye,
 the nailes that pearced his hands, and feete, and such other thinges,
 which he partlie did; and partlie suffred, for the saluation of mankind,
 during the space of three, and thirtie yeares, that he liued here,
 amongst vs?

79. O how vndue on his part, and vnderferued on ours was his mercie?
 How farre beyond all expectation was his clemencie, and what a stu-
 pendious sweetenes may wee conceiue in the consideration of this in-
 vincible mansuetude, and meekenes, that the king of glorie would be,
 crucified, for a most contemptible slaue, & wretched worme? Who euer
 saw, or heard the like? For hardlie, saith the Apostle *Will any man* *Rom. 8.*
for a iust man, but he died for the vniust, yea for his verie enemies,
 banishing himselfe willinglie from heauen, to carrie vs to heauen.
What then shall I render to my Lord, for all this that he hath giuen me? *Psal. 115.*
 For I giue him all that I may, and all that I am, is it anie other then a
 flax to the sunne, a dropp of water to a riuer, a peble stone to a
 mountaine, or a litle graine to a great heape of corne? I haue but
 two litle mires to wit, a bodie, and a soule, or rather but one mite,
 that is to say, my will, and therefore shall I not giue it, and resigne it
 wholie to his will, who being such, and so great a Lord, hath so
 much preuented me with such incomparable benefites, yea, and gaue
 himselfe wholie to purchase, and buy me wholie? For if I remaine,
 and keepe my will to my selfe, with what face, or with what mind,
 and conscience, shall I haue recourse to the bowells of his mercy? Or
 how shall I presume, or dare to draw to my selfe (I will not say) the
 drops, but the floods of his precious blood, which flow from the fide
 parts of his bodie, for my redemption?

80. Thus saith this deuout, and contemplatiue father, with much more
 to the same purpose, which for breuities sake I omit, & I will conclude
 this matter & chapter with a breefe, though most deuout consideratiō of
 the anciēt, & holy Father *S. Ephraem. Contemplaris*, saith he, *O homo &c.* Doeſt
 thou behold o man, thy most immaculat, & vnspotted Lord, hanging vp-
 on the crosse, & darest thou impudēt, & wicked creature, spend thy daies
 in delicacy, sport, & pleasure? Doeſt thou not know (o shameles wretch)
 that thy Lord, which was crucified for the, will one day exact an account
 of thee, of all thy negligences, and contempts? And yet now when thou
 bearest these thinges, thou art so carelesse, and retchles, that thou con-
 temnest, and laughest, and sports thy selfe amidst thy delights? But assure
 thy selfe, a day will come, a terrible day, a day of punishment, and re-

uenge, when thou shalt morne, waile, and cry out, for euer in endless torment, and fire, when no man shall answer thee, nor haue compassion on thee.

Si These are the words of the *holy Ephrem*, worthie to be written in letters of gould, and engrauen in euerie mans hart, to the end we may alwaies haue in our remembraunce, not onlie what our Sauour suffered for vs, but also what we owe to him for the same, and how deare our negligence, and ingratitude will cost vs, if we doe not repent in time.

And trulie one of the greatest reasons, why so few men profit in the way of vertue, and so manie soules daillie perish, is, for that they doe not often, and dulie ponder, and way these, and such other things, & make particular reflexion vpon our Sauours life, and passion, to the end they may imitate his deuine vertues; which point our contemplatiues doe performe in most excellent manner, daillie, and most deuoutlie ruminating vpon our Sauours actions, and euerie part of his passion, drawing thence notable instructions, and documents, for their owne vse, and practise, mortifying their passions by the example of our Sauour, purging the reliicks of old finnes, and continuallie crauing the assistance of Gods grace, through our Sauours merits, whereby they proceede daillie, *de uirtute in uirtutem*, from one vertue to an other, and kindle withall in themselves such a fire of the feruent loue of God, that they enter into the *vnitive* way, whereof I am to speake next.

Psal. 83.

of the Vnitive way, and the practise of it, with rules to be obserued in the exercise thereof and meditations belonging to it.

C H A P. 20.

THe Vnitive way (belonging as I noted before, to the third state, or degree of charitie) is so called, because the soule of man, is thereby vnited with God, such being the force of perfect charitie, that as *S. Iohn*, saith, *Qui manet in charitate manet in Deo, & Deus in eo*. He which remaineth in charitie remaineth in God, and God in him. Which may the better be conceiued, if we consider the nature, and force, of perfect loue to be such, that it cannot suffer any obstacle, or impediment, betwixt the obiekt that it loueth, and it selfe, nor euer resteth vntill it be conioyned, & coupled therewith, in so much that *Plato* and his followers the *Platonicks*, teach, that loue hath the force, & power, not onlie to vnite the louer with the beloued, but also to transforme the one into the other, and make them both one, hauing but one

1. Iohn. 4.

Plato in
Symposio.

will, one desire, one sorrow, one ioy, and, as it were, one soule in two bodies, in which respect, it is commonlie, and trulie said, that *magnus est animus, quam uolunt animas*, the soule is rather where it loueth, then where it li-
S. Bonauentura in Solutura in Solutis.
 ueth, and giueth life, and how this is verified betwixt God and man, shall
 appear after a while.

1. Those therefore that would walke in the vnitue way, are to consider, that though the end whereto they tend (which is a perfect vnion, and coniunction with god) is a matter of that worth, and dignitie, that they cannot hope to attaine vnto it, by anie merits of their owne, or by humane endeuour, or by the obseruation of rules, and precepts, but by the mercie, and grace of almightie God, through the merits of our Sa-
F. Pedro de Alcantara nel trattato dell oratione & meditat. ca. 11.
 uiour *Iesus Christ* (for, to thinke otherwise, were nothing els, but to make an art of Gods grace, and to reduce, or tye his giftes to the inuentions of men, which were not onlie great follie, but also extream impietie) neuertheles they may greatlie helpe, and further themselves therein, by their diligent endeuour in preparing, and disposing themselves conuenientlie thereunto, such being the course of Gods providence, and proceeding with men, euen in matters pertaining to their soule, and saluation, that he not onlie admitteth, but also requireth their endeuour, and cooperation with his grace, as I haue signified before.

2. It being then presupposed, that by the vse, and practise of the illuminatiue way, they haue alreadye obtained puritie of hart, integritie of conscience, and feruent loue to god, true mortification of their passions, and affections, hate of sinne, and contempt of the world, and of themselves for the loue of God, and lastlie a habit of all vertue, it is further requisite to the practise of the vnitue way, that they vnderstand, & obserue certaine precepts, concerning meditation. For, although meditation is a special helpe, and as it were, the principal ladder to mount to contemplation, yet it may be sometimes a hinderance thereto, if it be not vsed with discretion. Therefore according to the doctrine of some great contemplatiues, fise things are to be obserued therein, by those which practise this vnitue waie.

1. The first is, that they auoid ouermuch speculation of the vnderstanding (especiallie when they meditate vpon the deuine misteries) & that they rather labour to employ their will, and affection, seeking to draw out of their meditation, moitiues, and feelings of loue, admiration, or ioy, and yet not so, but that they may also reflect vpon such points of good instruction, and edification, as may occurre, yea, and recommend to almightie god, the necessities of their owne soules, and other mens (as occasion and matter shalbe ministred in their meditation) so that they
F. Luyz de Granada li. de meditat. F. Pedro de Alcantara nel trattato dell orat. & meditat. ca. 11.
 principally

principallie seeke, and most insist vppon motives of loue, which are the proper foode of a contemplatiue soule, and the high way to a perfect vniion with God, for otherwise (I meane if they endeouour to occupie their vnderstanding, more then their affection) they shall rather studie, then pray, or contemplat, and perhaps find themselves more dry, and void of deuotion in the end of their meditation, then they were in the beginning, contrarie to the nature & condition of true praiet, whereof the scripture saith, *Orationis melior est finis quam principium*, the end of praiet is better then the beginning.

Eccles. 7.

Ibidem.

5 The second point is, that though they ought to seeke to stirr vp in them selues affections of loue, as I haue said, yet they are to vnderstand that the same is to be donne with moderation, which I say, for that some thinke to procure it, as it were, by force, and strue so much with excessive sighes, and coasted sorrow, to moue themselves to teares of compassion, and loue, in the meditation of our Sauours passion, that they doe nothing els, but hurt their healths as *Cassianus* well obserueth.

6 Such therefore are to consider, that it suffiseth to doe on their part, what they conuenientlie may, that is to say, that representing our Sauours suffering before the eyes of their soule, they behould the same, with a quiet, and louing compassion, and a tender hart, being willing, and readie to receiue anie impression of sorrow, that it shall please him of his mercie to giue them, crauing it at his hands, if they haue it not, and not afflicting themselves, if it doe not please him to giue it them (for that he knoweth what is conuenient for them) desiring nothing more in his seruants, then a good will, with a conuenient endeouour, whereto he will giue the effect, no lesse then he gaue the good will, when he shall see his time.

F. Pedro de
Alcant. &
F. Luyz de
Granada
ubi supra.

Idem ibid.

7 The third point, which they are to obserue in meditation is, that they vse it onlie as a meane to contemplation, and not as the end, that is to say, that they meditat, vntill they haue kindled fire of loue in their soules, and that then they seeke to enioy the fruite of their labour, I meane the repose of contemplation; For euen as the navigation ceaseth when we arriue at the port, so should our meditation cease, when we arriue at the port of contemplation, that is to say, when we find our selues wholly enflamed with the loue of God, for then is the time to practise that which the greatest contemplatiues aduise, to wit, to cleare, and free our selues from all phantasies, & imaginations of all creatures (as though there were nothing els in the world but god, and we) staying our vnderstanding from further discourse, & retiring our selues within our owne soules, there to behould God in his owne image, fixing our memorie

S. Dionys. A-
reopag. de
mystica
Theolog.
ca. 1.

holie on him, occupying our affection intyrelic, in louing, admiring, and praissing him, with ioy, and exultation, not presuming to eleuat our selues to a curious search of his deuine nature, further then it shall please him to raise, and lead vs thereto, but to content our selues rather to know him, by feeling him, through the influence of his loue, & grace, then to vnderstand the particularities of his perfections, which are infinite and incomprehensible, for when almighty God, seeth a deuout soule in this state, then he is wont to communicat him selfe vnto it in an inefable manner, and with vnspeakeable delectation, yea, and sometimes to impart vnto it, the inscrutable misteries of his deitie.

8 And thus I say, we may forbear to meditat, so long as this heate of loue, and gods merciful visitation continueth, and when the same cooleth, and relenteth, then we may returne to our former exercise and blow againe the bellowes of meditation, to reuiue the decaid flames of loue, to the end we may participat of such further fauours, as it shall please God to bestow vppon vs.

9 The fourth point is, that although in the case aforesaid, it be conuenient to surcease from meditation, to enioy the fruit of contemplation, yet it may also import sometimes to practise the contrarie, to wit, to leaue contemplation, to passe to meditation, namelie when the affection is ouer vehement, & excessive, as it hapneth manie times to those, who being inuited, and drawne with the sweetenes of this exercise, become as it were so passionat therewith that they cannot containe themselves within the limits of discretion, but seeke to satisfie their insatiable desire, and thirst, by drinking more of the deuine wine, then humane nature can support, and beare, to the great debilitation of their bodies, and damage of their healths. Therefore for such, I say, it shall not be amisse otherwhiles, to temper the heate of their feruent contemplation, with some meditation, which may moue, and excite them to some other holie affection, meditating vppon the sinnes, and miseries of the world, or the howre of death, or the paines of hell, or such like, whereby they may ease their harts with a spiritual diuersion, and change of exercise, which in that case would be more grateful to God, then their contemplation without discretion: for discretion is the mistres of all vertues, and the salt wherewith all good actions are seasoned, in so-much, that without it, vertues lose their vertue, and nothing can be acceptable to God.

10. Finallie, they are to obserue diligetlie, when almighty God doth offer his grace and communication, either in time of meditation, and praier, or out of it, to the end, they may be answerable thereto on their part,

O o

and

S. Bonauentura de mystica Theologia. Blosius in institutione spirituali. c. 12.

Albert. Magnus de adhaerendo deo. c. 7. & 8.

Blosius in Enchirid. parvulor. c. 10.

Idem ubi supra.

F. Pedro de Alcant. ubi supra. F. Luyz de Granada.

F. Pedro de
Alcant. ibid.
F. Bartolom.
Saluthio, nel
paradiso de
contemplat.
c. 65.

F. Luiz de
Granada,
ubi supra.
Cant. 5.

and gratefull for the same, least in punishment of their negligence, and ingratitude, God doe iustlie deny it them at other times, when they shall seeke for it, which is notablie signified in the *Canticles*, where the bridegroom knocked at the spouses doore in the night, and she refused at the first to rise, and afterwards, when shee arose to let him in, shee found him not there. *surrexi*, saith shee, *ut aperirem dilecto meo* &c. *I arose to open the doore to my best beloved, and he was gone away.*

11 Neuertheles it is to be vnderstood, that this rule is to be practised with some restriction, & cautel, especiallie by such asaxe wont, or apt to haue anie notorious excesse of mind in prajer, or meditation, as abundance of teares, extases, or rapt, or anie other external alteration, which may be seene, or noted by others, for such men, I say, had neede to be ware, how they admit, and nourrish in publike anie such extraordinarie motions of sensible deuotion, which may cause in them, the foresaid effects, especiallie at such time, as they are to performe anie office of obligation, which may be hindred thereby.

12 For when sensible deuotion tenderth to the hindrance of obedience, or of a greater good, it may well be suspected to haue some temptation, and not to proceede of God, it being of farre greater merit, and more importing vs to discharge our duty in matters of obligation, then to be rauished with the sweetenes of contemplation, yea and to seeke, or desire the later, which preiudice of the former, were nothing els but to seeke our selues, and to preferre our owne contentment, and pleasure, before the seruice of God, and therefore it must needs be censured vnto him, who (as he witnesseth himselfe) esteemeth obedience, more then sacrificer.

13 Moreouer, such notorious excesse of mind, as hap in publick, are dangerous in respect of the temptation of vaine glorie, that doth commonlie ensue thereof, in which respect, though they should be diuine visitations, yet out of humilitie, and the regard of our owne weakenes, and vnworthines, we may securelie seeke to preuent, or auoide them, acknowledging our selues to be most vnworthie to receiue any such fauours of almightie God, especiallie in publick, where by anie man may haue occasion to think that we are anie thing more then other men, and therefore we may in such case, say with *S. Peter*, *exi a me Domine* &c. *Go from me O Lord, for I am a sinfull man, and with the good Centuriane* we may refuse to receiue him into our house, saying, *Domine non sum dignus* &c. *Lord, I am not worthie* &c. For seeing that they (I meane *S. Peter*, and the *Centuriane*,) beholding him present said this, and refused to admit him without offence, and with greate merit for their humilitie, how much more may we securelie doe the like, out of the like humilitie, whiles we

1. Reg. 11.

Blosius in
Canone vi-
ta spiritual.
ca. 26.

Luc. 5.

Matth. 8.
Lut. 7.

yet vncertaine, whether it be hee that offereth to fauour vs, or our
 enemy that seeketh to delude vs?

And therefore the safest way is in such cases, to make strong resis-
 tance, for if our sensible deuotion, and extraordinarie motions, should
 chance to be of our enemy the deuill, we shall no doubt, thereby suffi-
 ciently preuent his malice, and if they be of God, we shall not neede to
 feare, but that he will do that which he shall see to be most conuenient
 for his owne glorie, and our good, much the rather for our humilitie, &
 desire to discharge our dutie in his seruice, and thus much for the five
 points, or rules a boue mencioned concerning meditation.

Furthermore, they are to consider that as all kind of discreete mor-
 tifications are conuenient for the practise of true christian life, so none is
 more proper, or necessarie for the exercise of contemplation, then mo-
 derate abstinence, and fasting, as well to render the bodie subiect to the
 spirit, as also to cleare the eyes of the soule from the grosse vapours of
 sensuall and carnal affections, the which satueritie, & superfluitie of mea-
 ses, and drinks, doth continuallie euaporat, whereby the vnderstanding
 is so obscured, that it is not capable of the true light of contemplation,
 in which respect manie of the contemplatiue philosophers both vsed,
 and prescribed to their followers great abstinence (as I haue declared
 before) and not onlie our Sauour himselte, but also *Moyse*, *Elias*, *S. Iohn Baptist*, & all the old Hermits, accompanied their contemplation
 in the desert with fasting, and *S. Augustin* saith of *Moyse*, that *quia ieiuna-
 uit Dominum vidit*, he saw our Lord because he fasted, and *Daniel* also wit-
 nessed of himselfe that after his three weekes strict, and rigorous fast, he
 saw the great vision, and receiued the admirable reuelation, which he
 recounteth concerning the kingdome of *Persia*, *Egipt*, *Greece*, and *Siria*. Fi-
 nallie *Ecclesiastes* testifieth, how necessarie abstinence is to contempla-
 tion, saying, *Cogitavi in corde meo &c. I thought, or determined in my hart, to
 abstaine from wine, to the end I might giue my selfe to wisdom, and auoid follie,
 which I should discouer, what was profitable, and conuenient for the sonnes of men.*
 To conclude, *S. Leo* speaking of the benefit of fasting, saith notably thus.
Quamuis sine anima &c. Although without the soule the flesh desireth
 nothing, receiuing sence from thence from whence it hath also motion,
 yet is it necessarie for the soule, to deny some things to the body, which
 is subiect vnto it, to the end it may be the more free from corporall, &
 sensuall desires, and giue it selfe to the studie of diuine wisdom, and re-
 tiring it selfe from the noyse of all earthlie eares, may ioy in holie medi-
 tations, and abound in eternall delights, Thus saith *S. Leo*.

Moreouer, it shall not be amisse for them to accustomethemselues

a Chap. 17.
 b Exod. 34.
 c 3. Reg. 19.
 d Matth. 11.
 Augustin.
 sermo. de
 temp. in Do.
 1. quadrag.
 ser. 2.
 Daniel. 10.
 11. & 12.
 Eccles. 2.

S. Leo ser. 8.
 de ieiunio.
 10. mensis.

feriourlie and often, to recollect themselves, to consider, and behold the image of God in their one soules, whereby they may the more readily with the helpe of Gods grace, raise themselves to the speculation of him, who is represented therein, & dwelleth there, as in his temple; yea, and reigneth there as in his kingdome; *templum Dei estis vos*, saith the Apostle, you are the temple of God, & *regnum Dei intra vos est*, the kingdome of God is within you, and therefore the prophet saith. *Audiam quid loquatur in me Dominus*. I will heare what my Lord will say in me.

D. Ber. de domo interior.
c. 13.

2. Cor. 6.
Luc. 17.

Psal. 84.

D. Ber. de interior. domo.
c. 46.

Idem ibid.
cap. 3.

Ibid. c. 12.

Ch. 65.

17 Herevppon S. Bernard saith. *Assuescam sola intima cogitare &c.* I will accustome my selfe, to thinke only vpon internal, or inward things, only in thee, and to repose in them, to the end I may heare what my Lord God will say within me. And againe in an other place. *Beata illa animi &c.* Blessed is that soule, which being recollected within it selfe, is not dissolved, or scattered abroad into the pleasures of the flesh, for such a soule doth inwardlie possesse all her delights, and being at full peace, and rest within it selfe, and desiring nothing out of it selfe, doth by the loue of God enjoy internal repose, and contentment, whereby it is reformed to the image of God, which it reuerenceth, and worshippeth in it selfe; such a soule is often visited, and honored by angels, & archangels, as the temple of God, and the habitacle of the holie Ghost.

18 Thus saith S. Bernard, who also speaketh els where of the practise of this recollection in this manner. *Frustra cordis occultum erigit*. He lifteth up the eye of his hart in vaine to see God; who is not fit to see himselfe. For first thou must learne to know the inuisible things of thy owne spirit, before thou canst be fit to know the inuisible things of God, and if thou canst not know thy selfe, neuer presume to know other things which are above thee. And a litle afterwards: No man, saith he, can euer attaine to the grace of contemplation, by his owne industrie, for it is the gift of God, & not the merit of man, but without doubt he shall receive it, who abandoneth the care of the world, and taketh care of himselfe, & labourerth to know what he himselfe is. Therefore enter into thy owne hart, and diligentlie examine thy selfe, consider whence thou comest, whether thou tendest, how thou liuest, what thou doest, what thou art, what thou oughtest to be, what thou wast by nature, what thou mayest be by grace to what good, or euil thou art most inclined, what paine, or reward thou art to expect for the same, what diligence thou wast to be ware thy finnes past, to auoid the present, & to preuent the future. Finally how much thou profitest euerie day, & how much thou declineest, with what cogitations, affections, & tēprations thou art most assaulted, & molested by the diuell, & how he thou shalt fullie know (as much as is possible)

the state and habite, as well of thy inward, as thy outward man, and not
 onlie what a one thou art, but also what a one thou shouldest be: then
 must thou frō the knowledge of thy selfe, be eleuated to the contēpla-
 tion of god. But now perhaps, thou wilt say, that thou art already entred
 into thy owne hart, but let not that suffice thee, learne to dwell there, &
 how soeuer thou shalt be distracted, or drawne frō thence, make hast to
 returne thither, & without doubt, by much vse, & practise thereof, thou
 wilt find great delectation therein, in so much that without any difficul-
 ty, thou maist be continually there, or rather it wilbe a paine vnto thee,
 to be anie where els. Thus saith *s. Bernard*, who for his experience in
 matter of contemplation deserueth to be belceued.

This recollection, or retreat of the soule with in it selfe, *s. Augustin* *Aug. confes.*
 praised, as he signifieth, and saw with the eye of his vnderstanding, *li. 7. cap. 10.*
luminis incommutabilem, the immutable or vchangeable light of God,
 who did irradiat the infinitie of his light, in such sort, that, *contremui*
 with he, *amore, & horrore*, I trembled with loue, and horrou.

To these former aduertisements, I add further (according to the ad-
 vice of a great master of contemplation) that whereas perfect vniō with
 god (which is the end of the vniuerſe way) is speciallie archiued by the
 meanes of a pure sincere, & seruient loue of God, inducing a contēpt, and
 holie hate of the world, & of our selues, it behoueth those, which tēd to
 this vniō, to endeouor by al meanes possible to attaine vnto the highest
 degree of charity, & to that end, to accustom theſelues to referre & di-
 rect all their words, works, and thoughts to the loue of God, to hate all
 things that may deuide the frō it, & not only to draw out of all their me-
 ditations, yea out of all things in heauen & earth, considerations, which
 may stirre them therro (considering his infinit bountie, & benefits gene-
 ral & particuler) but also most humbly & incessantlie to beseeche him,
 to enflame their harts with the fire of such a burning charitie, that they
 may become furnaces of his deuine loue, which may consume in them
 all their selfe loue, peruerſe affections, and other imperfections, and
 make their soules, true holocaustes, or burnt sacrifices most acceptable
 to him: and finallie breede in them such an vnquencheable thirst, and
 insatiable desire of him, that they may trulie say with the royall pro-
 phet. *Quemadmodum desiderat equus ad fontes aquarum &c.* As the stagg de-
 sired or thirsteth after the fountaines of water, so doth my soule thirst after thee
 O God, and *inflammatum est cor meum, &c.* My hart is inflamed, and my
 eyes are changed, or as the spouse saith in the Canticles, *fulcire me*
sorbus, quia amore languida, vnderprop me with flowers, for I languish
 with loue.

Dionysius
Carthusian.
de laude vi-
ta solitaria
ca 35.

Psal. 42.
Psal. 72.

20 And so this end it shalbe convenient for them (as much as they possibly may) to print and graue in their phantasie, our Saviours Christ crucified and the whole course of his passion, and to haue him in view, as it were before their eyes, to which purpose S. Bernard hauing propounded many other motives to the loue of God, saith, *Sedest quid me plures uer plus urget, plus accendit &c.* But there is another thing which more moueth, urgeth, to kindleth, or inflameth me for aboue all things, (suruente Iesus) the cup which thou didst drinke for me, I mean the works of our redemption which thou most uniaile, and loudest vnto me. This doth double challenge to itselfe all our loue. This, I say, is that whereby our deuotion is most faithfully allured, most iustly excited and most vehemently affected. Thus he. Therefore I say, let them procure, to haue alwaie in mind our Saviours passion, to the end, that by the continual consideration of that infinit loue, which he shewed towards them therein, they may with the helpe of his grace, kindle in themselves the fire of loue, which may neuer cease to cast out flames of fenice affliction, and holie desires of his vnion, and moue them to esteeme him, in their harts, & call him, their onlie hope, their chiefe delight, their eternall good, their ioy, their glorie, their life, the spouse of their soule, their refuge, their stay, their strenght, their end, their felicitie, their Lord, their God, their all in all: for such is the infinit bonitie, and goodnes of God to his creatures, and specially to the soule of man, that he cannot forbear to communicat himselfe thereto, when he seeth it surprised with his loue, and thirst after him alone, and therefore he saith to such a soule in the *Canticides*. *Vulnerasti cor meum, fons mea sponsa. Thou hast wounded my hart, my sister, and spouse, when thou shalt be crowned:*

21 Furthermore, those which are entred into this *nitius way*, and do beginne already to tast how sweete our Lord is, are to vnderstand, that although he doe, of his infinit goodnes, bestow ineffable consolations vpon his seruants, in the exercise of cōtemplation, yea sometimes impet, reuelations, the spirit of prophetic, and apparitions of our Saviour, and his Saints, as shall appeare hereafter, yet they ought not to seek to desire the same, no nor so much as sensible deuotion, except it be onlie to the end, that they may by the meanes thereof, become more feruent in his loue, and be more vnited with him. And although I haue spoken of this point already, yet I thinke good to add further here (for it can not be to oft aduised) that nothing is more dangerous to a contemplatiue soule, the spirituall gluttonie, if I may so terme it, I mean a greedy desire of spirituall delectation, for the soule that is once infected therewith, & seeketh to mixe the dung of her owne delights, with the sweete and precious balme, of Gods grace, will within a while grow to loose

S. Ber. ser. 26
in cantica.

Cant. 4.
A

Blossus in
insitnt. S. i.
rituali. c. 7.

Chap. 19. nu.
33. Or 47.

Idem in Ca.
nono-vita.
spiritualis
ca. 25.

God

Gods gifts more than himselfe, and serue him rather for hire, then for loue, yea, and lie open to all kind of illusions of wicked spirits, as I haue signified before.

21 And as this is to be feared in the inordinat desire of sensible deuotion, so it is much more to be doubted in the expectation, and desire of raptures or reuelations; For although they be euident tokens of Gods mercifull assistance (when they are of god) yet being extraordinary, and not necessarie to saluation, they can hardlie be desired, without vaine curiositie, or presumption, in which respect god permitteth manie times, that the diuell (*transforming himselfe into the Angel of light*) doth worthily delude those which curiously, or presumptuously seeke, and expect them: and therefore, as we ought not to desire them, so we also doe well not to admit them easilie, but rather to resist, and reiect them, yppon consideration of our owne vnworthines (except it be with the aduise and warrant of our spiritual father) for therevpon it will follow, that if they be illusions, they shall not deceiue vs, and if they be deuine fauours, almightie god (who giueth them) will in respect of our humilitie not onlie afford vs sufficient light to discern, and know them for his, but also increase them in vs with gifts of his grace, as I haue more amply signified before vppon an other occasion.

22 And to omit other meanes how to examin them, whether they be of god, or no, on speciall rule may be, to consider what effect they worke in our soules, for if they be of god, they alwaies leaue behind them great comfort, light, peace of soule, and profound humilitie, but when they are of the diuell, they worke the cleane contrarie effect, for howsoeuer they please, and content for the time, yet they discouer their poison in the end, leauing the soule drie without deuotion, troubled, and replenished with vaine glorie, and presumption. But the best, and surest way to preuent, and auoid illusions, is (as I haue declared before) to reiect them, and all other temptations, to some learned, and discrete spirituall father, and to follow his direction, with all due obedience, and abnegation of our selues, for the pure loue of god, for no way in this life is so secure, and gratefull to God, as the way of true obedience (as shall appeare most manifestlie hereafter, when I shall treat of the euangelicall, and Christian perfection) And this I dare be bold to say, further, that it was neuer yet seene or heard of, that anie man remaining in the vnitie of the Catholike Church, and submitting himselfe to the direction of a superiour, with true abnegation of himselfe, was either anie long time deluded, or yet did finallie perish in the practise of contemplation.

23 To conclude, there is nothing more requisit to our perfect vnion with

*Idem ibid.
ca. 26.*

2. Cor. 11.

*Idem ibid.
M. Teresa de
Iesus nella
vita sua. c.
23. & 24.*

Nu. 11.

*a Chap. 19.
nu. 48. 49.
50. & 51.
b Cassian. li.
4. de instit.
monachor.
li. 4. c. 9. &
37. Item col.
lat. 1. c. 11.
S. Greg. li. 1.
in 1. Reg. c. 1.
in fine.
B. Ignatius
reg. 13. de
discernendis
spiritib.*

M. Teresa
in vita sua
ca. II.
Blossius in
Appendice
ex Thaulero
c. I.

with God (which is the end of the vnitue way, whereof I now speak) then the perfect, and true resignation of our will to Gods will, without all reseruatiō, to doe or suffer what soeuer it shal pleas him, yea though it were to endure the paines of hell vntill the day of iudgement; for if we expect that God shall geue himselfe to vs, it is great reason, that we first free lie, and wholie giue our selues to God, and most happie are we, if wee can make that change, that is to say, purchase heauen for earth, God for our selues, all things for nothing.

26 Now then this disposition being made, the matter, and subiect of their meditation may be, either the glorious misteries of our Sauours resurrection, apparitions, ascension, and sempiternal glorie in heauen, or the attributs of almightie God, as his infinit power, wisdom, bountie, beautie, iustice, sanctitie, and other ineffable properties of the deuine nature, which fill a well disposed, & prepared soule with such admiration, and loue of the incomprehensible excellencies, and perfections of God, that manie times it leoseth it selfe, being, as it were, ingulfed, and drowned in a sea of heauenlie delights, tasting euen in this mortall state, the inspeakeable ioyes of immortalitie; as I will make manifest after a while.

27 In the meane time, I wish it to be obserued, that whereas I haue here mentioned two kindes of meditation, the one consisting in the consideration of Christs humanitie, as it was possible here in earth (which belongeth to the illuminatiue way) and the other concerning his glorified bodie, and diuinitie in heauen (which is proper to the vnitue way) the royall prophet seemeth to allude to both, when he saith. *Montes excelsi* ceruis *petra refugium* herinacis. The high hills are the habitation of stagg

Psal. 103.
P. Luyz. de la
Puente, in-
troduit. de la
orat. men-
tal. §. 4.
Cassian. col-
lat. 10. c. 10.

ges and the rocks, or rockie caues, are the refuge of hedge hoggs, that is to say, (as *Cassianus* an ancient, and notable contemplatiue noteth) those that walke in the vnitue way, and haue already arriued, to the perfection of contemplation, mount vp like staggs, and feede vpon the highest mountaynes, that is to say, the high misteries of Christs glorie, and dietie, whiles in the meane time, those that are still in the illuminatiue way, that is to say, enuironed with the pricks of imperfections, like hedgehoggs, haue their refuge to the rocke of our Sauours humanitie, in whose sacred woundes they repose, as in *foraminibus petrae* the holes of the rocke, whereof the booke of Canticles speaketh: and hereto may also the saying of the prophet *Isayas* be applied, where he saith. *Ingrederi in petram*, or *ascondere in fossa humo a facie timoris Domini*. Enter into the rocks, and hide thy selfe in the caues of the earth, from the face of Gods vwrath, that is to say, consider the multitude of thy sinnes, and haue thy refuge to Christ, who is the rocke

rocke, and hide thy selfe from the rigour of his iustice, in the sacred woundes of his humanitie. And this, as I sayd before, is most proper to those that walke in the illuminatiue way, whose speciall exercise is to represent continuallie to themselves the humanitie of our Saniour Christ, and to haue him alwaies in their memorie, to conuerse with him by spiritual conferences, and iaculatorie praiers, and to condole with him for his paines and trauailes, to acknowledge, and bewaile their owne ingratitude, and infirmitie, to craue pardon for their sinnes, and grace to imitate his vertues, whereto speciallie tendeth all their endeouour.

28. Neuertheles, it is to be vnderstood, that the most perfect contemplatiues, and most vnited with God, doe also make greate vse, and profit, as well of the misteries of Christs life, and humanitie, as of the meditations which belong, to the purgatiue way: for although, they are most commonlie so eleuated with the wings, as I may say, of a seraphical charitie, that they transcend all creatures whatsoeuer, and mount to the high misteries of the diuinitie, wherein they soare like spiritual, and high flying falcons, and solace themselves, as in their proper pitch, yet they stoupe manie times to all sorts of inferiour meditations, and serue themselves thereof in most excellent manner, and with exceeding greate fruite. For euen as in the three degrees of the soule (to wit, vegetatiue, sensitiue, and reasonable) the last being superior to the other two, doth not onlie doe her owne functions, but also theirs in farr greater perfection then they themselves can doe: euen so it faileth out in the three states, or sorts of men, which giue themselves to the contemplation of God, for those which haue alreadye beganne, and made some good progresse therein, doe exercise the meditations of nouices, or young beginners, with farre greater benefit then they, and those which are come to the state of perfection, doe vse the meditations of both the other, farre more excellentlie then they both, according to a farre greater measure of Gods grace wherewith they are endewed.

29. And therefore the most perfect contemplatiues, doe often returne to the verie first groundes of the purgatiue way, that is to say, to the remembrance and consideration of their former sinnes, & bad life (though past neuer so manie yeares before,) as well to renew, & reuiue in themselves, a gratefull memory of Gods mercy towards the, & of their obligatio to him, for deliuering them from the same, as also continually to retaine a true knowledge of themselves, & of their owne infirmitie, which is, as I may tearme it, the daylie bread, wherewith the greatest daynties

P. Luyz de la Puente ubi supra.

P. Ribera nella vita di M. Teresa li. 4. c. 8.

*Idem ibid.**M. Teresa
nella vita
sua ca. 13.**Exod. 25.**Ber. de con-
sid. li. 5.*

of the contemplatiue life, are to be eaten, and spiritual health maintained, for no man is so great a giant (I meane of such strength, and high perfection in contemplation) but that he had neede manie times to returne to be an infant, that is to say, to consider his owne weakenes, or rather his owne nothing, humbling and annihilating himselfe in the sight of God, who exalteth the humble, and raiseth manie times his dearest seruantes and friendes, from the lowest consideration of their owne basenes, and infirmitie, to the highest contemplation of his diuinitie, imparting vnto them so much more grace, light, and true knowledge of him, by how much better, and more trulie they know themselves.

30 The like also may be said of the meditations belonging to the illuminatiue way, to wit, of the blessed humanitie, life, passion, and death of our Sauour Christ, as that they are the ladder, by the which the most perfect contemplatiues, clime vp to the speculation of his diuinitie, and to perfect vnion with him, finding in him infinit causes, not onlie of excelliue loue, as I haue touched before, but also of wonderfull admiratiō, and astonishment, in which respect he was figured in the ould law, by the propitiatorie ouer the arke, and two Cherubins were made beholding the same, & also looking one vppon an other, as though they were amazed, and astonished.

31 For what can be more stupendious, then to consider in our propitiatorie (that is to say in our Sauour Christ) a most perfect coniunction of the highest, with the lowest, of the most simple, with the most compounded, of the Creator, with the creature, of God, with man, and that, as there is in the blessed Trinitie three persons, & one substance, so there is in him one person, and two substances, one perfect consent, & agreement of two different wills, one adoration of diuers dignities, and one dominion of diuers powers. Furthermore that he is both our Creator, and our companion, our God, and our neighbour, our Lord, and our brother, our king, and our friend, our iudge and our aduocate, our beginning, and our end, vncreated, and yet incarnat and the sonne of man, without the helpe of man, and that he being omnipotencie, it selfe, was oppressed being bountie it selfe was reiected being perfect, and true beautie was deformed, being true light was obscured, being true wisdom was held for a mad man, and treated like a foole, being infinit maiestie was outraged, being immensitie, was measured, & abridged, being iustice it selfe, was condemned, being true felicitie was tormented, and finally that being eternitie, and life it selfe, he died: wherevnto if we add, that all this was an effect of his infinit loue, to those that were his vngrateful creatures, and slaues, rebellious subiects, disobedient, and

vnnatural

unnatural children, to remedie their miseries, to supplie their defects, to honour them, to exalt them, to glotifie them, and that to this end, he not onlie imparted to them all his owne good, yea himselfe, but also tooke vppon himselfe their miserie, & the verie penaltie of their sinnes, making himselfe mortall, and miserable with them, to make them immortal, and deuine with him; what admiration, exultation, and deuotion, will the attentiu meditation of all this, worke in a well disposed soule, I meane a soule purified by Gods grace from sinne, and enflamed with his pure loue, for of such I speciallie speake now?

¶ Therefore such a soule, doth not stay it selfe here, but aspiring to the contemplation of the deitie it selfe, passeth further to the meditation of the glorious resurrection of our Sauour Christ, and of his apparitions, and other actions whiles he remained here in earth: whereof I forbear for breuities sake, to say anie thing in particular, to the end I may the more amply treat of some pointes, concerning his glorified bodie in heauen, his Angels, and Saints, the ioyes of his kingdome, and lastlie of the most excellent, and incomprehensible perfections of the deuine nature. In all which neuertheles, I will be mindfull aswell of my purposed breuitie, as also of mine owne insufficiency to treat of such high misteries, and therefore, I will endeour rather to giue some tast to the reader of these pointes, then anie complete instruction for the meditation thereof, which I leaue to those that purposelie treat of this mystical Theologie, and haue more habilitie both of skill, and practise thereof, then my selfe.

¶ The contemplator, meaning to meditate vppon the pointes before mentioned, may propose to himselfe our Sauours ascension into heauen, and accompanie him thither in cogitation, behoulding there, with what triumph the Angels receiued not onlie him, but also the blessed soules of the patriarkes, prophets, and other iust men of the ould testament, which attended on him thither, and how excessiue was their contentment and ioy, to see the celestially court augmented, and peopled with new colonies of such worthie inhabitants, vnder the conduct of such a glorious captaine; who though he was of infinit power, euen whiles he was here on earth, and fought against both the infernall, and terrestiall potentats, yet would not vie his force, but ouercame them by infirmities, conquering them, and death it selfe by his death, and being enriched with their spoiles, led captivity it selfe captiue with him to heauen, where he tooke possession of his Fathers kingdome, and reigneth with him eternallie in incomparable maiestie, and glorie, enioying a name (as the Apostle saith) aboue all names, wherewith, *all the knees in*

*Ephes. 4.
Phil. 67.*

Philip. 2.

1. Pet. 1.

Apoc. 21.

heauen, earth, and hell doe bowe, whose glorie (saith *s. Peter*) the Angels desire; and delight to behold, for the inspeakeable splendor, and brightnes thereof, he being, as *s. Iohn* in the Apocalipse calleth him, *Lucerna*, the lampe, or torch which giueth light to the heauenlie *Ierusalem*, with the consideratiō whereof, we may excedinglie comfort our selues. For who would not infinitelie reioyce, to see anie friend of his, and much more his Sauour, and redeemer, so glorious after a most painfull life, and ignominious death suffred for him, especiallie seeing we may also consider, and behold our owne nature infinitelie exalted, and glorified in our Sauour, whereby we may haue a firme hope through his merits, to be hereafter partakers of his glorie, as well in bodie, as in soule.

Barac. 3.

34 Furthermore, being now mounted with our Sauour into the heauenlie tabernacles, we may consider the inexplicable greatnes, and magnificēce thereof, whereof the prophet saith. *O Israel, quam magna &c. O Israel how great is the house of God, and how vnmeasurable is the place of thy throne? It is great, and hath no end, it is high, and immense.* Thus saith the prophet, and no meruel, if almightie God, that made the world, so great, huge, and beauriful, as we see, for the vse, and habitation of men, made also for himselfe and his Angels, a dwelling worthie of himselfe, and of his omnipotent maiestie, for the remuneration of his elect, and the eternal manifestation of his power and glorie, where (saith the prophet *Daniel*) thousands of thousands doe daily, serue him, and tenne times a hundred thousand of thousand of thousands assist before his throne. In which words the prophet expresseth, after the manner of the scripture, a certaine number, for an vncertaine, that is to say, for a number that is incomprehensible, and infinit to men, being such (as *Dionysius Areopagita* testifieth) that it exceedeth the number, not onlie of all the men that euer haue bene, are, or euer shalbe, but also of all the materiall, or corporal things in the world. And therefore *Iob* saith, *Nunquid est numerus militum eius*, is there anie number of his souldiars?

Dan. 7.

Dionys. ca-
lesti. Hierar.
ca. 9.

Iob. 25.

Dionys. de
calesi Hierar.
ca. 7. 8.
c. 9.

S. Greg. 10.

34. in Euāg.
ante mediū.

S. Tho. 1. par.
q. 108. per
totum.

35 And these infinit numbers of Angelical spirits (who alwaies attend to doe the will of God) are deuided into three Hierarchies, euery Hierarchy, containing three distinct orders, as the Seraphin, Cherubin, & Throin in the first Hierarchie. The Dominations, principatus, and Poteslates, in the second. The virtues Archangeli, & Angeli, in the third. I which three Hierarchies, the Angels are no lesse different amongst themselves in degree of glorie, then in function, being subordinat euery order, & each Hierarchie, one to an other with admirable order, and proportion, of whose gradual distinction, names, and seuerall functions, *s. Bernard* discourseth

discou
emplo
our T
36 T
are ser
mister
to the
37 T
raculo
nition
38 T
spirits
wilen
39 T
cipali
40
about
41
thron
quili
42
of the
their
43
a deu
men.
44
the f
Cher
mina
begin
deser
as v
in th
vnd
thes
vert
min
45
of

discourseth notable, teaching that the *Angels* are those which are employed in the protection, helpe, and custodie of men, and are called our proper Angels. *S. Bernar. li. 5. de consi- der. ad. Eugen.*

36 That the *Archangels* are those which being superiour to *Angels*, are sent by almighty God to reueale the most important, and highest misteries to men, as the *Archangel Gabriel* was employed in the message to the blessed virgin for the incarnation of our Saviour.

37 The *Virtues* are those, that haue the power, and office to doe miraculous, and prodigious workes for the glorie of God, and the admonition, terrour, and conuersion of sinners.

38 The *Potestates* are such, as repress the power, and malice of wicked spirits, and the malignitie of the aire, & elements, which would otherwise many times, be more noysome to mankind, then they are.

39 The *Principatus* are those, by whose wisdom, & ministerial principallitie in earth is guided, limited, transposed, or changed.

40 The *Dominiones* are those, who haue presidence, & rule ouer al the aboue named, & by whome al their operations are ordered, & disposed.

41 The *Throni* are those, in whome almighty God sitteth as in his throne of maiestie, imparting vnto them, and to others by them, tranquillitie, peace, and stabilitie.

42 The *Cherubin* are those, which drawing a flud of knowledge, out of the fountaine of the diuine wisdom, doe communicat the same to the inferiour orders of Angels, & other seruants of God.

43 Lastlie the *Seraphin* are those, that being wholie enflamed with a deuine loue, doe kindle the same in other Angelical spirits, & also in men, when it pleaseth God so to ordaine.

44 And to conclude, *S. Bernard*, alluding to the seuerall offices of all the foresaid orders, saith, that in the *Seraphin*, God loueth as *Charity*, in the *Cherubin*, he knoweth as *truth*, in the *Throni* he sitteth as *equitie*, in the *Dominiones*, he ruleth as *Maiesty*, in the *principatus* he gouerneth as the *beginninge or first cause of all thinges*, in the *Potestates* he preserveth, and defendeth as *Health*, or *saluation*, in the *virtutes* he worketh miracles, as *vertue*, or *power*, in the *Archangels* he reuealeth as *light*, and in the *Angels*, he assisteth as *piety*. Thus saith *S. Bernard*, giuing to vnderstand, that almightie God, not onlie dwelleth continuallie in these holie spirits, but also worketh, and effecteth, all their seuerall vertues, and operations in them, and in other his creatures, by their ministerie. *S. Bernar. ubi supra.*

45 And here may verie well enter in consideration, the excellencie of the Angelical nature, most eminent in power, and wisdom,

beautie, agilitie, obedience to the will of god, and prompt execution thereof, being as the psalmist saith *potentes virtute &c. Mighty; and potent in vertue and power to doe, or execute that which God commaunded them,* and therefore to their charge is committed the motion of the heauens, and spheres (according to the opinion of all the philosophers, and *manie deuines*) the *b* protection of the Church of God, the *c* gard, and defence of kingdomes and prouinces, the *d* tuition of euerie particular man (as well to defend him from wicked spirits, and other corporal dangers, as to illuminat, and direct him for his saluation) the *e* execution of gods decrees, both in the temporal *f* punishment of sinners, and also in the temporal *g* reward of the iust, the *h* operation of miraculous, and wonderful workes, the *i* reuelation of his misteries, and secrets to his seruants, the *k* intimation of his will, and messages, when occasion requireth. The *l* presentation, & oblation of our praiers, and good workes to god, the *m* transport of our soules to euerlasting ioy, *n* and lastlie the separation of the good from the bad at the day of iudgement; all which if the contemplator dulie consider he cannot but vnderstand withall, the obligation he hath to yeld them (as *o S. Bernard* aduise) *denotion for their beneuolence, loue, and confidence for their care of him, and due reuerence for their presence, and continual assistance*: in regard whereof the Apostle also commaundeth, that *women be decentlie covered in the Church, p propter Angelos*, in respect of the presence of the Angels. And *q S. Bernard*, *caute ambula*, saith he, *ut cui adsunt angeli, vvalke vwarely as hauing alwaies Angels present with thee*, and then he addeth further, *in quouis angulo, angelo tuo &c. In euerie corner doe reuerence to thy Angel, darest thou doe that in his presence, which thou durst not doe in mine?* Thus saith *S. Bernard*.

46 And with these considerations, we may styrre vp in our selues, a grateful remembrance of our dutie to honour, loue, and serue the blessed Angels, and speciallie our owne proper Angel, and to recommend our selues to his speciall care, and protection, crauing most humble pardon of him, for our ingratitude towards him, in hauing so oft times reiected his holie suggestions, and had so litle regard, and respect of him, as to offend God most abominable in his presence. Finallie we may also here consider how much we are bound to praise, and thanke almighty god for his merciful prouidence, and loue towards vs, not onlie in geuing vs such noble, potent, wise, louing, and faithful gardians to keepe vs, as the psalmist saith in *all our vvaies*, but also in exalting vs to the participation of their glorie, as our Sauour testifieth speaking of the reward of the iust in heauen. *f Et sunt* (saith he) *sicut Angeli, and they*

o S. Bernard. ser. 12. in Psal. 90. p 1. Cor. 11. q Idem ibid. r Psal. 90. s Matth. 22.

Psal. 102. Aristot. 8. Phys. text. 32. & 12. meta. phys. text. 43. Plato 1. de leg. 2. S. Aug. 1. 83. questionū. q. 79. S. Greg. 1. 9. Moral. c. 10. D. Tho. opusc. 10. ar. 3. & opusc. 11. ar. 2. & S. Bonavent. in 2. dist. 14. ar. 3. q. 2. b Habr. 1. & D. Ambros. in Commē. in Apoc. c. 5. c Daniel. 10. & D. Basil. 1. 3. contra Eunomium. d Genes. 48. Matth. 18. Act. 12. c f 4. Reg. 19. Act. 12. g Tobia 5. vsque ad 12. & Genes. 19. h Ioan. 5. S. Bernard. 1. 3. de considerat. ad Eugen. i Daniel. 9. & 10. & Genes. 18. k Luc. 1. Matt. 1. & 2. l Tob. 12. Apoc. 8. m Luc. 16. n Matth. 24.

as like our in 47 F down the scri tion) i to the supplie fable c other our ow fellow the Ch orders Father, doth i fight i Saint accor some v other other ple, all fight, not o els th vinit final, 48 F incon glori soule gels, and m calle all cre, exco gnifi neth faint

are like to the Angels, whereof resulteth also an other consideration, of our infinit obligation to his deuine maiestie.

47 For whereas *Lucifer*, and innumerable other Angels, were cast ^{1 say. 14.} downe into hell for their sinne, and man created to fill their ruines (as ^{Psal. 109.} the scripture saith) (who also fell from God, deseruing eternal damna- ^{Genes. 2.} tion) it pleased his deuine maiestie, to giue a redeemer to man, and not to the Angels, to the end he might (not withstanding his transgression) supplie the places of the spirits that fell: whereby we may receiue inef- ^{3.} fable consolation, if we consider therein, as well our owne benefits, as other mens, and that an infinit number, and amongst others manie of our owne ancestors, parents, and friendes, do already enioy the blessed fellowship of Angels, being ranked some with the *Seraphins*, some with the *Cherubins*, others with the *Thrones* or *Dominations*, and other inferiour ^{D. Greg. Hom. de 100} orders, there being, as our Sauour taught, *manie mansions in the house of his* ^{euibus.} *Father*, wherein one soule differeth in glorie from another, as one starr doth in light from another with such a glorious varietie, that the verie ^{1. Cor. 15.} sight thereof, is no small encrease of the accidental glorie, of Gods Saints, distinguished amongst themselves, with diuersitie of rewards, according to their diuerse vocations, and merits here in this life, where some were Apostles, some Patriarkes, some Prophets, some Martires, other Confessors, other virgins, besides an innumerable companie of other saued soules of all sorts, and vocations, and of all nations, and people, all triumphing now ouer the malice, and miserie of the world, in the sight, and fruition of god their Creatour, in whom they see, and know, not onlie all the secrets of nature, and all naturall causes, but also what els they desire to know, yea, the abstruse misteries of his most blessed diuinitie, and Trinitie, wherein consisteth their essential glorie and mans finall, and true felicitie.

48 Here then may we congratulate with all the blessed soules, for their incomprehensible ioyes, and happines, but especiallie with the most glorious virgin *Mary*, the mother of God, exalted both in bodie, and soule, not onlie aboue all the soules of men, but also aboue all the Angels, being as *S. Chrysostome* saith *incomparably more glorious then the Seraphins,* ^{Chrysostom. in liur. & bo. 1. in 1. s.} *and more beautifull and worthie then all the world,* and therefore worthilie called by *S. Iohn Damascen.* *Domina omnium creaturarum, the lady and mistres of* ^{Math. Iohan. Dam. orth. li. 4.} *all creatures.* In which respect, as well the Angels, as the glorified soules, exceedingly reioyce to see her glorie, neuer ceasing to praise, and magnifie her for the inestimable benefits, that both heauen, & earth receiue by her, wherein we ought also to concur with them, saying with *Saint, Cyril.* *Salve sancta Deipara &c. All hyle holy mother of God, the notable*

ornaments

Sanct. Ciril ornament and honour of the whole world. All haile the inextingible, or
 Alexan. quencheable lamp, the crowne of virginity, the scepter of the true Christian faith,
 Hom. contra the indissoluble temple of God, which contained him, who cannot be conserved, or
 Nestorium comprehended anie where &c. Or with S. Athanasius thus. Exaltamus te magna
 Ephefi. Habita in consil. Ephesino. Canora voce &c. we, exalt or extol thee, with a hygh and loud voyce saying,
 To. 6. Ephefi. ni cocil. c. 6. hail full of grace our Lord is with thee, pray for us, o mistres, lady, queene and mother
 S. Athanas. of God &c.

29 Thus may we say with these ancient and holie Fathers, recommending our selues to her intercession, and protection, as also to the praiers of all the blessed companie of Saints, and especiallie of those which are our particuler patrons, setting before our eies, the examples of all their rare vertues, desiring, and determining by the helpe of their praiers, to imitate the same, as the *a* faith, and *b* obedience of Abraham, the *c* patience of Iob, the manfuetude of *d* Moyses, and *e* David, the burning charitie of *f* S. Paul, both towards God and his neighbour, the teares, and repentance of *g* S. Peter, and *h* S. Mary Magdalen, the inuincible constancie of the martirs, the immaculat chastitie of the virgins, the profound humilitie, resignation, and true contempt of the world, of all the blessed Apostles, Anchors, hermits, & religious, to the end, that following their steps here in this life, we may in the next be partakers of their felicity, in terra viuentium, in the land of the liuing, which they already possesse, where the ioy is so vnspokeable that (as S. Augustin saith) it is more easie to tell what is not there, then what is there, where there are no dangers, no feares, no enuie, no wrath, no ambition, no temptation, no hunger, no thirst, no wearines, no neede, of sleepe, or rest, no pouertie, no sicknes, but life without death, youth without age, light without darkenes, ioy without sorrow, peace without discord, and eternal glorie, which as S. Anselme saith, is nothing els, but a perfect accomplishment or consummation of the will, and desire of the iust, a ioy of all ioyes, a contentment, or pleasure of all pleasures, and a good of all goods without anie mixture of euil, or sorrow, and with euerlasting securitie.

30 Thus may we entertaine our selues, with no lesse fruit, then spirituall contentment, in the meditation of the heauenly court, and the inestimable ioyes thereof. And therefore S. Bernard exhorting vs thereto, saith. Quid concupiscere poterit in hoc seculo nequam &c. What can he desire in de ascensione this wicked world, whose eye doth alwayes behould, bona Domini in terra viuentium, the goods of our Lord in the land of the liuing &c. Who is there that doth vse to meditate, vpon the ioyes, the pleasure, the beatitude, and the eternal glory of the children of God, and will not out of the abundance of his inward consolation, breake forth into the words of S. Peter, and say, bonum est nos hic esse, it is

Psal. 141.
 Aug. de. ver.
 do. ser. 64.
 Idem manual. ca. 17.

S. Ber. ser. 4.
 de ascensione
 domini.

and for
 same p
 medita
 temp
 heauen
 readin
 things,
 ther, fa
 things,
 the roy
 quent
 mine &
 fervent

of con
 rit, a
 fauou
 perfe
 conse
 steth



ti of
 fundit
 confid
 we ma
 of our
 section
 coceiv
 most p
 efflenc
 our all
 rather
 where
 trained

and for us to dwell here? Thus saith *S. Bernard*, with much more to the same purpose, to shew the fruit, and benefit that followeth of these meditations, which must needs breede in our soules, a true contempt of this miserable world, with a feruent loue, and desire of heauenlie thinges, wherevpon the Apostle himselfe saith. *Si confur- Math. 17*
resistu cum Christo &c. If you be risen againe with Christ, seeke after those thinges, which are aboue, where Christ is sitting on the right hand of his Father, take a tast, and feeling of supernal, or heauenlie thinges, and not of those thinges, which are vpon the earth. Thus saith the Apostle. And therefore the royall prophet, being inflamed with the loue of heauen, by the frequent meditation thereof, exclaimeth. *Quam delecta tabernacula tua Domine &c.* How louelie are thy tabernacles, o Lord, my soule fainteth in me for the feruent desire I haue to be in the courts of our Lord? *Coloss. 3.*
Psal. 83.

of certaine other meditations proper, to the *Vnitue* way, and of the excess of spirit, called by the contemplatiues *Ectasis*, and of raptures, and the diuersity of diuine fauours, and the ineffable consolations, which God imparteth to his seruants in the perfect practise thereof; whereby it is euident, that true vniou with God, and consequentlie the cheefe felicity of man in this life, and of common wealth, consisteth in Christian contemplation.

C H A P. 21.

VHen we haue in this sort taken, as I may say, some view of the celestia kingdome, and of the glorious inhabitants thereof, we may with due reuerence, humility, & resignation of our selues, insinuat our selues further to the contemplation of the diuine nature, not with intention to sound the bottomles profunditie, of that vast, and vnmeasurable sea, but with a desire, onlie to consider some part of the diuine attributes and excellencies, to the end we may excite our selues the rather to the admiration, praise and loue of our Creatour, acknowledging all, and euerie one of his diuine perfections, to be ineffable, infinit, and incomprehensible. For who can conceiue the most admirable proprietie of the diuine essence, which being most pure, simple, & absolute of it selfe, depedeth on nothing, but giueth essence to all things, and being whole as well within all things, as without all things, is as it were, both their center, & their circumference, or rather as I may say, an intelligible sphere, whereof the center is euerie where, and the circumferent no where, for being in all places, he is contained in no place, being in all things, he is included in nothing, & being

without all things, he is excluded from nothing, but is more present, and inward to euerie thing then anie thing is to it selfe, and though he be onlie, and simple one, yet he is most manifold in operation, yea all in all of *whome by whome, and in whom* (as the Apostle saith) all things are, or haue their being. And againe who can comprehend, or sufficiently admire, the infinit excellencie of his deuine attribuits, and proprietie, as of his power, *wisdome, bountie and iustice*, of the which euerie one is, *Abysus multa, an inferable deapth and profunditie.*

2. For first to say somewhat of his power, who can conceiue how unmeasurable it is, seeing it extendeth it selfe, as farre as his will, which is infinit: for although he will not doe all that he can, yet he can doe all that he will, and therefore as he hath made, and done all, saith the psalmist, *that he would in heauen, and earth*, so also he could, if he would doe infinitely more, yea, and in an instant annihilat all things in the world, with the like facilitie that he made them, to witt, with his only word, or will.

3. Furthermore his omnipotencie sufficientlie appeareth, not onlie in the huge immensitie of the world, and infinit multitude of his creatures in generall, but also in euerie creature in particular, euerie one of them being a miracle in it selfe, though the dailie sight of them diminisheth the wonder, it is no lesse miraculous, that one graine of corne sowed in the ground, is multiplied into so manie graines, for the sustenance of man, as wee dailie see, then that our Sauour Christ, multiplied two fishes, and five loaves, to feede five thousand men, it is no lesse maruelous, and miraculous to create, and giue life to so manie soules, as God dailie doth, then if he should dailie reuiue as manie dead men. Finallie there is not so litle, and contemptible a creature vppon earth, which could haue bene at first created, or could be still conserued, and multiplied, without an infinit power in God the Creator, and therefore he is worthilie called omnipotent, or almightie, omnipotent in that he created all things of nothing, omnipotent in their conseruation, omnipotent in their multiplication, omnipotent in their disposition & gouernment, omnipotent in punishing, omnipotent in pardoning and rewarding, from whose omnipotent power, is deriued all the power in heauen and earth, the power of Angels, good and bad, the power of the elements (which farre exceedeth all humane power) the power of princes, and magistrats, the power of armies, and finallie all strength, and power of men, and of all other creatures, which, I say, floweth from the maine sea of his omnipotencie, and returneth thither againe, seeing that all created power is ordained, for no other end, but for his seruice.

4. Therefore

Th
and a
time, r
craving
but also
beseech
him, i
perious
deuine
great c
hath en
men ha
tron, fi
om, qu
Thus n
s. In l
all thin
nature
the nu
iad of
by disc
harts, a
also on
There i
(either
of Peter
must fa
tims a f
gessas
we m
thoug
fire to
tentio
6. Bu
the w
confe
conti
with
all his
exten

Therefore, we may here applie all this particularlie to our selues, and acknowledge, all the power, force, strength, and authoritie that we haue, to be of God, praising, and thanking him most humbly for it, craving not onlie his grace, that we may alwaies vse it to his seruice, but also pardon for all our former abuse thereof. Also we may humbly beseech almighty God, that seeing all power, and authoritie is from him, it may please his diuine maiestie to giue vs grace, to obey our superiours with all humilitie, and due obedience; acknowledging his diuine power and authoritie in theirs. Finallie we may consider how great cause of feare all wicked men haue, seeing they haue such a powerful enemy, whose omnipotent will nothing can resist, as also that good men haue no lesse cause of confidence, and ioy hauing such a potent patron, friend, and father, to protect, and defend them, for *si Deus nobiscum, quis contra nos? if God be with vs, what neede we care who is against us?* Thus much for the diuine power.

In like maner, how infinite is his wisdom, which knoweth not onlie all things in general, but also euery thing in particular, & all the partes nature, vertue, & power thereof, & (as the preacher saith,) he knoweth the number of the starres, of the sands of the sea, of the drops of rayne, and of the daies of the world, all things past, present, and to come, not by discourse, but all at once. Moreouer his wisdom searcheth the very hearts, and reines of men, it knoweth not onlie our future actions, but also our future cogitations, he foresaw, saith *S. Augustin*, the denial of *Peter* in the heart of *Peter*, though then it had no cause, as it was a sinne (either in the will of God, who neuer willeth anie sinne) nor in the will of *Peter*, who as then detemined the contrarie, and therefore the psalmist saith, *intellexisti cogitationes meas de longe, thou hast understood my cogitations a farre of, omnes vias meas prouidisti, thou hast foreseene all my waies, & gressus meos, saith, Tob, dinumerasti, thou hast numbred all my paces: whereby we may iustly conceiue, as well feare to doe euil, euen in the least thought, or cogitation (seeing it cannot be hid from him) as also desire to doe well, seeing our most secret good workes, thoughts, and intentions, are all manifest to him, and shalbe rewarded by him.*

But what tongue, or pen can expresse, or vnderstanding comprehend, the wonderfull wisdom that God hath shewed in the creation, and conseruation of the world, consisting of contrarieties, which combat continually one with an other, and yet are conserued by his wisdom with a most admirable equalitie, order, beautie, vtilitie, and benefit to all his creatures, which he also guideth, & disposeth by his prouidence, extending the same particularlie to euery thing, and speciallie to his

Eccl. 2.1.

servants, yea to euerie *hayre of their heads*, whereof he saith, *his one shall perish*, working neuertheles in man, and in all things els, according to their owne natures, with such sweetnes, that he seemeth sometimes to haue no operation therein, or care thereof, yet drawing alwaies good out of euil, and neuer permitting euil, but for a greater good, and turning all things in due, yea the euil wills of the wickedest men, to the execution of his owne will, and to his glorie, for the which he created man, and all things els? And therefore the psalmist iustlie exclaimeth with the admiration of the wisdom of God in all his workes. *Quam magnificata sunt opera tua Domine, amnia in sapientia fecisti?* &c. *How magnificient are thy workes, O Lord, thou hast made, or donne all things in wisdom?*

Psal. 103.

7 And what shall I say of the inscrutabilitie of his iudgements, proceeding also from the bottomles depth of his wisdom? For who can giue anie reason, why he rather chose the Iewes for his people, then the Gentils? Why he ordained the conuersion of the parts of the world so soone, and of the Indians so late? Why hauing taken from Roboam part of his kingdome for his Fathers offence, he gaue it to Ieroboam, a wicked man then he? Why one man is borne lame, or blind, and an other with all his limes, and eyes? Why one man is poore, and miserable, and an other rich, and prosperous, and such like? Whereof, and of all such other his deuine iudgements, in the disposition of mens affaires, the reason is no lesse iust, then certaine though reserued, and locked vp (as I may say) in the secret cabinet of his profound wisdom, to be made manifest at the latter day, at what time we shall exclaime with the Apostle. *O altitudo diuitiarum, sapientie, & scientia Dei* &c. *O how high, and profound are the riches of Gods wisdom, and knowledge! How incomprehensible are his iudgements, and unsearchable are his wayes!*

Rom. 11.

8 Here then may we consider, that all wisdom of men, is but, as it were, a litle beame of light, cast forth from the sonne of Gods infinit wisdom, that therefore it is the particular gift of God, not possible to be procured by humane industrie, other then by humble praier, in which respect let vs humbly craue it of almightie God, saying with the psalmist. *Illumina tenebras meas Domine.* O Lord, illuminat my darknes, and with the wise man. *Da mihi Domine* &c. *Giue me O Lord the wisdom that assisteth thy seat, to the end it may be with me, and labour with me, that I may know, what is acceptable to thee.* Lastlie, let vs acknowledge with the Apostle, that all worldly wisdom is more folly, and say with Iob. *Ecce timor Domini* &c. *Behold the feare of God is true wisdom, and to eschew sinne is true understanding.*

Sap. 1.

Psal. 17.

Sap. 9.

1. Cor. 3.

Job. 28.

9 Moreouer how can the infinit bountie or goodnes of God, be either comprehended, or sufficientlie commended, seeing no creature in heauen, or earth hath anie goodnes at all, but onlie by participation thereof, being good, because he is good, and made all his creatures good, communicating his owne goodnes to them, from the highest to the lowest. From whence proceedeth all the benefits, that man receiueth by heauen, and earth, but from his bountie? Whence is mans beautie, his strength, his health, his welth, his ease, his honours, his vertues, whence I say, doe they flow, but from the fountaine of his deuine goodnes? How bountifull is he not onlie to his seruants in protecting, comforting, cherishing, pardoning, and rewarding them, but also to his verie enemies, in conseruing them, in expecting them to repentance, in offering them his grace, and in reconciling them to him, if the fault be nor in themselves?

10 How admirable was his bountie in his Incarnation, whereby he communicated vnto vs, all his owne good, yea himselfe, and tooke vpon himselfe our humanitie, mortalitie, and miserie? How stupendious was his goodnes in our Redemption, as also in the deuine sacraments, and spirituall power left in his Church, and speciallie in feeding vs with his owne blessed bodie, and blood, all I say, stupendious for the manner, for the effects, & for the fruit, & benefit to mankind, as I haue sufficiently declared diuers times before? How bountifull, & liberal is he in rewarding his owne gifts, & graces in vs seeing he rewardeth vs for that which he geueth vs; first imparting his grace vnto vs, to the end we may merit, and then rewarding our merits farre aboue our merits, recompensing our transitorie, vnperfect, & weake workes with temporall, spirituall, and euerlasting rewards, surpassing all vnderstanding & imagination of man? The due consideration whereof, cannot but moue vs to two things, the one to loue, and praise him, for his infinit bountie and mercie, saying with the psalmist, *confitemini Domino, quoniam bonus, quoniam in seculum misericordia eius*; Confesse ye our Lord, for he is bountifull, and good and his mercy is for euer. The other is to pray continuallie for his grace, that we may imitate his deuine bountie, communicating to our neighbours, the gifts, graces, goods, and talents which he hath bestowed vpon vs.

11 Furthermore what shall I say of his iustice, which is no lesse ineffable, & incōprehensible then the former, whether we consider it, as he punisheth, or as he rewardeth, seeing he is no lesse exact in the one, then in the other, punishing all sinne whatsoeuer without exception of persons, times, or places, from whose hand no man can escape, frō whose eye no

man can be hid, who searcheth most curiously into euery corner of mans conscience, which is more cleare to him, then the sunne, and searcheth him for an vnreprouable witness against euery sinner. *Scrutabor* saith he, *Hierusalem in lucernis. I will search Hierusalem with candels, and torches,* meaning that he will list, and straightlie examine, the hearts, and consciences, of his owne seruants. Therefore how much more narrowly will he list the consciences, and actions of his enimies?

11 And so seuer is his iudgement, that those sinnes, which seeme to man but light, and are, as we call them venial, deserue in his sight most rigorous punishment, as may appeare by the sinne of *Moses*, consisting in a litle distrust, for the which neuertheles he was excluded from the land of promise, as also a prophet, in *Samaria*, was killed by a lyon, because contrarie to the commaundement of God, he did eate a litle in the way, being deceiued by an other prophet, who pretended, to haue had a latter reuelation to inuite him to eate, what then may we thinke of his rigour, and seueritie in the punishment of mortall sinnes, which he punisheth not onlie corporallie, and by desolation of whole kingdomes, and countries, by famins, plagues, warre inundations, fire from heauen, serpents, and such like, but also eternallie, by vnspokeable tormentes. Litle so terrible is he in his iustice, and iudgements, that his verie elect seruants, and freends are aduised by the *Apostle* to worke their saluation, with feare, and tremore, with feare, and trembling, what terrour then, and horror ought the wicked to haue, who daily deserue the extremitie of his wrath, and vengeance?

13 But what? is not his iustice also as complete in rewarding? For although he be our Lord, and creatour, and therefore oweth vs nothing for our seruice, in respect of it selfe, yet hauing out of his bountie, and liberalitie promised vs reward for the same, and for euery good worke, he hath thereby made himselfe our detter, if we serue him, and is of his iustice so exact, in the performance of his promise, that he leaueth no good act (be it neuer so litle) nor good thought vnrwarded, yea and recompenseth sometimes the seruices of his very enimies, yea though they serue him vnwittinglie. He aduanced the Romans, as *S. Augustin* saith to the monarchie of the world for their morall vertues, & recompensed *Nabuchodonosor* king of *Babylon*, for the seruice which he did him vnwittinglie in the expugnation of *Tyrus*. How then will he rewarde his seruants, for good workes proceeding of his grace, and directed to his seruice?

14 Therefore the *Apostle* most confidently expected the crowne of iustice, for the good worke, which, as he saith, he had runne here in his seruice.

Sophon. 1.

Numer. 20.

3. Reg. 13.

Philip. 2.

Aug. de ciuit.

dei. li. 5. c. 15.

Ecce. 29.

seruice,
worke
and no
his name
an omni
warden
tance, g
eternall
is infinit
bountie
praise,
the pal
and thy
17 To
dered, a
will tou
(the po
to some
nitic, a
the Fac
bountie
16 Fo
equall
uerthel
rather
belong
to God
other t
the Sou
he is pr
or boun
princi
of the
where
17 M
goodne
of son
god is
seeing
himse
1000

seruice, quam reddet mihi Dominus (saith he) in illa die iustus iudex, which 2 Tim. 4. *knowe our Lord being a iust iudge, will render vnto me in the day of iudgement,* and no manuaile seeing he rewardeth euerie cupp of cold water giuen in *Matth. 10.* his name, whereby his seruants may receiue infinit comfort, seruing such an omnipotent, wise, bountifull, and iust Lord, who accepteth, and rewardeth such small seruices, yea, and for one teare, or sigh of true repentance, giueth in recompence his owne euerlasting Kingdome, and the eternall fruition of himselfe. To conclud we are to consider, that as he is infinitlie to be admired, praised and beloued of vs, for his mercie, bountie, & iustice, in rewarding vs: so also we ought no lesse to admire, praise, and loue him for his iustice in punishing vs, saying alwaies with the psalmist, *Iustus es Domine & rectum iudicium tuum*; *thou art iust o Lord, and thy iudgement is right.* *Psal. 118.*

15 To mit for breuities sake manie other things, which might be considered, as well concerninge his iustice, as other his ineffable vertues, and will touch onlie a further consideration of the three former attribuits (the power, wisdom, and goodnes of God) whereby we may be lead to some speculation of the inscrutable misterie of the most blessed Trinitie, acknowledging in the omnipotencie of god, the person of God the Father, in his wisdom, the person of God the Sonne, and in his bountie, or goodnes, God the holie Ghost.

16 For although all the three persons (being of one substance, and equall one with an other) are like omnipotent, wise, and bountifull, neuertheless these attributes may be particularlie, and seuerallie applied, rather to one of them, then to an other, in respect of certaine properties belonging to their seuerall persons, as omnipotencie is applied properly to God the Father, as to the beginninge, or roote from whence the other two persons spring; And wisdom is peculiarie applied to God the Sonne (who is called *sapientia Patris, the wisdom of the Father*) because he is produced by the vnderstanding of his Father: And lastie goodnes *S. Aug. li. de Trinitate ca. 15.* or bountie, is attributed to the holie Ghost, because goodnes proceedeth principally from the will, as the holie Ghost proceedeth from the will of the Father, and the Sonne, being their loue, and as it were the linke whereby they are eternallie vnited.

17 Moreouer we may also by the further consideration of the infinit goodnes of god, receiue some further light for the better vnderstanding of some other misteries, belonging to the diuine nature; For seeing that god is infinitlie good, and therefore most communicable, I meane, that seeing it is most requisite to his infinit goodnes, that he communicate himselfe to some one or other infinitlie, and with the greatest communica-

Proverb. 25.

Blossius in
institut. spi-
rituali c. 8.
Et in speculo
spirituali.
c. 10.
2. Cor 10.

Psal. 41.

Cant. 5.
Psal. 33.

Psal. 28.

nication that may be (that is to say) that he giue, and impart not onlie his giftes, and proprieties (as he doth to his creatures) but also his whole essence, nature, and substance (for other wayes he doth not communicate so much as he may) it must needs follow, that there is a distinction of deuine persons, to whom the diuine nature is communicated, who consequentlie hauing the same deuine nature, and essence, must needs also be infinitlie good, & consubstantial, that is to say, of one substance, and nature, and therefore also coequal, and one God, which when we haue considered, let vs then lay all reason aside, and haue recourse to faith, and by the light thereof consider, and admire the rest of our Christian doctrin, concerning the three deuine persons, and their deuine proprieties, without further curiositie, to penetrate, that impenetrable misterie, least by searching into maiesty, (as Salomon saith) we be oppressed with glory, for what created vnderstanding can conceiue how the vnitie of one God can stand with a Trinitie of persons and their equalitie with a paternitie, filiation, and procession, how the Father behoulding, and knowing himselfe from all eternitie, begate the worde his Sonne; how the holie ghost proceedeth from them both; and lastlie how euerie person is distinct, and yet hath the other two persons in him selfe.

18 Therefore that which our contemplatiues aduise to be done in the speculation of these incomprehensible verities, is, to humble our selues, in the presence of God, to acknowledge our owne weaknes, basnes, & vnworthines, to captiue our reason, and vnderstanding to faith, to admire, praise, and magnifie the deuine nature, and to exult, and reioyce with all ioy and iubilation, that our Lord, and Creator is of infinie perfection, maiestie, and glorie, and finallie to resigne our selues wholie into his hands, as his creatures and bondslaues to be disposed at his pleasure: which being donne with a pure hart, a liuelie faith, and a feruent loue, what maruaile is it, if we be so suspended in the most sweete, and delectable speculation of beautie, and bountie it selfe, that our soule do melt, as I may say, with the heat of his loue? Or rather what maruell is it if almightie God being infinitlie good, and seeing a soule created by himselfe to his owne image, censed by his grace from sinne, purified, and purged from passions, and peruerse affections, adorned with his giftes, wholie resigned into his handes, thirsting after him, as the stagge doth after the fountaints of water, languishing in his loue, wayting, and attending, in atrys eius, in the courts of his pallace, to haue some sight of him, and saying with the psalmist *Exquisiuit te facies mea* &c. *my face hath sought thee, o Lord, and I will seeke to see thy face*, (not out of a presumption, or a conceit of my owne worthines, but out of a pure loue, and a desire to behould thee, the

more

more to loue prayse, and admire thee) what maruaile, I say, is it, if as the loadstone draweth the yron, or the sonne the vapours of the earth, so also his diuine maiestie draw vnto him such a soule, embrace it, cherish it, yea, and be, as it were, enamored of it, and say vnto it, as he saith in the Canticles. *Surge amica mea, & veni. Arise my loue, and come vnto me. Quam pulchra es amica mea? Hovv sayre art thou my loue? Veni sponsa mea. Come my spouse, &c.* *Cant. 2. 6, 7. Ibid. ca. 4.*

19 For so tender, and feruent is the loue of God to a cleane, and pure soule, that he contracteth an indissoluble matrimonie with it, vnitng himselfe vnto it, or rather as the contemplatiues speake, transforming it into himselfe: For as yron put into the fire, and made red hoat, though it chargeth not, nor looseth the substance of yron, yet becommeth fire: euen so the soule of man, conioyned, and vnited with God, by a pure, and sincere contemplatiue loue, is as it were, deified, and becommeth deuine, *being made one spirit with God*, and though it doe not yet see him, as he is in his glorie, yet it learneth by experience, how sweete he is, and that his deuine nature, and perfections doe infinitelic surpasse all that which can be said, written conceiued, or imagined of him, yea and more certaine lie knoweth him, by an inward touch, and feeling of him, then we can see, or know, the visible sunne, by the sight of our corporall eyes, and yet as a certaine contemplatiue saith. *Præ cognitum sit, quasi sine cognitione, & in sapienti quadam ignoranti constituitur. It knoweth so much of the deuine nature, that it knoweth as it were nothing at all, but is reduced to a kind of vniuersall ignorance, knowing only that God (whome it now feelth, enioyeth and desireth to see and know) passeth all humane knowledge and vnderstanding, and that the surest, and easiest way, to come to the knowledge of him, is (as S. Dionysius teacheth) to abstract from him, all those thinges, which man either seeth, or knoweth, or can conceiue, and therefore the same authour denieth him to be a substance, or a soule, or a spirit, or a life essence, or aternitie (meaning in such sort, as man can vnderstand, or conceiue them to be) for that hee incomparablie, ineffablie, and infinitlie exceedeth and excelleth all created substance or essence, or whatsoever can be conceiued or imagined by anie creature.* *Blosius in speculo spirituali. ca. 11. 1. Cor. 6. Blosius ubi supra.*

20 And this the Caligo, that is to say, the obscuritie or darkenes, whereof the contemplatiues speake, according to the royall prophet. *Nubes & caligo in circuitu eius. Clouds and darkenes doe inuiron him.* And therefore also Dionysius saith. *Diuina caligo est lux inaccessibilis in qua Deus habitare dicitur.* *Dionys. ad &c. The diuine darknes is the inaccessible light wherein God is said to dwell.* *1. Tim. 6.*

Rr

that

Metaphys.
li. 2. tex. 1.

that the vnderstanding of man is no more able to conceiue those things which are most manifest in nature (that is to say those things, which belong to the diuine essence) then the eye of the owle, can behold the beames of the sunne. But now who can expresse the ineffable ioy, and consolation, that the soule of man feeleth when being eleuated by grace aboue all force, and power of nature, it is lead by almightie God, *in celam vinariam* (as the Canticles say) into the vvyne cellar, where it drinketh of the fountaine of life, and is filled with a torrent of pleasure, and as the royall prophet also speaketh, *inebriatur ab vbertate Domini Dei, in made drunke vvith the abundant, and fructe plenty of Gods house, reposing, and sleeping* (as I may say) in the contemplation of almightie God, who is so carefull to conferue the repose of such a soule, that he saith in the Canticles. *Adiuro vos filie Hierusalem &c. I adiure you ye daughters of Hierusalem, that you doe not disquiet, nor awake my beloued, untill she alist to arise; where-vppon S. Bernard, expounding this text, calleth this sleepe, excessum mentis, an excess of mynd, or the supernaturall eleuation of a soule rauished with the sweetenes of contemplation, and this excess is commonlie called Ecstasis when it worketh anie extraordinarie effects, in the bodie, as it dorth diuerslie, in some more, and some lesse.*

Cant. 2.
Psal. 36.

Ibidem.

Cant. 2.

S. Ber. ser.
super cant.
52.

1. Reg. 19.

Richard. Pā-
politan. de
incendio a-
moris.

2. Reg. 6.
Psal. 83.

Antonius
Gallonius
in vita eius.

Dan. 10.
Apoc. 1.
Haymo in
Apoc.
Act. 16.

21 For sometimes it forceth a man to expresse the internal iubilation of the soule, with the externall voyce, and to sing as *Saul* did when the spirit of God fell vppon him in companie of the prophets. And the like we read of one *Richardus*, a learned, and holie English hermit, who (as he writeth himselfe) was continuallie replenished with such sweetenes of a heauenlie melodie in his soule, that he could not forbear to sing, praise and giue, thanks to almightie God all the day.

22 Sometimes againe it maketh a man exult, and leape for ioy, and contentment, as the royall prophet did before the Arke, who also saith of himselfe *Cormeum & Caro mea &c. My hart, and flesh exulted, or leapt for ioy in the lving God, &c* of this we haue had a notable example in our daies in B. Fa. *Philipp Nerio* an Italian, and founder of the congregation called the *Oratory*, or *Chiesanoua* in Rome, who was commonlie so transported with deuine consolations (as oft as he said masse) that he could not stay his bodie from continuall motion, and exultation, in which respect he was forced for the most part to say masse priuatelie.

23 Sometimes also it eleuath, or abstracteth the soule from the senses in such sort, that the bodie remaineth, as it were senseles, or dead for the time, as the prophet *Daniel*, & *S. Iohn the Euangelist* testifie of themselves: and the like may be thought of the excess of spirit, which happened to the Apostle *S. Peter*, when he saw the vision of the sheete, full of all kind of bea-

of bea-
when b
as he sa
kind of
alledge
14 Fi
lentlie
proper
here, b
15 An
sent, co
degree
consol
his seru
26 F
ceiue t
derstau
their v
greare
being
of ther
bynded
and ab
vppon
spoke
17 F
with
tions
sing
and fi
functi
dred t
adition
the h
perfe
degre
may
as to
there
felic

of beastes. And such no doubt, was the extasis, or excesse of *S. Paule*, *2. Cor. 12.* when he was, *raptus in tertium celum*, rapt into the third heauen, not knowing whe faith whether he was in his bodie, or out of his bodie; and of this kind of *Extase*, or excesse of spirit, I shall haue occasion hereafter, to alleadge manie examples both ancient, and moderne.

Chap. 27.

14 Finallie the eleuation of the soule, otherwhiles is such, that it violently draweth vp the bodie after it into the aire, and then it is most properlie called *raptus*, a *rapt*, whereof I omit to lay downe examples here, because I shall doe it verie amplie hereafter.

Chap. 27.

15 And therefore that, which I wish to be noted further for the present, concerning the effects of contemplation, is, that as there are diuerse degrees of perfection therein, so also, there are diuers degrees of spiritual consolations, and heauenlie fauours, which god dailie bestoweth vpon his seruants, in the vse & exercise thereof.

16 For some attaine onlie to the vnion of the will with God, and receiue thereby ineffable consolation (not withstanding, that their vnderstanding, memorie, and phantasie remaine at liberty.) And some haue their vnderstanding as well vnited with God as their will, with farre greater cōsolation then the former, though their memorie, & phantasie being free, doe somewhat importune them, and interrupt the integritie of their repose. And some others againe, haue all their powers so combined, and vnited with the diuine essence, that they remaine ingulfed, and absorpt in the contemplation thereof, some more some lesse, wherevpon follow sometimes these admirable rapt, whereof I haue partlie spoken already, and will speake more hereafter.

Camino de
perfection.M. Teresa
nella vita
sua c. 14. 15.
16. 17. 18. 19.
c. 20.

17 But the highest degree of contemplation, is to be perfectly vnited with God in soule, and to receiue extraordinarie, and continuall illustrations of the vnderstanding, and other diuine consolations, without suffering anie ecstase, or rapt, in such sort, that the soule be wholie occupied, and fixed in the contemplation of god, and yet neither the actions, or functions of the bodie, nor anie pious, or lawfull negotiation be hindered thereby, so that the comfort of contemplation, and the merit of

Bozins de
fig. eccle. li. 9.
c. 13. fig. 37.
Henric. Har-
phius de my-
stica Theo-
log. li. 3. par.
4. c. 30.

action do concur in the highest degree; which kind of contemplation the humanitie of our Sauour Christ, had continuallie in the highest perfection, and it hath pleased him also to impart the same in a high degree to manie of his seruants, especiallie to his blessed mother as it may be well presumed, his Apostles, besides manie others in latter times, as to *S. Hildegardis* a holie woman, who had such vnion with god, and thereby such a continuall illustration of spirit, that her soule dilated it selfe into farre countries, and saw what passed there, whether shee slept,

Vide Lodo-
uic. Blossum
in Append.
institut. spir.
t. 1. al. c. 2. ex
Thaulero.
b Bozins ubi
supra.

R r ij

or waked

P. Ribado-
neyra, in vi-
ta eius.

or waked, and yet neuertheles, she had no alienation of her soule fro her senses, or alteration in her bodie; And the like may be said of B. Fa. Francisus Xauierus, of the societie of Iesus, in these our dayes, who whilst he preached in the east India, saw in spirit, a battayle, which passed betwixt the Portugueses, and the infidels, and recommended the Portugueses to the prayers of his audience, in respect of the great danger wherein they were at that tyme, as afterwards it proued to be true. And to these may be added manie hollie men and wemen in the church of God, who haue excelled in the spirit of prophesie, and haue had also continual or verie frequent illustrations of soule, at such tymes as they had no extase or rapt, as the hollie Abbots S. Hylarion and S. Benet S. Francis of Paula S. Brigit, S. Katherin of Siena and many others, whom I omit to auoyd prolixity.

D. Ber. super
cant. ser. 23.

But of these diuers degrees of deuine fauours in contemplation, S. Bernard treateth notable in his sermons vppon the Canticles, where he saith that the same is signified by the diuersitie of the Aromatical oynments, whereof the yong wemen, which accompanie the spouse, make mention, saying. *In odorem unguentorum tuorum currimus. VVe runne, o Lord, to the sweete fauours, and smell of thy oynments.* And the like he also serueth in the same place, by the occasion of diuers cellars, whereto the king led his spouse. *Introduxit me rex, saith shee, in cellaria sua. The king brought me into his cellars.* Whereuppon S. Bernard, saith, that the king or bridegroom, hath manie different cellars, manie chambers, and mansions, whereto euerie contemplatiue is not indifferentlie admitted; but that euerie one hath a place of pleasure, or consolation assigned him, *pro diuersitate meritum, according to the diuersitie of his merits*; wherein he giueth to vnderstand, that euerie one feeleth in his soule a different sweetenes, and delectation, according to the different measure of his desert, so that he may say (saith S. Bernard) *secretum meum mihi, my secret is to my selfe.* And further he saith, that the accessse to the cabinet, or secret closet of the king, is referued onlie for the spouse her selfe, that is to say, for a soule enflamed with such a pure seraphical loue of God, that it pleaseth him to contract, as it were, a coniugal vnion, or matrimonie with it, whereby it is perfectlie vnited with him, and as I signified before, transformed into him, and yet neuertheles, saith he, the spouse her selfe cannot in this life attaine *ad omne quod vult secretum, to all the secret that shee desireth*, meaning that perfect fruition, and sight of god, wherewith she shalbe eternallie beatified in the life to come.

Isay. 24.

29 Thus doth this great master of contemplation, signifie the diuerse degrees of spirituall comefts, which God imparteth to his seruants, in the exercise thereof. Though whosoever arriueth to the least, or lowest

degree of vnion with God, findeth such inestimable consolation, that he may trulie say with the royal prophet, *Quam magna est multitudo*, &c. *How great, o Lord, is the multitude of thy secretenes, which thou hast hidden, or laid up in store for them, which feare thee.* As *s. Augustin* witnesseth of himselfe, *Aug. conf. ff. li. 9. ca. 10.* and his mother, both of them replenished with such a heauenlie cōfort, & ioy at *Ostia* not farre from *Rome*, that they detested all earthly delights, and as it seemed to the, did for the time participat of eternall beatitude.

30 Hereuppon also *s. Bernard* saith. *Quia anima semel à Domino didicit*, &c. *D. Ber. super the soule which hath once learned of almightie God to enter into it selfe, and there diligentlie te seeke his presence, and face, I know not whether it would thinke the paines of hell more horrible, and insupportable for a time, then after the tast of this spiritual delectation, to goe out againe to feele the allurements or rather the molestations of the flesh, and the insatiable curiositie of the senses.* Thus saith *s. Bernard*, not of the highest kind of contemplation, nor yet of that which allieneth the soule from the senses, but of that which is ordinarie amongst those that practise the contemplatiue discipline, though worldlie men (who are drowned in the beattlie delighes of the world, and the flesh) doe neither know, nor beleue it, neither yet can conceyue it to be true, for the Apostle saith. *Animāls homō non percipit ea quæ sūt spiritus Dei.* *The sensual man hath no feeling of those things which belong to the spirit of God; and yet reason may teach them, that as the soule in dignitie, farre excelleth the bodie, so also the proper pleasures and delectations thereof doe farre exceede all corporall delights, and that therefore the true felicitie of man in this life, must needs consist therein and be so much the more pure and perfect, by how much lesse the soule doth participat of any bodilie pleasure or delectation of the senses: for which respect the philosophers themselues called the boddie the plague of the soule, and held it for the greatest impediment of mans felicitie, as I haue amplie declared before in the seueenteenth chapter where I treated of philosophical contēplatiō.*

31 This shall suffice for this time, touching the practise of our christian contemplation, & although I may perhaps seeme to some to haue bene ouer long, yet the importaunce of the matter considered, I hope the discrete, and deuout Reader, will not thinke anie thing superfluous, that I haue said, considering that for breuities sake, I haue omitted verie manie things, which otherwaies had bene verie necessarie to haue bene handled for the better explication thereof, as those which are exercised in matters of contemplation will easelie perceiue.

32 And therefore to the end that such as desire to vnderstand more of the practise of contemplation, may not only know where to find it, but also receaue further satisfaction concerning as well the importāce, as the

Psal. 30.

Cantica. ser.

I. Cor. 2.

Plutar. in vita Catonis

continual vse, and custome of it in Gods Church, I thinke it not amisse for the conclusion of this chapter, to set downe diuers learned and approved authors, both auncient and modern, who haue either purposed to treat, or by the way handled this subiect: I say diuers authors, for if I should take vpon me to lay downe all those that haue written thereof, I should be no lesse tedious to the Reader, then to my selfe, in respect of the incredible multitude of them, besides that I should vndertake more then I could performe, or perhaps anie man els, for that manie haue written of it in many languages, in which respect I will content my selfe with these that follow, noting in the margin the times when they flo-
reshed

a S. Paulus
disciple con-
ueried by
him at A-
thens. act. 17.

b Aboute the
yeare of eur
lord. 340.

c Anno Do-
mini. 370.
d Anno 437.

e Anno Do.
590.

f Anno. Do.
1140.

g Anno. Do.
1140.

h Anno
1260.
i Anno
1270.
k Anno
1274.
l An.
1410.

a S. Dionysius Areopagita de mystica theologia. c. 1. 2. & 3. & de diuinis nomi-
nibus ca. 4. where he treateth admirable of the perfection of contem-
plation, that is to say of a perfect vnion with god by the meanes of an
extaticall loue.

b Ioannes Climacus in scala paradisi. where in he leadeth his reader to the
height of contemplation, by 30. steps or degrees.

c S. Basil in his monasticall constitutions. ca. 1. & 2.

d Ioannes Cassianus in collationibus patrum, wherein he teacheth ample
the perfect practise of the contemplatiue life, geuing notable rules and
precepts for the same.

e S. Gregory the greates in diuers parts of his woorkes, and especiallie
Ho. 16. & 17. in Ezechielem. Also li. 5. ca. 14. in 1. Reg. & li. 5. Moral. ca. 11.
23. 25. & 26. li. 6. ca. 27. & 28. & li. 23. ca. 13.

f S. Bernard de vita actiua, & contemplatiua: In parabola de nuptijs filij regis.
In scala claustralium. In his sermon de conuersione ad clericos cap. 11. & 12.
In serm. 5. de assumptione: In his treatise de interiori domo, especiallie, a ca. 4.
ad c. 21. and afterwards ibidem ca. 48. and 49. and lastlie in his sermons
vpon the Canticles especiallie ser. 23. 31. 33. 35. 49. 52. & 62.

g Richardus de Sancto victore, in his two bookes intituled Benjamin minor
& Benjamin maior, wherein he treateth no lesse notable, then ample of
the preparation to contemplation, and of the admirable effects of it.

h Albertus magnus in his treatises de paradiso animae, & de adhaerendo Deo.
i S. Thomas Aquinas in a particuler treatise de beatitudine, and in 22. q. 180.

k S. Banauenture in diuers treatises, to wit de mystica Theologia: De paruo
bono, siue de incendio amoris: de itinerario mentis ad Deum: de stimulo amoris, de
7. itineribus aternitatis, and de 7. gradibus contemplationis.

l Ioannes Gerson de mystica Theologia: de monte contemplationis: de meditatione:
de oratione, & eius valore: and in diuers other notable treatises, which I
pretermit.

Dionysius Richel, (commonlie cailled *Carthusianus* because he was a monk of the charter house) li. 2. de *vita*, & *sine solitarij*, & li. de *laude vite solitariae*, ca. 8. 35. 36. 37. and in other particuler treatises *de contemplatione*: *de meditatione*, & *de oratione*, to whome I might add (if I thought it needfull) a doozen at least of the same order: who haue written most excellentie of contemplation, and meditation.

• Finallie in the last age there wrote diuers learned and holie men verie notable of the same subiect, as *Lodouicus Blosius*, a holie abbot of the order of saint *Bener* in canone *vita spiritalis*, especially from the 14. chapter to the end. Also in *speculo spiritali*. ca. 10. & 11. *institutione spiritali*, & *tabella spiritali*: and in *speculo Mona chorum*.

Henricus Harphius of the order of *S. Francis* de *mystica Theologia*: *B. P. Ignatius de Loyola*, founder of the Societie of *Iesus* in *exercitijs spiritalibus*, and to omit manie others, *P. Rosignol*, of the same Societie yet liuing, who hath latelie written *de perfectione*, & *de actibus virtutum*.

All these haue written in latin of Christian contemplation, besides manie others, whome I purposely omit for breuities sake: And those which vnderstand the spanish, and Italian tounge may read certaine modern authors, who haue also written of it most excellentie in those languages: as in spanish *F. Luyx de la Puente* of the Societie of *Iesus* in two tomes intituled. *Meditaciones de los misterios de nuestra sancta fe*, con la *pratica de la oracion mental*.

F. Luyx de Granada, of the order of *S. Dominick* de la *meditacion M. Teresa* (a holie and admirable woman, of the order of the *Carmelits*) del *camino de la perfeccion*, and in the storie of her life, which she wrote by the commaundement of hir ghostlie father.

Also *F. Pedre de Alcantara* of the order of *S. Francis* in a litle treatise intituled *Tratado de oracion y meditation*.

And lastlie *P. Ribera* of the Societie of *Iesus* in the life of *M. Teresa* aforesaide, which he wrote after her death.

And these 4. bookes last mencioned, being written first in spanish, are translated into Italian, in which language there be also manie other excellent woorkes concerning the same matter, as *Effercitio della vita spiritali*, without name of author translated out of latin.

Instruccion de meditare del padre Bartolomeo Ricci della Compagnia di Gesu. *Paradiso de' contemplatiui del P. F. Bartolomeo da Saluthio minore offeruante*, and diuers other woorkes in the Italian tounge, and in other languages which I pretermit for that these may suffice for the full instruction of anie man that shall desire to see the important, and necessarie practise of contemplation.

It is objected that to make a common wealth happy by such a christian contemplation as hath been described, all the Citizens must be religious men, such as haue abandoned the world. The obiection is answered; & it is proved that every member of a Christian common wealth (of what degree, state, or vocation soeuer he be) may be a perfect contemplatiue: and happie in his vocation: Also what is the perfection which Christ requireth in every Christian man: & by the way, some what is said of the actiue and cōtemplatiue life, according to the opinion, as well of philosophers, as of our deuins.

C H A P. 22.



But now perhaps some will say, that to make a common wealth happy by such a contemplation, as I haue here described (according to the opinion of either *Aristotle* and *Plato*, or yet of our deuins) wee must imagin and frame a common wealth either of philosophers or Monkes, & Friers, and other religious persons, seeing that none could in the opinion of *Aristotle* & *Plato*, be happie by philosophical contemplation, but philosophers, & that to other Christian contemplation, & the felicitie consisting therein, are necessarily required abnegation of will, pouertie of spirit, and contempt of the world, which are proper to such as professe religious perfection, whereas all common wealths doe, and must needs consist of men (as I may say) of an other mould, to wit, princes, noble men, magistrats, souldiars, men of occupation, and of such other vocations, as seeme not to be compatible with the contemplatous, and religious life.

2 Hereto I answer, first concerning the opinion of *Aristotle* and *Plato*, that they required not to the perfection of common wealth, a barren, and fruitles contemplation, without action, but a concurrence of the contemplatiue and actiue life, and therefore they taught, that the vnderstanding of man, is partlie speculatiue, and partly practicall, & that as it is speculatiue, it doth contemplat God, and heauenlie things (which is properlie the act, or office of wisdom) and that as it is practicall, it attendeth to matters of action, that is to say, to worke, as occasion requireth, either for our priuate, or for the publicke weale (wherein consisteth the speciall force, and office of prudence) and that of these two, the first parte is by nature farre more worthy, and noble then the other, as well for the dignitie, and worthynes of the object (which is god, and his æternall truth) as also for the vnspokeable delectation that

in yealdeth, besides many other reasons alleadged by *Aristotle*, which I omit for breuities sake.

And in this respect, these philosophers taught, that the practical vnderstanding, is subordinat to the speculatiue, as to the most worthy, & to the end whereto it is naturally ordained, and that all action is in like manner referred to speculation, no lesse then warre to peace, busines to repose, and labour to ease, and rest: whereupon it also followeth, that although these philosophers place the felicitie of man and of common wealth, principally in speculation, or contemplation, yet they require also to the perfection thereof, the practise of all the morall vertues, as the meane to the end.

4. And therefore whereas *Aristotle* teacheth, that there are two felicities: well of common wealth, as of euery map, the one consisting in speculation, and the other in action: he farre preferreth the first, and holdeth it to be then most perfect, when it is seconded with the latter: in which respect he declareth also, how all vertues are necessary helpes to the speculatiue felicitie: As first that wisdom is requisite, because the speculation, or contemplation of God, is the proper act thereof: Secondly that the habits of naturall knowledge are also necessarie, for that we are by the meanes of them, led to the knowledge and cōtemplation of God: Thirdlie that those vertues which restrain the passions of the mind (as temperance and mansuetude) doe in like manner helpe thereto, for that without them, men should be wholie withdrawn from the contemplation of God, to the delights, and pleasures of the senses, and to sensible things; yea, and should hold them for their felicitie: Lastly al the vertues whereby we either get, or conserve temporall goodes, are in like sort requisite to contemplation, for that without some mediocritie, and sufficiencie of temporall commodities, neither contemplation, nor yet the life of man can subsist. Whereby it appeareth, that the practise of al vertues, and consequentlie the practical & political felicitie, is necessarie to the speculatiue, and that they tend thereto, as to the end whereto nature hath ordained them. And therefore *Aristotle* saith. *Non vacamus, vt vacemus*, we doe not rest, to the end we may repose, that is to say, we exercise, and practise vertue, to the end we may rest in the contemplation of God.

Now then for asmuch as the concurrence of both these felicities, practical and speculatiue, is requisite to the perfect happines of common wealth, and that the practical is subordinate to the speculatiue, as the meanes, and way thereto (in which respect *Aristotle* aduiseh the law maker to frame, and ordaine his lawes in such sort, that the prince,

Aristot. li. 7. pol.

D. Tho. in eundem. loc.

Ibid. c. 11.

Polit. li. 7. ca. 11.

Ethic. li. 10.

*Aristo. li. 10.
Ethic. c. 8.
Plato de rep.
Dialo. S.*

and people may by the exercise of vertue, tend speciallie to contemplation, therefore it seemed to those philosophers, that all the common welth, might worthilie be counted happie, if it did generallie practise the moral vertues, & thereby tend to the contemplatiō of God, though neither all, nor yet the greatest part thereof, but onlie the principall members should attaine thereto: and therefore *Aristotle* speciallie required contemplation in the prince, and magistrats; and *happie* saith *Plato*, is the kingdome, *ubi philosophi regnant, vel reges philosophantur: where either philosophers raigne, or kinges become philosophers.* For as the bodie of man is trulie said to liue, though all the parts thereof, haue neither life, nor yet feeling alike (both life, and sense resting speciallie in the vitall parts, and principallie in the hart) and as an vniuersitie instituted for learning, may worthilie be counted learned, if there be therein eminent men in all faculties, and the rest tend also thereto by dilligent studie, and obseruation of the statutes: euen so also the common welth instituted for contemplation, may iustlie be counted contemplatiue, and consequentlie happy, if the magistrats, and other principal men; ioyne contemplation with action. Though the farre greater number being the inferiour sort, doe not arriue to that perfection, but rest onlie in action, which is the way to the other.

6 And such a common welth, I say, the philosophers counted happie, because it should be both well, and wiselie gouerned by the prince, and magistrats, and also protected by almightie God, the authour of happines, in respect of the vertue, aswell of the people, as of the princes: so that we see how in the opinion of the philosophers, the common welth becommeth contemplatiue, and happie, partlie by the practise of vertue which is the high way to contemplation and felicitie, and partlie by the merit of the principal members thereof, which being happie by the vse, aswell of the contemplatiue, as the actiue life, doe communicate both political, and speculatiue felicitie to the whole common welth, as the hart, head, and other principall parts of mans bodie, do impart the influence of humour, and life to the whole. Thus much for the opinion of the philosophers.

7 And now to answer the other part of the obiection, concerning the contemplation of Christians. Yt is first to be vnderstood, that our Christian contemplation doth not exclude action, but admit it in the highest degree of perfection; which being declared, it will consequentlie appeare, not onlie that our contemplatiō is most necessarie for common welth, but also that euerie man in a Christian common welth, of what degree, or vocation soeuer he be, may be a perfect contemplatiue, and

united with God, and consequentlie as happy, as man may possible be in this life; which point being fullie explicated, I hope the difficultie proposed wilbe fullie satisfied. For first it is to be considered that there are in Christian religion, three kind of liues dedicated to the seruice of God, in the which, or in any one of them, a Christian man, may as *S. Augustin* teacheth, doe his dutie, and be saued.

8. The first is, an *Active* life, wherein a man doth employ him selfe, and his talents in external workes, or actions for the pure loue of God, and the benefit, either of his owne soule, or of his neighbours, or of both.

9. The second is, a *Contemplative* life, wherein a man giueth himselfe wholie to the internal workes of the knowledge, and loue of God, by the continual exercise of reading, meditation, praier, and contemplation.

10. The third is a life mixt, and compounded of both the other, to wit, both of the active, and of the contemplative life; when our action is ioynd with contemplation, in such sort, that neither our neighbour, is depriv'd of the benefit of our labours, nor we our selues of the sweetness of contemplation.

11. Of these three kinds, the two first, are distinguished, by *S. Bernard*. The active life, saith he, consisteth in the innocencie of Good workes. The contemplative in the speculation of heauenlie shinges. The active life is common to manie, the contemplative life but to few; the active useth well earthlie shinges, the contemplative renouncing the world, liueth onlie to God. The active feedeth the hungry, instructeth the ignorant, correcteth or amendeth those, that erre, reduceth the proud to the way of humilitie, reconcileth enemies, visiteth the sick, buryeth the dead, redeemeth the captiue, and prouideth that which is necessarie for euerie one, but the contemplative retaininge wholie in mind, perfect charitie towards God, and our neighbour, ceaseth from external action, to the end it may wholie attend to the desire, and loue of our creator, and with contempt of the world, ferventlie aspire to the vision of his face, and sing praise vnto him eternallie, amidst the quiers of Angels, &c. Finally the active life is good; but the contemplative is much better. Thus saith *S. Bernard*.

12. These two kindes of life, are figured and represented in the hollie scripture in the two sisters, *Martha*, and *Mary*, of whome the one, to wit *Martha*, represented the active life, being as our Sauour said: *ocul-
pauit & turbata, erga plurima*: busied, and troubled about manie things, and therefore hee also said vnto her, *potro unum est necessarium*, but one thinge is necessarie, signifying that the multiplicitie of thinges, and our ouer great attention thereto, doth diuert vs from vniting our selues with God, our true, and onlie good. The other sister: to wit *Mary*,

St ij

represented

*Aug. de cin.
Dei. li. 19. ca.
19. paulo post
principium.*

*S. Bernard
ad Sororem
de modo be-
ne viuendi
ser. 53. paulo
post princi-
pium.*

Luc. 10.

1616.

represented the contemplatiue life, sitting still at Christs sette, and feeding her soule with the heauenlie foode of his deuine worde, and therefore our Sauour said of her. *Maria optimam partem elegit, que non auferetur ab ea.* Mary hath chosen the best part, which shall not be taken from her. wherein two things are to be noted, the one, that of these two kinds of liues, the life of *Mary* (that is to say the contemplatiue life) is the most worthy, and not to be left, for that of *Martha*, which was onlie actiue; for contemplation doth not onlie vnit vs with God, and make vs like him, as I haue signified before, but doth also giue perfection to our externall actions, communicating vnto them integritie, swetenes and seruour, which make them more acceptable to God, and profitable both to our neighbours, and our selues.

13 The other thing, that may be gathered of our Sauours words, is, that the third kind of life, composed of both, is to be preferred, before either of the other, which our Sauour signified in calling the life of *Mary*, *partem*, a part, giuing to vnderstand, that the perfection of Christian life, consisteth of two parts, to witte action and contemplation, whereof *Mary* had chosen the better, which neuertheles was but a part, and therefore not to be compared with the whole, that is to say, with the third kind of life, composed of both, which being most excellent, and perfect, our Sauour Christ chose for him selfe, ioyning contemplation with continuall action, in preaching and labouring to gaine soules, as also *S. Iohn Baptist*, and the Apostles did, besides innumerable other great faintes of God.

14 This perfection of the mixt life, proceedeth of the excellency, and perfection of charitie, which inclineth vs no lesse to desire, and seeke the good of our neighbour, by our labour, and action, then our owne benefit, and repose of spirit by contemplation. And therefore *S. Augustin*, saith. *Optimum sanctum queris Charitas veritatis, et negotium iustum suscipit necessitas adiutoris.* Charitie, or the seruent loue of truth (that is to say of God) doth seeke the holie repose of contemplation, and the necessitie of charitable loue towards our neighbour, doth moue vs to vnder take iust negotiation, or action. Thus saith he, and hereuppon there groweth in Gods most zealous seruants, a counterchange of action, and contemplation, as *S. Bernard* noteth notable vppon the Canticles, where we reade, that the bridegrome hauing giuen charge, that none should disquiet, or awake his spouse from her sweete sleepe of contemplation, neuertheles raised her him selfe after a

Aug. li. 19. de ciuitat. Dei.
ca. 19.

Cant. 2.

D. Ber. super while, saying: *Surgere, propera amica mea, &c.* Arise, and make hyst my loue. *can. serm. 52.* Whereuppon *S. Bernard* saith: *Agnosce vicissitudines, &c.* Behould the mutual succession, or counterchange of holie contemplation, and necessarie action; for when

the begone hath suffered his spouse to repast in his bosome for some time; he in-
 ments her againe to those things which are more profitable for his service, not for
 higher against her will, but drawing her thereto, by giving her a desire of good
 works, to the end shee may fructifie, and be profitable to him, who is her life, and
 for whom she should do it her lustre, and gaine to die.

Idem. Ibid.

15 Thus farre S. Bernard, and in an another place: As oft saith he, as a fern. 51.
 plant, and devout soule leaveth contemplation, so oft it repaired to action, to the end,
 that from thence it may the more speedily, and familiarly returne againe to con-
 templation, as from one neere neighbour, to another; for these two (to wit the
 active, and contemplative life) are as it were chamberfellowes; and dwell toge-
 ther, as Martha, and Maries sister.

16 Thus saith he, whereby we may see, that our Christian contempla-
 tion, when it is perfection, is still seconded with most excellent action,
 and fruit, in respect that the pure and fervent charitie of our contem-
 platives, doth kindle in them such a zeale, & sincere love towards their
 brethren (in whom they acknowledge the true image of God) that they
 love them for Gods sake no lesse, or rather more then themselves, being
 ready even to give their lives for them, in imitation of our Saviour Rom. 9.
 Christ; yea, and to say with S. Paul, *propter Christum pro fratribus meis*. I desire to be seperated from Christ for my brethren, rather then they
 should perish.

17 Seeing then our contemplation doth not exclude action, but ad-
 mits, and require it in the highest degree of perfection, for the benefit
 of all men, it followeth, that it is most necessary for common wealth,
 wherein every man ought to desire, and seeke rather the publicke good,
 then his owne: in so much, that whosoever is a perfect contemplative,
 must needs be *bonus civis*, a good citizen, or member of the common
 wealth, as well for his sincere love towards all the other members, and
 parts thereof, and his endeavour to advance there good, as also for his
 perfection in all kind of vertue, wherein a perfect contemplative doth
 excell, as may appeare by all the former discourses concerning contem-
 plation, whereupon it also followeth, that Christian contemplation, is
 most requisit in euery member, or part of the common wealth, & that
 therefore it may stand with the state of euery man, of what lawfull pro-
 fession, or vocation soeuer he be, vpon which point, I will somewhat
 enlarge my selfe, as a matter verie important, and considerable for manie
 respects.

18 First then, I wish it to be considered, that Christian contemplation,
 is nothing els but the perfect practise of Christian religion, inducing and
 leading vs to a perfect union with God, as it appeareth euidentlie in the

last chapter whereupon two things are necessarie inferred. The one is that whosoever is a perfect christian, he is also a perfect contemplative, for that being a perfect christian, he is perfectly united with almighty God. the other is, that seeing in a christian common wealth, euery man may, and ought to be a perfect Christian, euery one also may yea, and ought to be a perfect contemplative, of what state, degree, or condition, soeuer he be.

And to the end, it may be vnderstood what is the perfection, which I require in a perfect contemplative, or a perfect Christian, it is to be considered that as there are two kindes of perfection in euery thinge, the one, necessarie for the accomplishment of the nature of it, and the other necessarie for the ornament of it: as for example, a man that hath a body, & a soule is a perfect man (so far forth as concerneth the nature of man) though hee bee crooked, simple and vnlearned, but when he is withall beautifull, wise, and learned, he hath then an other perfection, which maketh him perfect in a higher degree.

19 So also a Christian man may be considered to haue two. perfections, the one which is necessarie to make him a true Christian, that is to say, the sonne of god, and inheritor to the kingdome of heauē (which perfection consisteth in faith, and the obseruation of our Saviours commaundements: for other waies) Christ were not a good law maker, if his law sufficed not to make the keeper of it, a perfect Christian) and the other perfection, is necessarie for his encrease of merit heere, and glorie in the other world, which kind of perfection, consisteth in the obseruation of the Euangelical counsels.

20 Of the first of these two perfections, the Apostle speaketh, where he saith to the Corinthians. *Enamur gaudere, perfecti estote &c. Brethren reioyce, be perfect &c.* And to the Phillipenses. *Quicumque ergo perfecti sumus, huiusmodi. Therefore whosoever of us is perfect, let us thinke thus.* Also S. James of the same kind of perfection, *Patience hath a perfect worke to the end you may be perfect, and intire, failing in nothinge.* that is to say, obseruing all that which pertaineth to the dutie of a true Christian man. This I say is a perfection, consisting in the exact obseruation of the commaundements of God. But of the other kind of perfection (consisting in the obseruation of our Saviours counsels) he spake him selfe when he said to the rich young man. *Si vis perfectus esse, &c. If thou wilt be perfect, goe and sell all, and giue it to the poore, and thou shalt haue a treasure in heauen.* Of which kind of perfection, I shall treat ample hereafter, as also of the Euangelicall counsells, wherein the same consisteth.

21 Therefore it is to be vnderstood, that the perfection necessarie to make euery mā a perfect Christiā or cōtemplatiue, is not the later (which

1. Cor. 13.
Philip. 3.
Iacob. 1.

Matth. 19.

is not
form
ed of
fecti
ener
21
infr
to, b
yes,
qual
Chri
cond
tion
bein
ther
ried
cond
voca
in th
coun
fecti
more
21
ligio
seek
his d
perf
whē
rit, in
loue
perf
prea
selue
cross
ener
vpō
here
the s
4, 5
wh

is not

is not in deed comparable with the state, & vocation of euery one) but the former, which may stand with euery mans state, be he rich or poore, married or single, noble or ignoble, prince or subiect, master or seruant, a perfection I meane consisting in the obseruation of those things, which euery man without exception may performe in his vocation.

21 For our Sauour Christ, when he came into the world, ment not to infringe, & breake the law of nature, or any thing that was agreable thereto; but to adorne & perfect it. And therefore, whereas it is conuenient; yea, & naturall to common wealth to be composed of diuers vocations, qualities, and conditions of men, it is to be vnderstood, that our Sauour Christ meant not by Christian religion to prohibit, the law full state, or condition of any man, but to make euery man more perfect in his vocation, & more profitable to his common welth: As that the prince by being a Christian, should be perfect in his degree, the magistrates in theirs, the souldiars in theirs, the lawyer, phisition, merchant, artificer, married man, bachiler, master, seruant, & al other of what lawfull quality, or condition soeuer, should euery one of them be perfect in his degree, and vocation, (as may appeare by the precepts of our Sauour & his Apostles, in the holie scriptures for men of al degrees, & states) so that he is to be accounted a perfect Christian, or contemplatiue, who arriueth to the perfection of Christian religion in his state, and vocatiō, though others in a more perfect state of life, may be more perfect, and merit more then he.

22 Therefore, it is now to be considered wherein consisteth christian religion, & the duty of a true christian: for the which wee shal not neede to seeke any other master, or teacher, then our Sauour Christ himselfe, in his deuine sermō vpō the mountaine, wherein as *S. Aug.* saith, he taught *perfectum vite Christiana modo*, the true & perfect maner of Christian life, when he first published his admirable doctrin, cōsisting in pouerty of spirit, in purity of hart, in remissio of iniuries, in suffering persecution, in the loue of our enimies, in perfect patience, in trust in his prouidēce, & in all perfectiō of life: & aftarwards againe when he assembled the people, & preached vnto them perfect abnegatiō of their parēts, childrē, & of them selues for the loue of him, & finally, the daly & cōtinual caraga of the crosse, in al which, what taught he but our christiā religion; & the duty of euery christiā mā without exceptiō? And therefore he cōcluded his sermō vpō the mountain with this notable similitude. *Euery man* saith he that *he reth these my words & doth the nor, is like vnto the foole that built his house vpo the sand, & the raine fel, & the lād floods came, & the wind blow, & ouerthru it, & the ruines of it was very great.* Thus saith our Sauour, not only those who were presēt at his sermō, but also of al such as should either heare it

by prea-

*Aug. lib. de
serm. dom. in
monte ca. 1.*

*Math. 5. &
6.*

*Matth. 8.
Luc. 14.*

Matth. 7.

Luc 14.

by preaching, or read it in the holie scriptures, and especially of such as should professe the Christian faith: and in like manner when he preached to the people, the abnegation and hate of our selues before mentioned, hee admonished them to cast their account, and to consider well, what they should take vpon them by following him, and therefore he proposed vnto them, two similitudes: the one of a man that meaning to build a tower sate downe, & seriously waighed with him selfe, what it would cost him: and the other of a king, who meaning to make warre with an other prince, did first duly consider, how he should be able to maintaine it, and concludeth: that euen so euerie man should maturelie ponder, & waigh with him selfe, that except hee renounce al those things, which he possesseth, he cannot be his discipule.

24 But herre perhaps some may thinke, that this doctrine of our Saviour cannot be practised generally of all men in a common wealth, without the ouerthrow thereof, for if euerie man renounce, and forsake all he hath, what forme of common wealth may be imagined, where noe man can haue anie thinge in possession, for the maintenaunce either of him selfe, or of the common wealth: and if euerie man must forgive his enemies, without seeking reparation of wrongs, then the whole common wealth, is also bound by the same precept, to suffer it selfe to be oppressed, and overthrowen, and can neuer defend it selfe, against forrayn enemies, nor seeke restitution: Besides that it seemeth to bee above the power of our corrupt nature, to love our enemies, and that the continuall cariage of the crosse (which our Saviour seemed to command) was but a counsell, and that therefore it bindeth onlie those which take vpon them a state of religious perfection, and belongeth not to secular men, of whome a common wealth in great part consisteth.

25 To all these doubts, I will answer particularlie, and breefelie: And although I make no doubt, but that some part of our Saviours doctrine before mentioned, is vnderstood by some, and according to the rigour of the letter may wel be thought, rather to pertaine to his counsels, then his precepts, yet the same is interpreted by the holy fathers, that it toucheth al men alike, and may, yea and ought to be performed by euerie man, of what degree or state hee be.

26 As first for the renounciation of welsh, and possessions, our vnderstande S. Bede saith notablie thus. *Disstat renunciare omnibus, & relinquere omnia, &c.* There is difference betwixt renouncing all things, and leaving, or forsaking all thinges, for it belongeth but to a few, and them men of great perfection, to forsake, and abandon all thinges, as to lay a side all care of the world, and to thirst onlie, after eternall, and heauenlie thinges: but it belongeth to euerie man,

Bede. in 14.
Luca.

which
ould.
lowe of
thinges
mind,
27 In
which
reform
to the
Christ
them in
treasure
ren and
them,
like m
fridge r
three for
it) is
harte
cases. I
repress
procure
injuries
Dew, p
suffer t
In his e
Saviours
and vca
28 T
comm
patien
enemi
detai
cepts of
all the
desire
will p
commo
hence u
for the

which professeth the faith of Christ, to renounce all things, that is to say, so to haue, and possesse the commodities of the world, that he be not detained in the love of the world by them: to haue temporall things onlie in vse, and eternall things in desire, and so to deale in matters of the earth, that he may tend vwith all his mind, & affection to heauenlie things. Thus saith S. Bede.

17 In like sorte s. *Augustin* teacheth that the renouciation of riches, which our Sauour requireth in his disciples, that is to say in Christians, reformed not onlie by those who forsake all that they haue and giue it to the poore, but also by him *Qui plus diligens Christum &c.* who louing D. Aug. ep. 86.
Christ more then his riches, doth transfer his hope from them to him, & doth vse

them in such sort, that he bestoeth and giueth them free lie, and thereby laieth up a treasure in heauen, and is redie to forsake them, as also his parents, children, brethren and wive, whensoever the cast, or exigent shall be such, that he cannot enioy them, except he forsake Christ. Thus saith s. *Augustin*, who interpreteth in like manner, that other commaundement of our Sauour. If anie man

fricke thee one the right cheeke, turne to him the left, and if anie man contend vwith thee for thy coate, giue him thy cloake, which precept (for so s. *Augustin* calleth it) is to be vnderstood, saith hee, of the promptitude, and preparation of

harte (to suffer all kind of iniuries, and not of the execution of it, in all cases. For that sometimes it is necessaric aswell for iustice sake, as for the repression of wicked men, that reparation of wronges bee sought and procured, so that the partie wronged do for his owne parte, remit the iniurie fullie in his harte, and say vwith the prophet. *Paratum cor meum* Psal. 5. 6.

Denu, paratum cor meum: My harte is redie o Lord, my harte is readie, too suffer this, and much more: and therefore s. *Augustin* concludeth thus. *Aug. v. b. supra.*
In his ergo omnibus generibus iniuriarum, &c. In all these kindes of iniuries, our Sauour teacheth vs, that the mind of a Christian ought to be most patient, mercifull, and readie to suffer more.

28 Thus he. who also answereth to the same effect, concerning the common wealth, teaching how it may obserue this Christian precept of patience, and yet make warr aswell to defend it selfe, as to offend an enemy. and to recouer anie thing that shall be vniuistlie taken away, and detained from it, *sunt autem*, saith he, *illa precepta patientia &c.* These precepts of patience, are euer to be kept in the preparation and disposition of the harte, as num. ep. 3.
as the good will neuer to render euil, for euil, is alwaies to be fulfilled in will, & desire. Though manie things may and must be done, euen against the will, for the iust punishment, and correction of wicked men, and so if earthlie, or temporall common wealths obserue these precepts of Christ, they shal make warr euen vwith beneuolence, for the maintenance of pietie, and iustice in a peaceable societie, and for the benefit of their verie enemies, in chastising, yea, and ouercomming them for

he is overcome to his owne good, who is thereby deprived of libertie to sinne, seeing that nothing is more unfortunate, then the felicitie of sinnes, whereby their impunitie is nourished, and continued, for their further punishment, and their euill will, (which is their inward enemy) is still strengthened, & augmented. Thus saith S. Augustin.

29 Hereto I add further, that the precept of our Saviour being vnderstood, according to the rigour of the letter, bindeth onlie in some cases, and this our Saviour himselfe taught vs by his owne practise (as S. Augustin also obserueth:) for although he receiued diuerse contumelies, and iniuries without any contradiction, offering himselfe still to receiue more (according to his owne precept) yet being strooken on the face before Annas, he offered not his other cheeke to receiue an other blow, but expostulated the matter with the striker, saying: *If I say ill, beare witness of the euil, If I say well, why dost thou strike me,* so that discretiō (which is the mother of all vertues) is specially to be vsed, in the practise of this precept, as to consider when, and how farre it may be conuenient to fulfill it, for that it cannot be presumed that our Saviour meant it should bind to the hindrance of a greater good.

30 Therefore to declare, in what case, it ought to be obserued, & when not, it is euident that when a priuat man receiueh an iniurie, the sufferance whereof may bee to the glorie of God, and edification of others, without preiudice of the common wealth, or of anie other person but himselfe, then he may with greate merit, and is in christian perfection bound to yeald so much of his owne right, as not to demand reparation of the wrong: but when the tolleration of the iniurie, may redound either to the dishonour of God, or to the dammage of the weale publike, or of any third persone, yea or to the encrease of the offenders insolencie and offence (whereas by his correction, and chastisement, there might be hope of his amendement) the wronged ought not to dissemble the iniurie, but to seeke a lawfull reparatiō by way of iustice, & yet so, that he do it without all rancour, or desire of reuenge, & with a pious compassiō of his aduersaries offence & punishment: And this I doubt not but manie good Christians doe fullie performe, as all men may, and are bound to doe in like case, aswell for the publike good, which must needs redound thereof to the common wealth, as for the discharge of euerie mans dutie towards God, and his neighbour, in regarde of our Saviours precept, especiallie, seeing the remission of our sinnes, dependeth thereon, according to the expresse wordes of our Saviour, who therefore taught vs to pray to him, to bee forgiven as we forgive.

And

And
rics
most
wealth
mean
taine
suetud
31 A
myes
vaigh
of good,
sith to
to lone
be unde
a Daus
worard
saluatio
practise
doe. Th
explica
32 Sic
said in
but to
in the
our soul
in sense
fore w
hatred
any fles
flame, t
the sam
The lo
are son
times
withou
that b
his ri
point
deceiu

And thus it appeareth, that this precept of remission of iniuries, being practised in this sort, as I haue here declared, is not onlie most pious, but also most politicall, and necessarie for the common wealth, of which point I haue also said somewhat before, and meane to treat more amplie hereafter, for the confutation of certaine friuolous obiections of *Machiauel* touching our Christian mansuetude. Chap. 24.

31 And now to say somewhat, concerning the precept to loue our enemyes. *S. Hierome* saith thereof thus. *Multa precepta Dei, &c.* Many men *Hieron.* in 5. vvaighing the precepts of God by their owne imbecillitie, and not by the strength of good, and holie men, thinke them impossible to be obserued, and say that it sufficeth to vertue, not to hate our enemyes, and that whereas we are commaunded to loue them, the precept exceedeth the power of mans nature, it is therefore to be vnderstoode, that *Christ* commaundeth not impossible, but perfect things, such as *Dauid* performed towards *a Saule*, and *b Absalon*; and *c Streuen* the martyr towards his persecutors; and *d Paule* desired to be seperated from God, for the saluation of those which persecuted him, and *e Iesus* himselfe, both taught, and practised the same, saying father pardon them, for they know not what they doe. Thus saith *S. Hierome*, which may bee confirmed out of *S. Chrysostome*, explicating notable how this precept is fulfilled. 1. Reg. 23.
2. Reg. 18.
c Act. 7.
d Rom. 9.
e Luc. 23.

32 *Sicut quod dictum est*, saith he, *non concupiscis, &c.* As that which is *Christ* in said in the commaundement, thou shalt not couet, was not said to the flesh, but to the soule, so also, it is to bee vnderstood of this precept (that it was given to the soule, and not to the flesh) for our flesh cannot loue our enemy, but our soule may, and the reason is, that the loue or hatred of the flesh consisteth in sense, but the loue, or hatred of the soule is in the vnderstanding; therefore when, being hurt, or wronged by any man, we feele in our hearts, a hatred towards him, and desire of reuenge, and yet forbear to execute it, then our flesh hateth our enemy, and our soule loveth him. Thus saith *S. Chrysostome*, to whome I will add a notable discourse of *S. Gregory* concerning the same precept. *Inimici autem dilectio*, saith he, *veraciter custoditur, &c.* D. Gregor. li. 22. moral. 6.
TO. C. II.

The loue of our enemy is trulie kept, or performed, when we neither, are sorrie for his rising, nor glad of his fall, and yet it may manie times so fall out, that we may with charitie reioyce at his ruyn, and without enuie be sorrie for his auancement, as when we beleue, that by his fall some good men will ryse to Gods glorie, and by his rising some others may vniustlie bee oppressed; but in this point wee had neede to examine our selues discretelie, least wee bee, deceiued, and vnder the collour of other mens hurt, or profit, giue,

way to our owne hatred, and therefore we must well waigh what mind wee ought to beare concerning the punishment of an offender, and the iustice of the punisher, for when almighty God doth strike and punish a wicked man, we ought not onlie to reioyce at the iustice of the iudge, but also to haue compariſon of the miserie of him, that is punished. Thus saith *s. Grigorie*: And thus wee see, how our Sauours precept of the loue of our enemies, may with the helpe of Gods grace, easilie bee fullfilled by anie man of what state, or condition soeuer hee bee.

Chrisost. ho. 36. Theoph. autor. op. imp. ho. 26.

Luc. 22. Hilar. in cap. 10. Matth. Euthym. in ca. 14. Luca Gal. 6.

Ibid. 11.

psalm. 61. 1. cor. 7.

33 And now to conclud with the cairage of the crosse. *s. Christome, Theophilactus*, and some others expound, that precept to be vnderstood of the redie preparatiō of our will to die for Christ, when occasion shall require, to the end we may allwayes truly say with *s. Peter. Domine tecum paratus sum &c.* Lord I am redie to goe vwith thee to prisone, yea to death. Though *s. Hilarie. Euthymius*, and others extend it further, to wit, to the continuall mortification of our selues, in such sort, that wee may say with the Apostle. *mihi mundus crucifixus est & ego mundo.* The world is crucified to me, and I to the world. And how necessariē this is to euerie Christian man, the same Apostle teacheth also saing. *Qui Christi sunt, carnem suam crucifixerunt cū vitijs & concupiscentijs suis.* Those which are Christs, haue crucified their flesh vwith their vices & concupiscences. so that he onlie may make account to be Christs (that is to say a perfect christian) who crucifieth his owne passions, affections, and concupiscences, practiseth perfect patience, remitteth iniuries, and is readie to abandō parents, wife, children, fringes, lands and goods, yea and his one life, rather then to offend God in the least thing in the world, and from this abnegation no man is excepted, be he prince or subiect, publike, or priuat person, rich, or poore, and whosoever dischargeth his dutie in this behalfe, performeth, that which is requisit to the christian perfection, whereof I now speake, which as I haue said, doth not of necessitie require of seculer men, anie other renunciation, or contempt of honours, dignitie, substance, and wealth, but such as may stand with the lawfull vse & possession of them: To which purpose the psalmist saith. *Diuitia si affluant nolite cor apponere.* If your riches abound do not sett your hearts thereon: and the Apostle in like maner aduiseeth married men to haue wiues, *tanquam non habentes*, as though they had none, and rich men to enioy the commodities of the worlde, *tanquam non possidentes* as though they possessed them not, and to vse the world it selfe, *tanquam non vtantur*, as that they had no vse of it at all, hauing alwaies before their eyes, the instabilitie, frailtie, and deceitfull casualitie thereof.

34 And this, the very philosophers required in some sort, not only of their wise, and contemplative men, but also of every man, and therefore, Seneca saith of riches, thus. *No man is worthy of God, but he which desisteth riches, whereof, I doe not deny thee the use, but only would have thee to possess them with quietnes of mynd, which thou shalt doe in some sort, if thou perswade thy selfe, that thou mayst live happily without them, and dost regard them, as things that are transitory, and shall perish. And agayne, it is, saith he, a great, and rare matter not to be corrupted with the use of riches, and he may be counted a great, and notable man, who in riches is poore, but he is most secure that hath them not.* Senec. ep. 18.

35 Thus saith, Seneca, teaching, as we Christians doe, not only contempt of riches, and a certaine poverty of spirit in the abundance of worldly wealth, but also the great danger, that doth accompany them, and the security of a poore, and meane estate. Though neuertheles, this difference is to be noted, betwixt our doctrine, and his, that he requireth the contempt of riches to avoyd partly the distraction, & vexation of mynd, and partly the corruption of manners, which commonly groweth of the inordinat love thereof; and we require it, not only for those reasons, which are indeede very important, but much more for the love of God, and to imitate the voluntary poverty of our Saviour Christ, and that we may the better, and more easily obserue his commandements, who therefore compareth riches to thornes, which chooke vp the seede of Gods word in the hearts of men, and not only aligneth poverty for the first beatitude, but also saith of rich men (such I meane as place their confidence, and felicity in riches) that it is as hard for them to enter into the kingdom of heaven, as for a camel to passe through the eye of an needel. Marc. 4. Math. 5. Luc. 6. Matth. 19.

36 Now then to come to the more particuler answer of the objection wherein it was supposed, that the state of princes, noble men, rich men, souldiars, merchants, married men, & such others, cannot stand with contemplation: I say, that as all lawfull states, or conditions of life in common wealth, admit the perfect practise of Christian religion, so also they consequently admit contemplation, which (as I have signified sufficiently before) is nothing els but, the perfect practise of Christian religion, consisting in prayer, accompanied, with the fervent love of God, and charitie towards our neighbour, puritie of conscience, resignation of will, and other Christian vertues, from the use and practise whereof, no man is excluded, and therefore, as any man may be a perfect Christian in any degree, or lawfull vocation, so also he may be a perfect contemplative as S. Gregory teacheth expressly in these words, *contemplationis gratia &c. The grace of contemplation is not given to the highest or greatest, and not to the least,* S. Gregor. in Ezech. li. 2. Ho. 17.

„ the least, but oft times to the highest, and oft to the lowest, and some
 „ times to the married men, though it is most frequent in those that are
 „ remoued or sequestred from the world: if therefore noe state, or voca-
 „ tion of the faithfull, bee excluded from the grace of contemplation, it
 „ followeth that whosoever hath his hart recollected within himselfe,
 „ may bee partaker of the light thereof: Thus saith s. Gregory: hereof
 there is daile experience, and alwaies hath bene, as shall appeare in the
 next chapter.

*To proue that anie Christian man may bee a perfect contemplatiue in anie larv-
 full vocation, diuers exampls are alledged of holie, and contemplatiue Kinges,
 VVherouppon it is inferred, that meaner men, who haue lesse occasion to di-
 uert them selues from contemplation, may bee perfect contemplatiues.*

CHAP. 23.

I Lthough manie fearing the danger, which doth commonly
 accōpany worldly welth, honours & busines, do retire them-
 selues wholie frō the affaires of the world, & abandon all the
 commodities, and pleasures thereof, to the end, they may the
 more easilie be vnited with God by perfect loue, & contemplation, ne-
 uertheles there may be, & euer hath bene great contemplatiues of men,
 of al sorts, degrees, & conditions in euerie cuntrie, and common wealth,
 yea, of those whose stats seeme most incompatible with contemplatiō,
 by reason of there abundance of all wordlie honours, welth, pompe,
 & pleasures, and of their continuall occupation in affaires & busines, I
 meane kinges and princes, of whome, I will alledge some few examples,
 partlie of those who liuing, either vnder the law of nature, or law of
 Moses, beleueed in Christ, that then was to come, and partlie of
 Christians, that haue professed the faith of Christ, since his comming.

2 The first shall be *Iob*, who being king of *Edom*, & flowing in prosperi-
 tie, and worldie welth, was replenished with al those vertues, which are
 requisit to the perfection of contemplation, in a man of his estate, as true
 humilitie, contempt of the riches and honours wherein he abounded,
 mansuetude, patience, charitie, and pittie to the poore, coniugal chastity,
 justice, puritie of hart, and the seruent loue of God, as appeareth in the
 holie scriptures, which make him a verie mirrour of all vertue, besides
 that s. Bernard proposeth him for a perfect patterne both of the con-
 templatiue, & the actiue life, gathering the same out of his owne words,
 when he said. *Si dormiero dicam quando surgam, & rursum expectabo vespem.*

*Iob. 29.
 Vide Bed. in
 comment. in
 Iob. c. 29.
 Theophanes
 ep. 2. de pa-
 tientia.
 Isidor. de vi-
 ta & morte
 Sancti. Ca-
 sarius dia. 3.
 Vide Pineda
 in Iob.
 Iob. ca. 1. 29.
 30. & 31.*

If I sleepe or repose, I will say when shall I rise, and then againe, I will expect *Ibid.* 7.
 the evening: meaning saith *S. Bernard*, that when he had reposed in the evening or night of contemplation, he desired the morning, that he might arise to action, & then againe expected the evening, to the end hee might returne to repose of contemplation: Thus saith *S. Bernard*, and what heauenlie contemplations, *Iob* receiued in his contemplatiue exercise, & praier, it may be gathered by the reuelations, and gift of prophesie which hee had, euen in his affliction, and by the fauour which almighty God did him to speake to him, yea & to appeare vnto him, as it seemed by the words of *Iob*, saying. I haue heard thee o Lord vnto my eares, *Cap. 42.*
 and now my eyes also see thee.

And who may be counted, or was in deede more contemplatiue then *Moses*, being so vnited with God, and so familiar with him, that God called him. *Fidelissimum in omni domo sua.* The most faithfull seruant in all his house, and talked with him face to face, and shewed himselfe vnto him, not as he did to others, by representations, and figures, but *palam* saith the scripture, manifestly, in so much, that some of the Fathers hold, that he saw the verie essence of God: And yet neuer anie man had more cause of distraction from contemplation then he, hauing the conduct of such perverse people, so mutinous, and rebellious, through so manie dangers, in the desert, for so manie yeares together, that if we should measure him by the humor, and custome of worldly men, we might thinke he should haue litle liste, and lesse leasure to attend to contemplation, but he being endewed with heauenlie wisdom, & grace, and knowing that al states stand principally by the protection of God, sought the assurance of his state, & the good successe of his actions, by the meanes of contemplatiō, assuring himselfe that his vnion with God, would be a meanes to vnite the people with God and him, & therefore he ioyned together the contemplatiue, and actiue life in al perfection.

This *S. Gregory* obserueth saying of him, that he went continually in and out of the tabernacle, & that whiles he was there, he was rauished in cōtemplation, & whiles he was abroad, he attended to negotiation, & that in the tabernacle, he did cōtemplat the heauily secrets of almighty God, & abroad, he bore the heauy burthen of his earthly charge. And how aualeable his contemplatiō was to his state, & to al his subiects, it appeareth sufficiently by their victory against the *Amalecites*, obtained by his praiers, vpon the mountaine, whiles *Iosue* and his army fought, as also by his frequēt pacificatiō of Gods wrath towards the whē God had determined other waies to destroy the for their sinnes. In like manner, was their euer a greater cōtemplatiue then king *Dauid*, seeing that neither the pompe of his royal dignity, nor the plentie of his princely

D. Bern. ser. de cantico. regis Ezech.

Nnm. 12.

S. Aug. de Symbolo ad Catechumenos li. 4 c. 3. & in Genes. ad litter.

D. Tho. 2. 2. q. 174. ar. 4.

D. Gregor. de past. cura. par. 2. c. 5.

Exod. 17. Exod. 31. & 32. num. 24. & 21.

princely wealth, nor the prosperous courſe of his victories, nor yet his ſerious occupation in publicke affaires, could withould him, from the continuall and exact exerciſe of contemplation? For, as he teſtiſyeth of himſelfe, he uſed to a meditat on all the vvorkes of God, to b ſuruepe, and denge his ſpirit, or conſcience by diligent examination, to c vvash his bed every night vvith teares, to d prayſe God ſeauen times in the day, and to e ryſe at midnight to conſeſſe him, and further, that in this f meditations, he felt a burning heat, and ſuch abundant conſolation, that he inuiteth all men to the triall, and taſt thereof by his owne experience, ſaying. g *Guſtate, & videte, quoniam ſuanis eſt Dominus. Taſt, and ſee, for our Lord is ſweete; and ſo ſeruent was his loue to God, (which is moſt requiſit to contemplation) that he compared it to a continuall Thirſt. h Citiuit, ſayth he, anima mea ad Deum fontem viuum; My ſoule hath thirſted after God, vvho is the liuing fountaine; yea, and ſo vehement, was his burning, and languishing loue to God, that his very ſoule fainted, and, as it were, melted there vvith: Concupiſci, ſayth he, & deſicit anima mea in atria Domini: that is to ſay, ſo ardent, and feruorous is my loue to my Lord, and ſo exceſſiue my deſire of the ioyes of his kingdome, that my ſoule fayneth, and ſayleth me, in the contemplation thereof. Thus ſayth he, ſignifying the Extaſes, or raptſ vvhich he had, no doubt, many times in his meditations, no leſſe then the other Prophets of God, in vvhom the ſame were ordinary. If therefore kings, and princes were ſo contemplatiue in the law of nature, and the law of Moſes, what may they now be in the law of grace?*

6 This may appeare by many notable Chriſtian princes in all countreyes, vvho haue excelled in Chriſtian contemplation, and haue bene ſo vvited vvith god thereby, that their memory remayneth glorious in the Church, vvhich hath canonized very many of them for Saints, as namely Henry duke of Bauiyer, the firſt Emperour of that name, twoo Wencellaſſai kings of Boemia, Lewis king of France, Lucius, Sebbi, Sigbert, ofſwald, ofſvyn, Edmond, and the two Edwards, the Martyre, and Confeſſour kings of England, Canutus, king of Denmarke, Lewis the ninth king of France, Stephen king of Hungary. Cazimirus king of Polonia, Henricus king of Slaunonia, Olauus king of Norvvay: Pelagius king of Spayne, and diuerſe others vvhom I omit for breuities ſake, vvhoſe liues were ſo exemplar to the world, & acceptable to almighty God, that his deuine Maieſty glorified them vvith notable, and euident miracles, partly vvhiles they liued, and partly after their deaths, where vvpon followed their canonization by the holy Church, to the greater glory of God, and their eternal honour, as vvell in earth as in heauen.

7 Henry the Emperour aforenamed, was no leſſe renowned, & famous for his

S. Bedae ec-
cles. hiſt. gen-
ris Angelic.

Bofius do
fig. Eccle. li.
11. c. 1. fig.
30. To. 1.

for his
where
Vander
empire
diuers
force
and re
hira ſe
somet
law of
and s.
care a
the pr
of the
Beſide
and pa
ches, b
to all
deuot
cinnal
charit
templ
receiv
almig
Robert
impor
ſelfe
regimin
beauen
8 Fu
had in
ſtate, r
hee w
who p
Cuneg
at his
that h
was ſu
fore h
a Sain

for his prowes in warre, then for his iustice, and religious pietie in peace, whereby he greatlie aduanced the christian faith, for he subdued first the *Pandals* and *Boemians* (who being then infidls, infested greatlie the christiā empire) and after expelled the *Saracins* out of *Italy*, in which warres and diuers others, hee shewed more confidence to god, then in his owne force, and therefore hee allwayes made his whole army communicate, and receiue the Blessed sacrament before hee gaue battaile, and vsed also him selfe verie great and extraordinarie deuotions, whereby he had sometimes, miraculous victories, being assisted by Angels, Whome hee saw other whiles goe before his armie together with *S. Lawrence*, *S. George* and *S. Adrian*, to whome hee had perticular deuotion. And such was his care and desire to aduance by al meanes, the glorie and seruice of God, & the propagation of christian religion, that hee procured the conuersion of the *Hungarians*, in so much, that he was called by many their Apostle. Besides that he was so pious towards the Church, that he partly founded and partlie restored, and repared manie monasteries, & Cathedral Churches, being withall most liberall to the poore, and wouderfully addict to all workes of pietie, which hee accompanied with such seruour of deuotion, that he was no lesse contemplatiue in frequent, or rather continuall praier, then actiue in procuring the good of others: in so much, that it is written of him, that he passed sometimes whole nights in contemplation in diuers Churches, and places of deuotion, and that also hee receiued there verie greate and particuler fauours, and consolations of almighty God, by visions, and reuelations, and sometimes by raps, and as *Rupertus* witnesse: hee neuer determined, or attempted anie matter of importance concerning him selfe, and others, but he first disposed himselfe thereto by praier, and almes, *ut mens eius sciat he, & actus celestis regimine gubernarentur, to the end, that his mind, and actions might be gouerned by beauenlie direction.*

8 Furthermore, amongst manie other most excellent vertues, which he had in great perfection, one was most singular, and rare in a man of his state, to wit, such continencie, and intire chastitie of life, that although hee was married manie yeares, to satisfie the importunitie of his subiects, who pressed him thereto, yet both hee and the Empreffe, his wife (called *Cuneguntis*) by mutuall consent, liued chaste all their liues, as appeareth at his death, at what time hee said to her friendes, in her owne presence, that he restored her vnto them a virgin as he receiued her of them, which was sufficientlie testified to be true, by her owne vertuous life, both before his death, and after, whereby shee merited, to be canonized also for a Saint, as well as he.

Bonfin. de reb. Hung. des. 2 li 1. Baron. an. 1022.

Rupert in vit. S. Herberti.

Baron. an. 1024. ex Leone ostensi. li. 2. c. 47.

Baron. an.
1006.
Ditmarus.
in Chron.
Baron. an.
1007.

6 And such was his religious humilitie, and reuerent respect to the clergie, that being present in a Sinod of Bishops at *Francford*, he prostrated himselfe vpon the ground, before he would speake vnto them, and would not arise vntill *Villegisus* Arch-Bishop of *Mentz*, lifted him vp, as *Ditmarus* bishop of *Meresburg* (who was present) testifieth. Also when *Romsaldus* the Abbot of *S. Emeran* died, and was to be buried, the Emperour would needes helpe to carrie him to his graue, and so did, bearing parte of the beere on his shoulders. Finally being by the euil counsel, & calumniations of some abused for a time, and wholie auerted from the holie bishop of *Colen Herebert*, and admonished at length by a vision in his sleepe, of the bishops innocency, and sanctitie, he went vnto him, and laid himselfe prostrat at his feete, crauing pardon of him for the wronge opinion which he conceiued of him.

10 And to conclide, though to auoyde prolixitie, I am forced to lett passe manie notable thinges which might be obserued in this life, I cannot omit one, to shew by his example, the benefit which groweth of the continuall meditation, and expectation of death, which is most proper to the contemplatiue life.

Survius in
vita S. Hen-
rici. 14. Iulij.
vide Baron.
an. 1007.

This *Henry*, before hee was Emperour being one night long at his deuotions in *Ratibone*, in the Abbay, and at the tombe of *S. Emeran*, vnderstood by reuelation that there was a writing in a wall neare to the sepulchur of *S. VVolfgang* which he was admonished to take out, & reade, and therein he found onlie two wordes, to wit, *post sex, after six*, which when he saw, he imagined that it might be some forewarning of his death to ensue within six daies, whereupon he prepared himselfe, to die, with all care, and diligence, and seeing the six daies passe without the effect, which he expected, he perseuered in his former preparation, for six weekes, and when he saw his expectation also deceiued therein, he continued the same first for six months, and after for six yeares, which being expired, it pleased God to fulfill the prophesy, though not as hee expected, for vpon the first day of the seauenth yeare, he was chosen Emperour, hauing in the meane time laid such a sound foundation of vertue, by meanes of his continuall preparation for death, that his imperiall honours could neuer change his manners, in so much that for the two and twentie yeares, which after the count of the *German*s hee reigned most prosperously, hee still continued his former course, of true pietie, and vertue: Whereby we may see, how true it is which the Preacher saith. *Memorare nouissimam tua, & in aeternum non peccabis.* Remember alwayes thy last, that is to say thy end, and thou shalt neuer sinne.

Becke. 7.

11 Thus

Thus much for the emperor Henry.

11 The other two of whome I haue promised to treat, shall be of our owne countrie, the one a Martire, & the other a Confessor, to wit, *S. Oswald*, and *S. Edward*, *S. Oswald* being first a Pagan, and conuerted to the christian faith in *Scotland*, whiles he was banished there, came, by the death of his brother *Eangfred*, to bee king of *Northumberland*, and was so eminent in all vertue, that it is hard to say, whether he excelled more in the contemplatiue, or in the active life: For first to speake of his contemplation, *S. Bede* witnesseth that his deuotion was such, that from the time of mattins (which was at midnight) he continued verie oft in praier vntill it was day, and that being accustomed alwayes to hould vpp his hands towards heauen, when he praied, he got such a habit by the frequent vse thereof, that whensoever he sate, he held his handes vpight.

12 And of this his deuotion proceeded no doubt the seruour, and zeale hee had to pious actions, and to all workes of charitie, as first to gaine sinners to God, wherein hee laboured notable: For hauing procured the bishop *Aidan* to come from *Scotland* to preach to his people, who were then Pagans, and vnderstood not the *Scottish* tongue, he was content to be the bishops interpreter, expounding in the *Saxon* tongue that which the bishop preached in *Scottish*, whereby hee conuerted them speedilie to the christian faith, and calling into *England* manie religious men to labour in that harvest, and vineard of almightie God, hee bestowed liberallie for their maintenance, and built manie Monasteries, and Churches, in so much, that within a while, the Christian religion flourished notable in his dominion, which therefore pleased almightie God to enlarge in such sorte, that within a few years, all the princes of *Britanny* (which as *S. Bede* witnesseth were then deuided into foure tongues, to wit *Britons*, *Picts*, *Scots* and *English*) became subiect vnto him, and yet neuerthelesse saith hee *pauperibus, & perigrinis semper humilis, benignus, & largus fuit*, hee was alwayes humble, benigne and liberall towards the poore, and strangers: whereto *Polidore* addeth, that *Mira fuit in homine sanctitas &c.* His sanctity *Polid. Virgil.* wholines was wonderfull, & his loue to piety, for he neuer rendred euil for euil, but following the example of our sauour Christ, the king of kings, wished well to his verie enemies, & to those who had done him iniurie, desiring to doe good to all men he visited & comforted the sicke, he released prisoners, he paid the debts of such as were poore, & not able to pay them, he defended widowes, & punished their oppress-

Beda. histor.
Anglic. li. 3.
ca. 6.

Idem. Ibid.
O. Polid.
verg. li. 4.

Beda. li. 3.
ca. 2.

Idem. Ibid.

oppressors. Finallie his pietie, and liberalitie to the poore, was such that vnderstanding once whiles he was at dinner, that there were manie poore folkes at the court gate, he caused a siluer platter full of meate to be caried vnto them from his owne table, and not onlie the meate, but also the dish, to be distributed amongst them, which when the holie bishop Aidam, who dined with him saw, he tooke him by the right hand, and said. *Nunquam putrescat hac manus.* God grant this hand may neuer rot. Whereof, S. Bede noteth a notable effect, witnessing, that his arme, and hand, being cut of from his bodie by the Painims, when he was slaine, and after recouered by his successeur, remained incorrupt vntill his time, who also addeth that. *Loculo inclusa argenteo in ecclesia Sancti Petri feruantur & digno a cunctis honore venerantur.* they are kept saith he, enclosed in a siluer case, in the city called Bella, and the Church of S. Peter, where they are vvorthislie reuerenced of all men. Thus saith S. Bede.

13 Moreouer this great charitie, and deuotion of this holie king in time of peace, was accompanied with noe lesse valour in time of warr, as may appeare by the great ouerthrow he gaue to Caduallo Britons, whose he slaw, and a great part of his huge armie; deliuering the English nation from the most fierce, and potent enemy, that they had of manie yeares, in which warrs he also shewed the great pietie, and confidence in God, which concurred with all his other actions. For being come to the place of battaile, hee caused a crosse to bee made, saith S. Bede, with all speede, and a hole to be digged, wherein he sett it, with his owne hand, and held it vp vntill it was fastened there by his souldiars, which being donne, he commaunded all his armie to knele downe with him, and to pray to God for victorie, in respect that their warr, and quarrell was iust, and so saith S. Bede, the next morning setting vpon their enemies, *Iuxta meritum sue fidei victoria potius fuit.* According to the merit of his faith, they obtained the victorie. And S. Bede further addeth, that in the same place of his praier. *Innumere virtutes sanctorum, noscuntur, esse patrata, ad indicium videlicet, & memoriam fidei regis.* There are saith he, innumerable miraclis done vpon the diseased in the recouerie of their health, in token, and memorie of the kinges faith.

14 And this deuout valour, or valerous deuotion, hee shewed also in the like occasions, and specially in the last battaile which he gaue to the Pogan king of the Mercians called Penda, against whome he made warr for the defence of Christian religion, in which battaile it pleased god, to suffer him to be slaine to giue him the crowne of Martiredome. For, his armie being discomfited, and he himselfe so inuironed with his enemies, that he saw he was presentlie to die, such was his charietie, that hee

was more carefull for the soules of his souldiars, then for his owne, in so much that he was slaine praing for them: whereupon their grew this prouerbe. *God haue mercy on their soules, quoth King Osuvald, when he was killed himselfe. And how great (saith S. Bede) was his faith to God, and his deuotion, it appeareth after his death by manie miracles, for in the verie place, where he died fighting against the Painimes; manie diseased persons; and sick cattle doe still recover their health.* Thus saith S. Bede, who recounteth ampie, and particularlie verie manie euident, and famous miracles, which it pleased God to shew aswell at his tombe, as at the place where he was martired, and this shall suffice for king of *Osuvald*. Wherein I wish thee good Reader, to note by the way of what religion he was, and others in our cuntry, in that our primitive Church, seeing he sett vpp crosses, and praied for the dead, and that reliques of Saints, were so reuerenced in those daies, which was a thousand yeares agoe.

15 And now to say somewhat of king *Edvard*, commonlie called the *Confessor*, The fame of his great vertue, and deuotion, and the testimonie, that God gaue thereto, by manie manifest miracles, is so notorious, that it cannot bee doubted, but that hee was a most perfect contemplatiue, greatlie vnited with almighty God, and highlie in his fauour: & therefore *Polidor vergil*, obserueth verie well of him, that God gaue him a continuall and prosperous peace, for nineteene yeares together, to the end he might the better, and more fullie satisfie his holie desire in the contemplation of heauenlie thinges, which was, saith he, all his studie, and delight, and therefore *Mathevv* of *Vestminster* calleth him. *Regem pacificum, Angliae ducem, indagatorem solertissimum: A peaceable king, the ornament of England, and a most diligent searcher of the heauenlie secrets.*

And although he was counted simple (being so humble and meeke, that he could not be angrie, and therefore was held at the first to be vnfit to gouerne) yet as *Villiam* of *Malmesbury* writeth of him, hee was wonderfull reuerenced of his subiects, and greatlie feared of his enemies, & *fruebar* saith he, *eius simplicitatem Deus, vt posset timeri qui nesciret irasci*, and God fostered, and protected his simplicitie, to the end he might be feared, who could not be angrie. Thus saith *Villiam* of *Malmesbury*, who liued in his time, or presentlie after. And further testified of him, that amid the busines, and affaires of his kingdome he lead an Angels life, being affable, and courteous euen to the poorest, liberall to all good, and religious men, an enemy of exactions, spare of diet: And though hee was rich, and sumptuous in his royal robes, vppon festiuall daies (as was fit for the dignitie of his person) yet it euidentlie appeareth, that he rather sought gods glorie therein, then his owne delictation: His onlie worldly

Bede. hist. Anglie. li. 3. ca. 12.

Po'id. Verg. hist. Anglie. li. 8.

Matth. Vest. an. 1065.

Galiel. Malm.

*Alred. in vit.
Eduar.*

*Ared. in vit.
Eduar.*

*Guliel. Mal-
mesbur.*

*Polid. Virg.
hist. Anglie.
li. 8.
Ibidem.*

2. Reg. 6.

recreation, was hunting, and hawking, whereto neuertheless he would neuer attend, saith the same authour, vntil he had heard deuine seruice; his loue to his people was singuler, as appeareth both by his remission of the great and grieuous impositions laid vpon them, by his predecessors, as also by the care he tooke of the administration of Iustice, and of the ordinance of good lawes; his chastitie was admirable, inso much, that hauing married a faire and beautifull Ladie at the earnest suite, and request of his nobilitie, he perswaded her to make a vow of chastitie, and so they liued both of them continent during their liues: And so he was (as *Alredus* writeth of him) humble towards priests, pitifull to the poore, a father of orphanes, a patron of widowes, and a contemner of riches. Finallie his puritie of conscience, and seruour of deuotion in praier, and contemplation was such, that God imparted vnto him exceeding fauours, of visions, reuelations, and the spirit of prophesie, besides manie famous miracles which God wrought by him, both in his life, and after his death, as all the authours that write of him do testifie, and is euident also by the hereditarie gift or grace of God giuen to his successors to heale the disease, called the *Kings euil*, and to blesse rings for the crampe, and falling sicknes, which was practised by the kinges of England from his time, so long as Catholike religion remained there.

16 Now then of these examples I inferre two thinges, the first concerning kinges and princes, to wit, how erroneous, and impious is the suggestion that sicophants commonlie vse to whisper into their eares, that the deuotion, and religious pietie, which I call contemplation, is more fit for cloisters, then for courts, and better bebecoming monkes, or priests then princes: whereas it appeareth, by the foresaid examples, and manie others which might be alleadged, that neither the princes power, nor his dignitie, and maiestie, nor his lawfull recreations, nor the defence of his state, and person, nor yet the iust offence of his enemies, is anie way hindred by his integritie of conscience, and religious deuotion: but his power increased by the assistance of the deuine power, his dignitie, and maiestie augmented, his recreations made more sweete, and pleasant, his state assured, his enemies daunted, his name eternised, and his kingdome, or dominion translated in the end, from earth to heauen, and from miserie to immortallitie, and euerlasting glorie.

17 And therefore when *Michol* daughter to king *saul* dispised, and derided king *Dauid* her husband, for dauncing in Leuits attire before the Arke of God (when it was remoued from the house of *Obed-Edom*)

vnto

vnto the citie of *Dauid*) he said vnto her, that seeing God had chosen him, rather then her father, or anie of his house, to be king of his people, he would the more humble himselfe in his owne sight, to giue honour, and praise to God, not doubting but he should by that meanes be more glorious euen in the sight of men: and how much the irreligious vanitie of *Michol*, displeased almightie God, the scrip-^{*ibid.*} ture, declareth, signifying that in punishment thereof she became barren.

18 This religious humilitie, and feruent deuotion of king *Dauid*, seemed to *s. Gregory*, more laudable and admirable, then his great valour and victories in warr, and therefore he saith notablie thus. *Let vs*, ^{*D. Greg. expos. mo- ral. li. 27. in c. 37. 1. Reg. 16.*} consider, saith he, what great giftes, and vertues *Dauid* receiued of al-^{*17.*} mighty God, and how humble he was withall, for who would not haue benne extolled in mind, if he had broken the iawes of Lyons, dismembred beares, and ouerthrowne a giant, as *Dauid* did? Or if, being a priuat man he had bene annoynted king in steede of one al-^{*17.*} ready in possession, and in the end obeyed of all without contradiction, as *Dauid* was? And yet when the Arke of God was remoued to ^{*2. Reg. 3. 2. Reg. 16.*} *Hiernsalem*, he daunced before it amongst the common people, as though he had bene no better then they, and so he, whom God had preferred before all men, contemned himselfe for the loue of God, and matching himselfe with the meanest, neither remembered his princelie power, nor yet feared, that by dauncing before the Arke, he should be lesse esteemed of his subiects, but acknowledged himselfe, as meane as the meanest, to render honour to God, who had so highlie honoured him. What other men thinke of his act, I know not, but for my part I more admire him dauncing then fighting, for when he fought he subdued his enemies, but when he daunced before the Arke of God, he ouercame himselfe.

19 Thus saith, *s. Gregory*, giuing therein a notable document to princes, to consider by the example of king *Dauid*, how honorable it is for them to humble themselves in matters that appertaine to the honour and seruice of God, thereby to acknowledge of whom they should their honour, and state, and to shew themselves gratefull to him for the same: as not onlie king *Dauid* did when he daunced before the Arke, but also our good king *oswald*, when he was content (as I haue signified before) to be interpreter betwixt the Bishop *Aidan*, and his people for their instruction in the faith, and erected a Crosse, holding it vp, with his owne hands, vntill his souldiars had fastned it in the earth. And the like also may be obser-

Alfred. in
vit. Ed-
ward.

be obserued in that which I signified of the holie emperor *Henric*, who helped to cary on his shoulders, the body of *S. Remoald*, to his buriall, and laid himselfe prostrat before the Bishops in a Sinod at *Francford*. Whereto I may add a rare example of religious humilitie & piety, in king *Edward* the Confessor, not mentioned before, to wit, that hee disdained not to cary on his backe, an Irish crippe, borne lame, and strangelic deformed, from his pallace at *Westminster*, vnto *S. Peters* Church, for that the crippe humbly requested the same of him, hauing had as hee said, a reuelation, that he should recouer his leggs, if the king would doe him the charitie to beare him one his backe to the Church: And it pleased God to glorifie himselfe in the humilitie, and charitie of this holie king, that the crippe was cured of his lamnes in the sight of all the people, whiles he was vpon the kings backe.

Baron. an. 6
28.

20. But most nitable in this kind, was the example of *Heraclym*, the Emperour, who hauing recouered out of *Persia*, the holie Crosse, whereon our Sauour suffred (which the *Persians* had before taken away from *Hierusalem*) caried it vpp to the mount *Calvary*, vpon his owne shoulders bare footed, and simplie appareled, hauing attempted before to cary it in his ryall robes, which he could not doe, nor so much, as remoue one foote with it, vntill he had put them of. Whereby almightie God taught him, and all princes to humiliat themselves in his sight, and to consider, that though they are more potent, and mighty then other men, and worthyly honoured, obaied, and serued of their subiects, yet before him, they are but *terra & cinis*, earth and ashes, that is to say, made of the same mould, that other men are, and as subiect to him, as the meanest. Thus much for the first point, which I wish to be obserued in the example before alleaged.

21 The other is that for as much as the greatest emperours, and kinges, may be perfect contemplatiues, without preiudice, yea, and with incomparable benefit to themselves, and their states, it cannot be denied, but that inferiour persons, of what degree, or state soeuer they be may also arriue to the perfection of contemplation, seeing they haue lesse cause of distraction, and that nothing is required thereunto (as I haue amply shewed alreadie) but the grace of God, and the perfection of Christian religion, which doth stand with euerie mans state, & vocation & is the onlie meanes to perfect the same.

22 Therefore although in respect of the infirmitie, and malignitie of mans nature, it cannot be expected, that euerie one in the common wealth, shall be contemplatiue, or trulie religious, yet it is euident, by al this former discourse, that euerie one may be, and that the greater is the

num
and
in ch
lation
of, m
11. ch
tie G
euer
parte
and fa

Cemai
red

1
12
13

teach
worl
mind
ligion
be de
1 T
are no
Paga
men
3 T
abfur
as his
can b
fueru
magn
that I
know
vertu
not o
vertu

num

number of contemplatiues in the common welth, the more happy it is, and consequentie, that the true felicitie of common wealth consisteth in christian contemplation, not onlie in respect of the ineffable consolations spirituall, and tast of immortalitie, which euerie member thereof, may euen in this life receiue thereby (as I haue proued at large in the 21. chapter) but also of the temporall fauour and protection of almighty God, redounding thereof both to the whole state in generall, and to euery one in particular, as I will proue more particularlie in the third parte of this treatise, when I shall treat of the different fruit of true, and false religion in kingdomes and states.

Certaine frivolous obiections of Macchiauel against Christian religion are answered, and his impierie, and ignorance discovered.

CHAP. 24.

HAuing hetherto proued the excellency, & necessitie of christian religion, for the perfection of comon welth, I thinke it conuenient to answer here two folish and impious obiections of *Macchiauel*: the one, that our Christian religion teaching as it doth, all humilitie, mansuetude, patience, contempt of the world, pouertie of spirit, and remission of iniuries, maketh men base minded, cowerdly and timorous, in which respect, he preferreth the religion, and valour of the Painimes before ours, for such reasons, as shall be declared, and examined hereafter.

1 The other obiection is, that our christian names taken from Saints, are not so fit for common wealth as the names of *Cesar*, *Pompey*, & other Pagans, renowned greatlie for their valour, by whose example, men might bee stirred ypp to the execution of famous, and valarous acts.

3 Thus teacheth, or rather triflETH this Atheisticall politicke, no lesse absurdlie, then wickedlie, bewrayng as well his owne ignorance, & folly, as his notable impietie. And first concerning the first obiection, what can bee more absurd, then to thinke, that the vertues, of humilitie, mansuetude, patience, and remission of iniuries should anie waies hinder the magnanimitie, valour, and fortitude of men? would anie man teach this, that knoweth what belongeth to the nature of these vertues? For who knoweth not (if he haue but anie tast of morall philosophy) that no one vertue can be had in perfection, but with a connexion of all the rest (if not of the acts, yet at least of the habits) whereby a man that is trulie vertuous, shalbe sufficientlie disposed, and able to doe all the acts of ver-

*Macchia. li.
2. de discors
sopra Tito
Linio. c. 2.*

true, as his estate, time, place and occasion shall require? and therefore although on the one side magnanimitie doth raise, and eleuate the mind of man to worthy, and great actions, and on the other side humilitie doth as it were, depresse him to a lowlie, and base conceit of himselfe, and to acts correspondent thereto: yet by reason of different respects, they are opposit, and contrarie the one to the other, but one man may haue the habits, and performe the acts of them both, where iust occasion shall bee offered: yea it may rather be trulie affirmed that without true humilitie no man is trulie magnanimous, but a coward and slaue to his owne passions, and by them hindred to practise true magnanimitie.

4 For as magnanimitie inciteth a man to vndertake great, and honorable actions vpon the consideration of the high, and worthy end whereto God hath ordained him, (and in respect of the dignitie of gods image in him, and of other good gifts, and fauours receiued at gods hands) so also humilitie, respecting the defects, and imperfections in man, moueth him to haue a true conceit of his owne infirmities, or rather of his owne nothing, and to shew it in due time, place, and occasion by eternall acts: so that a magnanimous Christian, will not onlie doe generous and honorable actions when it seemeth to him conuenient for the honour, and seruice of God, but also will deiect himselfe to all offices, and actions of humilitie, when like iust occasion shall require it. And therefore where as all morall vertues are reduced to foure heades, (to wit, *Prudence, Iustice, Fortitude and Temperance*, which are therefore called the foure Cardinall vertues) it is to be vnderstood, that *humilitie and magnanimitie*, are so far from being opposit, or contrarie the one to the other, or yet to *Fortitude*, that *S. Thomas* accounteth them both as potentiall parts of *Fortitude*, reducing them thereto, as to their head.

*S. Thom. 22.
1. 29. ar. 3.
ad 4.*

*D. Tho. virt.
q. 1. 12. 26.*

*Aristot.
Ethic. li. 4.
c. 3*

5 And forasmuch as magnanimity is as *Aristotle* saith, *decor & ornamentum virtutum*, a beautie, grace, and ornament to all other vertues, and tendeth alwaies to perfection in the exercise and practise of them (that is to say, when it concurrerth to the operation of anie other vertue, it maketh the act most excellent and perfect) thereupon it followeth, that when a magnanimous man doth the acts of humilitie, he surpasseth all other men therein, performing them in the highest degree of perfection: And noe maruaile seeing that he which is trulie magnanimous, being with all trulie prudent (for otherwaies hee could not bee trulie vertuous) and esteeming euerie thinge according to the true worth, and valew thereof, hath such a base conceit, of all earthlie and humane thinges (in respect of the heauenlie and deuine) that no man condemneth them so much as he, when occasion requireth.

6 Therefore Cicero teacheth expresselie that magnanimitie is: *Animi cum ratione magnificentia humanas res, ut decet, contemnens*: A magnificence, or Tusc. 9. greatness of the mind ioynd vwith reason, contemning all human thinges, as it is con- li. 4. uenient. And further he saith, that the magnanimious, and valiant man, is, *Constant, sedatus, grauis, & humana omnia premens*. Constant, sober, quiet, graue, and one that treadeth all humane thinges vnder his feete. So that although he be inclined to honour and glorie, yet it is with such moderation, and due regard of his owne desert, that he is neither vaine, glorious, nor presumptuous, nor ambitious, waying al his deserts, and actions in the balance of reason (for otherwile, he should loose the commendation of his vertue, and fall into vice) and therefore whensoever he seeth the respect of humane honour, glorie, or earthlie commodities, encountred with the consideration of Gods honour, and glorie, or of heauenlie, and euermlasting ioyes, he so much despiseth the former in respect of the latter, that he treadeth them vnder his feete, and triumpheth quer them by true humilitie, contemning yea, and abandoning both them, and himselfe, for the glorie, and seruice of God, saing with S. Paule: *omnia arbitror, ut stercora*, Philip. 3. *ut Christum lucrifariam*. I hold all thinges for no better then dung, and dirt, that I may gaine Christ. Whereby it appeareth that magnanimitie is not impeach- ed by Christian humilitie, and that the true magnanimious Christian, may trulie say with the same Apostle: *Scio, & humiliari scio & abundare &c.* I Phil. 4. know how to be humble, I know how to abound, I am framed, and disposed euery where, and in all occasions to be full, to be hungrie, to abound, to suffer penny, yea, I can doe all thinges in Christ, vwho strenghteneth me. Thus saith the Apostle, vwho was a true mirrour, as well of perfect magnanimitie, as of true humilitie, and all other vertues.

7 The like is also to be vnderstood of the concurrence of Christian mansuetude, or meekenes, with true Fortitude, seeing that no man can bee trulie, and perfectlie valiant, if hee bee not withall, mansuit, benigne, and mecke.

For whereas mansuetude, or meekenes, is the vertue which properlie represseth the excesse of anger, and desire of reuenge, it is euident that no man can haue perfect Fortitude, without mansuetud, for he that is transported with choller, anger, and an appetit of reuenge, is rather to bee counted temerarious, or furious, then valiant, seeing that true valiour Cicero Tusc. neuer draweth a man beyond the bonds of reason, for as Cicero saith. *Non cul. quasi. est illa fortitudo, quae rationis expers est.* It is not anie fortitud, at all vwhich is vwith- li. 4. out reason.

8 Therefore the Lacedemonians, vwho were a most valiant people, were Plutar. opus. accustomed alwaile before their battailes, to sacrifice to the muses, to the menda.

*Idem. in co-
parat. May-
ael. & Polo-
pida.*

end they might be able (as they thought by some good influence, or in-
stinct of theirs) to moderate their passions, and vsed also to temper the
exorbitant choller of their souldiars in warre, with the sound of soft, &
sweete instruments, and specially of flutes. And *Plutarch* commendeth
greatlie the valour of *Chrysantus* (of whome *Xenophon* maketh mention)
for that he had such absolut commaund ouer his passions, and was with-
all so obedient, and obseruant of militarie disciplin, that hauing lifted vp
his sword to strike his enemy, & hearing the sound of a retraite, he with-
drew his hand, and forbore to strike out his blow.

*Chap. 22.
m. 28.*

9 Seeing then the proper office of Christian mansuetude, is no other,
but to restrain, and repress the furius excess of anger, in such sort, that
we may be masters thereof, and vse it as a whetstone to valour, and for-
titude (that is to say, onlie to sharpen it in due manner, time, place, and
occasion) who seeth not the ignorance and folly of *Macchiavel* in that he
holdeth Christs precepts, and counsels of perfect meekenes, benigne-
tie, & patience, to be preiudiciall to true valour, and consequentlie to common
wealths: as though it could be with anie reason imagined, that the mea-
ning of our Sauour Christ, was to bind vs to the performance thereof
with the publicke detrimment of common welth, or the priuat iniurie of
anie third person, or the dishonour of God, which were not vertue, but
vice, and an offence to God, as I haue declared more particularlie, in the
22. chapter, where I haue also signified out of *S. Augustin*, how christians
may, and doe iustlie make warre, notwithstanding our Sauours pre-
cepts of sufferance of wronges, & remission of iniuries.

*Aristot. li. 4.
ethic. c. 3. &
li. de virtut.*

*Plato. li. 8. de
rep.*

10 Furthermore who knoweth not that the pardon of iniuries, when
no third person, nor the common welth, is dammified thereby, proceed-
eth of true generositie, and magnanimitie, & is an euident signe of most
excellent vertue: And therefore *Aristotle* describing the vertue of the
magnanimous, and valiant man, saith that he is neither *vindex iniuriarum*,
vindicatise, or a reuenger of iniuries, nor yet *memor earum*, nor so much as mind-
full of them, but both forgueth and forgitteth them. And *Plato* teacheth
that *Neque vltisci decet* &c. A man ought not either to reuenge anie iniurie done
vnto him, nor to hurte anie man what wronge, or dammage sooner he hath received
of other men. And *Cicero* speaking of the clemencie of *Iulius Cesar* in par-
doning his enemies, preferreth it before all his famous conquestes, and
victories yealding thereof this notable reason: that his exploitis and vic-
tories in warre were not so entirelie, and wholie his owne but that
his armies, and souldiars, yea fortune, and chance might challenge parte
of his praise, whereas the praise of the victorie, and conquest which hee
got ouer his owne passions, and himselfe, when hee pardoned his ene-
mies, was holie his owne, and not to be communicated with anie other.

And finally he concludeth notable thus. *Animum vniscere* &c. To conquer *Cicero pro M. Marcel.* a mans wronge mind, to repress anger, and passion, to be moderate in victorie, and not alie to raise a potent, and noble enemy, when hee is false, and ouerthrowne, but also to amplify, and encrease his former dignitie, he that doth this, I will not compare him with the worthiest men, but I iudge him to be most like to God. so he.

We read also, that the remission of iniuries was notable practised by manie other eminent men amongst the Paynimes, as by *Licurgus* the lawmaker of the *Lacedemonians*, who hauing one of his eies strooken out by a young man, that meant to haue killed him, not onlie pardoned him, but also tooke him into his house, and taught him philosophy, thereby to correct his manners, and made him in time a notable subiect, and member of his common welth. *Plutar. in Licur.*

Also *Phocian*, a famous captaine of the *Athenians*, being most vniustlie, and vngratefully condemned to death by his common welth, charged his sonne, both to forgiue, and forgot it

And *Seneca*, highlie commenderth *Augustus Cesar*, for pardoning a great noble man called *Cinna*, who had conspired his death, which cle- *Seneca. li. 1. de clement. ca. 9.* mency, hee saith, wrought most notable effects, not onlie in *Cinna* himselfe (who euer after remained most affectionat, and faithfull to *Augustus*) but also in all other men. For whereas *Augustus* hauing in former times bene most cruell, & vndicatiue, was neuer free from conspiracies, *nihil amplius insidiis saith Seneca, ab illo petitus est: hoc vna neuer after endain- gened by the treasonable attempts of anie man.* And of this point, manie other examples might be alledged, which I omit, seeing it is euident inough, that our Sauiour Christ commaunding remission of iniuries, ordained no more for the substance of the act, then that which the Paynimes themselves both highlie praised, and most presitablie practised, though the end and motiue which moued them thereto, was no other but either some vaine glorie, or els the desire to gaine mens affections, by the reputation of clemencie, or perhaps to auoyde the anguish, and torment which accompanied the passion of anger, and desire of reuenge, whereas wee Christians, remitting iniuries, for the pure loue of God, and our neighbour, doe gaine not onlie worldlie honour, ease, & contentment of mind, and the loue of men as the Paynimes did, but also the loue of God, & our assured hope of a heauenlie, & euerlasting reward.

What then can be imagined in Christs doctrine of humilitie, mansuetude, and remission of iniuries, either contrary, or anie way preiudiciall to true fortitude? Was there euer anie man more meeke, and humble, or that more freeleie pardoned his enemies, then king *Dauid*, in whome our Sauiours ineffable mansuetude, humilitie, and charitie was prefigured? And *1. Reg. 24. 2. Reg. 16. 13.*

yet there was neuer anie man either more valiant or victorious the he.
 15 And the like may be said of *Moyſes*, who was not onlie, most valiant,
 but also as the scripture saith. *Mitisimus omnium &c. The most meeke, and gentle*
Num. 12. of all men that liued vpon earth. And such were also the other two *Chri-*
ſtian, and contemplatiue kings aboue named, to wit *Henry* the Emperour,
 and our King *Oſwald* of England, in whom singuler valour, and military
 fortitude, notably concurred with perfect humility, manſuetude, and true
 Christian ſimplicity.

16 And of this concurrence of all the moral vertues in Christians, *Ma-*
chianuel could neuer haue bene ignorant, if he had not bene ſo graceleſſe,
 as not to conſider the effects of Gods grace, & that the ſame only giuerh
 perfection of morall vertue, as I amply proued before. Beſides that he
 euidently ſhewed either his ignorance in hiſtory, or his malice in diſſem-
 bling that which he had read, ſeeing he aſcribed want of valour, and
 cowardiſe to Christians, whoſe valorous acts, and victorious conqueſts,
 are celebrated by the hiſtories of all countries, by the which it is mani-
 feſt that chriſtians are much to be preferred before Paynimes, for martial
 prowes, and military valour, as may appeare by the famous victories of
 our Christian Emperours, *Conſtantine Theodoſius*, and *Charlemayne* all three
 ſurnamed *Magni*, the great: in reſpect of their moſt famous, and worthy ex-
 ploits in warre, of whom the laſt, to wit *Charlemayne*, twice ouerranne,
 and conquered all Germany, which neither *Iulius Ceſar*, nor all the force of
 the Roman Empyre could euer ſubdue before his tyme: to whom may be
 added *Charles Martel*, and his ſonne *Pipin* king of France, *Pelagius*, *Froila*, *Ra-*
nimirus, and three *Alfonſi*, all kings in ſpayne, and *Ferdinand* count of Ca-
 ſtil, and many others who with ſmale forces in reſpect of their enemies,
 ouerthrew infinit numbers of *Painymes*, *Saracens*, or other Infidels.

17 I omit to ſpeake of the great prowes, and valour of many other in-
 ferious princes & Christian captaines, renowned in all hiſtories, & *Aetius*
 & *Belliſarius*, & *marſes*, & *Godfrey* of Bullen, & *Franciſcus Sfortia*, our two English
 Captaines, & *Talbor*, and *Aneur*, the former terrible in France euen vntil
 this day, and the latter famous in Italy. Beſides *Conſalvus* ſurnamed the
 great captaine, and many others euen in our daies, whoſe valorous acts I
 omit, not to trouble thee (good Reader) with a needles prooſe of com-
 mon experience, which is as cleare in it ſelfe, as the day light, or ſunne
 ſhyne: and therefore it may be wondred how *Machianuel* could be ſo be-
 witcht, or rather dronke with the dreggs of Atheiſme, as to teach that
 our Christian religion maketh men cowardly, and baſe mynded.

18 But now let vs examine breefely the validity of the reaſons, which
 moue him to preferre the Paynimes before Christians, for *Magnanimity*,

Eginard in
vita Caroli.
Baron. an.
 772. & 804.
Paul. Aemi-
lites. in Ca-
rolo Magno
& Carolo
Martello.
Baron. an.
 731. Ioan.
Vaſſaus in
Annalib.
Hiſpan.
Baron. an.
 a. 451. 8. 530.
 c. 553. d. *Paul.*
Emil. in
Philip. 1. Ba-
ron. an.
 1098.
 e. *Naucler.*
 gener. 49.
 f. *Polydor.*
Vergil. li. 23.
 h. *Gnicciard.*
 li. 5. & 6.

and v
 world
 action
 ſpirit,
 ſeth th
 good R
 milit
 gion, v
 he be a
 Chriſt
 in this
 be obt
 rucs, a
 any ma
 of rich
 acts ei
 in the
 mer di
 the tw
 19 W
 craft
 ry, as
 the Pa
 Chriſt
 poſiti
 end of
 (whic
 of ſpi
 eth, as
 20 Y
 end,
 both
 mity,
 rance
 21 I
 hope
 y, o
 com
 nit n
 Chri

and valour. The first is because the Paynimes placed their felicity in worldly honour, dominion, and victories, and therefore directed al their actions thereto: whereas Christians doe place it, saith he, in pouerty of spirit, humility, and contempt, of the world, in which respect he suspecteth them to become base minded, and cowardly. Wherein I beseech thee good Reader, to note his malicious folly, in that he maketh Christian humility, and contempt of the world, the end, or felicity of Christian religion, whereas it is but the meanes to the end: for who knoweth not, if he be a Christian, as *Machianel* professed to be, that the felicity which Christ promised, and the Christians expect, is to be vnited with God, first in this life, and after eternally in euerlasting blisse: and that the same is to be obtained by pouerty of spirit, contempt of the world, and other vertues, and yet so; that no lawfull vocation in any good common welth nor any mans duty towards his country, nor the lawfull desire, or possession of riches, and honours, nor the execution of valorous, and magnanimious acts either in warre, or peace, is hindred thereby, but all the same persisted in the highest degree, as I haue sufficiently proued already in all this former discourse concerning Christian religion, and especially in this, and the two last chapters.

19 Whereby the malice of *Machianel* may appeare, in that he not only craftily dissembleth our Christian doctrine, concerning as wel mans felicity, as the meanes to obtayne it, but also idly compareth the end (which the Paynimes proposed to themselves) with some part of the meanes that Christians vse to arrive to their end, and therefore he maketh nor his opposition, and comparison, betwixt the desire of honour (which was the end of the Paynimes) and mans vnion with God, and euerlasting ioye, (which is the end; and felicity of Christians) but with humility, pouerty of spirit, and contempt of the world, which our Christian religion teacheth, as the way to our end.

20 Yf therefore we compare our end, and true felicity, with that other end, and supposed happines of the Paynimes, and examine whether of both may be more forcible, and potent to moue men to acts of magnanimity, and valour, we shall easely see *Machianels* absurdity extreame ignorance, and folly.

21 For first, who is so simple that knoweth not, how farre the assured hope, and expectation which Christians haue of eternall ioyes, and felicity, ouerwayeth all temporall respects of transitory honour, pleasures, or commodities? Which is euident in common experience, seeing that, infinite numbers amongst Christians in all tymes, and ages since our Saviour Christ, haue abandoned all worldly welth, honours, delights, yea their

very

very liues for the loue of god, and the hope of heauenlic ioyes, and life euerlasting.

Matth. 6.

22 Secondlie who knoweth not also, that the true Christian is no more debarred, or excluded from the lawfull desire, acquisition, and possession of welth, honour and dignitie, then the Painim, yea, and that Christians both may, and doe possesse, and enioy all worldlie honour, and commodities no lesse then anie Painim euer did, and with so much more contentment, and securitie, by how much more they referr the same to the honour, and seruice of God, and vse it onlie as a meane to obtaine eternall felicitie: according to our Sauours precept. *Primum querite regnum Dei, &c. First seeke the kingdome of God, and the righteousness, or iustice thereof, and all things shalbe added vnto you.* Where vpon it followeth, that the Christian, hath not onlie the end, and temporall happines; that the Paynim sought (to wit honour, welth, and dominion) in greater perfection then they: but also the assured hope, and expectation of euerlasting ioyes, which being added to the other, and incomparable exceeding it in estimation and valew, must needes be of farre more force to moue men to the acts of valour, and euerie way to discharge their duties to their prince, and common welth, then the bare, and onlie hope, or desire of any temporall, and transitorie felicitie, as for example.

Ecc. 41.

23 Let vs put the case, that a Paynim, and a Christian goe together to the warre to fight for their countrie, and that the Paynim hath this onlie hope, that if he behaue valiantlie, and escape death with victorie, he shall haue great honour, and temporall reward, and if he be slaine, he shall leaue behind him an eternall fame of his valour. And on the other side the Christian hath not onlie the same hope of temporall honour, fame, and reward (whether he liue, or die) but also an assured expectation of eternall felicitie; who then seeth not that the Christian hath both greater aduantage of benefits, and also a farre greater motive, and spurre to valour then the Paynim? Besides that, it cannot be denied, but that he, who putteth his felicitie in wordlie thinges, wilbe loth to leaue them, and consequendie loth to die, and therefore the wise man saith verie well, and trulie. *O mors, quam amara est memoria tui, &c. O death how bitter, is the memorie of thee, to a man, that hath peace, and contentment in his substance?* That is to say, that placeth his felicitie in the world, and in worldlie thinges.

24 Wherevpon it followeth, that such a one is commonlie timorous, fearefull, and loth to venter his life in any occasion: whereas he, which according to our Christian doctrine, esteemeth the world, and all the honour thereof, to be no better then traslie, and holdeth death to be both

and end of humane miseries, and the way, or dore to eternal felicitie, and faith with the Apostle. *I desire to be dissolued, or to die, and to be with Christ.* such a one I say, willinglie, and ioyfullie, ventereth his life in anie iust occasion, and therefore is trulie valiant, which is so euident of it selfe, that it needeth no further prooffe. So that I may well conclud, that if *Machiavel* had not bene either extreemelie ignorant, and blind in not knowing the end, and felicitie of Christian religion (being himselfe by profession a Christian) or els most malicious in dissembling his knowledge thereof, he could neuer haue bene so absurd to affirme that Painimes, were more valiant, and magnanimous then Christians, by reason of the end, and felicitie which they proposed to them selues. And thus much for his first reason.

25 His second reason is that though Christiās do esteeme Fortitude, for a vertue, yet they place it, principallie in suffering, and not in doing, or attempting, which as he supposeth, maketh them more patient in suffering iniuries, or torments, then couragious in assailing their enemies, and in that respect hee houldeeth them to bee lesse valiant then the Painimes. Wherein he also notably bewrayeth his ignorance, concerning the nature, and office of true Fortitude, seeing that *Aristotle*, and all the Painim philosophers, requiring thereto specially two thinges: the one patience to suffer, and the other, courage to attempt, doe principally place it in the former, and not in the latter, as appeareth manifestlie, not onlie in the *Ethics* of *Aristotle*, but also in the *Tusculan* questions of *Cicero*, who giuing diuers diuinitions of Fortitude out of the philosophers, al to one purpose, and effect, concludeth it to be according to *Crisippus*. *Scientiam rerum perscrutandarum, the science, or knowledge to suffer thinges, or affectionem animi in patientia, & preferendo, humana legi parentem, an affection of the mind, obeying the highest, and cheefe law, in bearing, or suffering with patience.* And againe, in another place, he saith, that as Fortitude, is most proper to man, so it consisteth principally in the contempt of death, sorrow, or payne. And finally *Seneca* affirmeth that the highest, and most perfect part, or vertue in man, is to suffer all maner of trouble, and aduersitie with alacritie. Whereby we may see, that although courage to assault, or offend an enemy, in a iust cause, is verie requisite to fortitude: yet the speciall commendation, and praise thereof, consisteth in the contempt, and patient suffering of death, or paine: it being most euident, that it is not onlie farre more difficult, but also more contrarie to our infirme nature, to sustaine, and suffer death, or torment then to assault an enemy: and the reason why cowards dare not encounter or assaile other men, or vndertake great attempts, is the feare they haue of death, or of some paine, and harme, and he which is resolut to endure, and suffer death

Philip. 1.

Aristotle.
Ethic. li. 3. c.
6. 7. 8. & 9.
Tuscul.
quest. li. 4.

Ibid. li. 1.
Seneca. pra-
fati. li. 3. na-
tural. quest.

cannot want courage to assault, or attempt, and consequentlie hee hath both the conditions requisit to fortitude.

26 And in this respect, our Sauour Christ (who was the master, & true mirrour of al vertue) choose rather to shew his most eminent fortitude in suffering, then in attempting, wherein also the glorious Martirs of his Church haue imitated him, and thereby excelled all other sorts of men in the vertue of fortitude, seeing, as I haue said, it is most manifest, that those who haue courage, and force to endure vnspeakeable torments, and cruel death, that our Martirs (as well women and children, as men) haue suffered would haue bene as readie to attempt anie thinge whatsoeuer possible to man, or to assaile whole armies of men, if respect of conscience, and their dutie had required it: whereuppon it foloweth that Christians, who by *Machiavels* owne confession doe place fortitude, rather in suffering, then in attempting, and shew farre greater resolution, and courage therein, then euer the *Painimes* did, doe not onlie conceiue trulie of the nature, & office of that most excellent vertue, but also haue it in the highest degree, and greatest perfection that may be, whereby it appeareth that *Machiavels* second reason, against the valour of Christians, serueth for no other purpose, but to discouer his ignorance, and to proue the Christians to be farre more valiant, then the *Painimes*, which he absurdlie denieth.

27 It resteth now, that I examine a third reason, which he giueth to the same purpose, affirming that the ancient *Painimes* were more valiant, then the Christians are, because they were more disposed thereto by the vse of bloody representations, and spectacles, as of the continuall slaughter of beastes, which were daillie sacrificed euerie where, and of the combats of the gladiators, vsed ordinarilie amongst the *Romans*, in sight and presence of all the people.

28 But if this reason were good, it would folow, that butchers, & those which dwell neere about the butchery, or shambles, and barber surgeons, which vse daillie to let men blood, yea, and hangmen, or other ministers of justice, who are accustomed to kill, and quarter men, should bee verie valiant, and especially the people of *Mexico* in the west *Indy*, before they were conquered by the Christians, should also by this reason, haue excelled in valour, and fortitude, seeing they vsed to sacrifice men in such abundance, that sometimes fise thousand were sacrificed in *Mexico* in one day, and yet neuertheles *Hernando Cortes* the Spaniard with a handfull of men, I meane some six, or seauen hundreth, ouerthrew manie thousands of them in diuers battayles, and in the end conquered their country.

29 And no maruaile, seeing that the vse, & custome of shedding blood, doth rather induce men to a beastlie ferity, fiercnes, and cruell, then to

*Acosta; His-
to. India oc-
cid.*

the valour, for which cause butchers, and hangmen, and such other ministers of iustice, are in our countrie, excluded from Iuries of life, & death, as cruell, and merciles men, who may consequentlie, bee presumed to bee cowardlie, and fearefull, and therefore farre from true valour, seeing that cowardise, and cruelty doe commonlie concurre : which *Mauritius* the Emperour, obserued, and iustlie feared in *Phocas*, who after slew him, and his children : for when *Philippicus* told *Mauritius* that *Phocas* was cowardlie, and fearefull, then saith *Mauritius*, hee is cruell, and bloudie, as I haue signified more at large, vppon an other occasion, in the g first part of this treatise.

So that whereas true valour, and magnanimitie (which neuer passe the limits of reason) are according to the doctrin of all philosophers, all waies accompanied with humanitie, and pietie, and compassion : this *Archpoliticke Macheauel*, imagineth a kind of valour, fraught with beastlie inhumanitie, and bloudie crueltie, and disposeth men thereto, by horrible, and inhumane spectacles of murdring combats, & effusion of blood, the custome whereof, though it may seeme some way to mitigate, and temper the exorbitance of feare, yet prouoketh, and draweth men in the end to feritie, and crueltie, which as I haue said, is commonlie, seconded, with remiditie, and cowardise, and can neuer accompanie true valour, and fortitude.

But what should I say of his other fond deuise, in reiecting, our Christian names, and preferring the names of Painimes, as more fit for common welth ? As though *Alexander* the great, or *Iulius Caesar*, *Pompey*, or *Brutus*, or anie other Infidle, may be compared with our Christians in vertue, seeing I haue made it manifest, & heretofore, that though some Painimes had the fame, and commendation of some one, or a few vertues, yet none of them had euer anie perfection of vertue, and that the same, cannot bee had but onlie by Gods grace, which is proper to Christian religion : In which respect our Christians, following the example, & doctrin of our Sauour Christ, and being assisted with his grace, and holie spirit, arriue to the highest perfection of vertue, that humane frailtie, may possible attaine vnto : wherevpon it foloweth, that the vse of our Christian names, is most politticall, seeing they are motiues to draw vs to imitar the most holie, and vertuous exampls of those blessed Saints, whose names, we beare, and so to bee excellent members of our common welth, by practise of all vertue : besides that they doe also admonish, & moue vs to craue their helpe, and succour, and to obtaine Gods mereifull assistance by their intercession, for our selues, and for the common wealth, with exceeding great benefit to both : as I would shew heere by manie

Zouar. Ann. nal. to. 3.
Nicephor. li. 18. e. 41.
Baron. an. 602.
Paul. Diacon. li. 16. in fine. & alij.
Chap. 35. an. 30.

First part. 10 chap. nu. 11.
12. 13. 14.
2 part. chap. 15. & 16.

Chap. 15.
per totum.

a an. 544.

procius de

bello Goth.

b an. 601. Ai-

mon. li. 4. c.

87. & 88.

c an. 602.

Paul. Dicon.

li. 4. c. 5.

d an. 718.

Rodericus To-

letan. l. 4. c. 2.

vassau. chro.

c an. 749.

Baron. to. 9.

hoc anno.

f an. 880.

Polidor. Ver-

gil. li. 5. Gu-

liel. malmesb.

li. 2. ca. 4.

g an. 825.

Vassa. in an-

nal. Roderi-

cus li. 4. c. 13.

h an. 915. Si-

gonius de re-

gno Ital. hoc

anno. Luit-

prandus li. 2.

c. 14.

i eod. Seculo.

loan. Curo-

pal. hist.

k an. 1098.

Paul. Emil.

in Philip. 1.

Baron. hoc

anno.

l an. 1212.

Roderic. To-

letan. l. 3. c. 10.

m an. 1480.

Nauclet.

in Chron.

Generatio. 50

n eod. Seculo.

Massau. histo.

India.

Vandonio of the Siege of Malta.

reasons, and examples, were it not that I haue sufficientlie performedie alreadie in the a first part of this treatise, when I treated of miraculous victories, and shewed by euident examples, not onlie that true valour, & fortitude, is the speciall gift of God, and that all good succeſſe, and victorie in warre proceedeth of gods will, and fauour, but also that manie townes, and citties, whole prouinces, countries, kingdomes, and armies haue bene verie oft defended, and conserued, miraculouſlie by the patronage and protection of Angels, and Saints. As the citie of a *Sergiopolis* deliuered from the seerge of *Cosdroes* king of *Percia*, by *S. Surgius*: b the armie of the kinges *Theodobert*, and *Theodorik* in *France*, assisted against *Clotarum* by an Angel: and an other armie of *Ariulphus* duke of *Spoleto* in *Italy*, protected, and helped against the *Romans* by *S. Sabinus*: besides the like benefit, and miraculous victorie which a *Pelagius* king of *Spaine* had against the *Sarazens* by the assistance of the blessed virgin *Mary*: as also kinge *Pepin* of *France*, had the like by *S. Swibert*: kinge *Alured* in *England*, against the *Danes* by *S. Cutbert*: g *Ronimirus* king of *Leon* in *Spaine*, against the *Mores* by *S. Iames*: h Pope *Iohn* the tenth against the same people in *Apulia*, by *S. Peter*, and *Paule*: i *Zimisces* Emperour of *Constantinople*, against the *Saracens*, by *S. Theodorus* the martir: k *Godfrey* of *Bullen* against the *Turkes*, *Saracens*, and *Persians*, by an apparition, and admonition of *S. andrew*: l *Alphonsus* the eight king of *Castil*, against the *Saracens*, by the blessed virgin *Mary*, m The knights of the *Rhodes* against the *Turkes*, by a Saint, or Angel, who fought for them in the aire: n The king of *Congo*, a Christian in *Ethiopia*, against his brother an Infidel, by the inuocation of the holie name of *Iesus*, and of *S. Iames*: o The towne of *Guintium* in *Hungary* against *Solymon* the Emperour of the *Turkes* by an Angel, who appeared, and fought on horsebacke in the aire: and finally that the p castle of *S. Elmo* in *Malta*, was defended against a potent army of the same *Solymon* in the last age, by the glorious virgin *Mary*, *S. Paule*, and *S. Iohn Baptist*: Of all which examples I declared the particuliers in the fiftene chapter, of the first part of this treatise, and therefore content my selfe to haue onlie touched the same breecffie here in this place, to the end it may appeare what soueraigne benefit wee Christians and our common welth haue by the protection of Angels, and Saints. whereuppon I conclude, that seeing the vse of their names may animat vs, not onlie to emitate their most excellent vertues, but also to seeke, and procure their helpe, and succur, as well in our publicke, as our priuat distresses it followeth that the same are without comparison more behouefull vnto vs, and fit for common welth, then the

o an. 1532. Surinus comment: hoc anno. p eod. Seculo. Pistor Gentili de

names, of Pagans, and Infidelles, who neither after their deathes can releeue vs, nor in their liues could leaue vs anie example of true, and perfect vertue, but onlie a shadow of some good parts (for so I may rather terme them, then vertues) and those for the most part stained, if not ouerwhelmed with notable vices.

32 For who seeth not, that he which shal propose to himselfe the example of *Alexander the great* (who was held for a mirrour of valour, and fortitude) shall rather become vicius, then trulie valorous, or vertuous, seeing his vices were so manie, and such, that they not onlie drowned his supposed, vertues, but also drew him to his vntimelie death, making him so odious to his best frindes, that they poysoned him? And what true vertue was there in *Iulius Caesar* and *Pompey*, whose prowes, and valour tended to nothing els but to satisfie their insatiable ambition, which in the end distroyed both them, and their common wealth? whereas the valour of Gods fathfull seruants, and Saints (as of *Moyse*, *Iosue*, *Gedeon*, *David*, the *Machabees*, and of our christian souldiars, and captaines, *S. Mercury*, *S. George*, *S. Sebastian*, *S. Martin*, *S. Mauritius*, *S. Eustachius*, and manie others) was accompanied with all vertue, with true christian charitie, manfuetude, patience, and humilitie, and neuer tended to other end, but to the seruice of God, and to the good of their countrie? Who then can deny but that the names, and examples of these, are more fit to animate men to perfect magnanimitie, valour, and vertue, then the names and examples, of Painimes, who had neither true valour, not any other vertue in perfection?

33 Now then to cōclude concerning these obiections of *Machiauel*, &c his reasons, I doubt not but thou seest good Reader what a graue, and learned doctour the world hath got of this Archpolitike, who to make good his new doctrin (which was deuised, no dout by the diuel for the destruction of men, and common welths) not onlie impugnerth, the Christian religion, Which he him selfe professed, but also frameth an other morall philosophy, then hath hetherro bene heard of in the world, all tending to the establishment of an inhumane barbarous, and tirannicall pollicy, which howfocuer it is admired of sensuall, and ignorant men, yet being waighed in the balance of reason, and tried with the touchstone of true, and solied learning, presentlie bewrayeth both the ignorance, and the malice of the forger, or author theteof. And this shall suffice touching him vntill an other occasion be offred.

That the Christian religion which giveth true felicitie to common welch, is no other, but the Catholike Roman religion, because the same onlie hath the true Christian, and Euangelicall perfection, consisting in the imitation of Christ: and that consequencie it hath the onlie meanes to vnite man with God.

CHAP. 25.

I Hope, good Reader, thou hast alreadie sufficientlie seene in the precedent discourse, as well the veritie of Christian religion as also the dignitie, excelencie and necessitie of it in common welch, seeing I haue euidentlie proued the admirable effect thereof in vniting man with God, wherein consisteth not onlie the perfection of religion, but also the true felicitie of man, and common welch. And therefore I will now accomplish the rest of my promise, & shew that the christian religion whereof I haue hitherto treated, is no other but our Catholike religion, so called to distinguish it from the sects that professe also the fayth of Christ in these dayes. And this I shall performe sufficiently, if I prooue, as I hope to doe, two thinges, properly belonging to this subiect, The one is, that no other religion but the Catholike Roman hath the meanes before declared to vnite man, and common welch with God. The other is, that all the sects of these dayes, doe hold, and teach many poynts of doctrin, repugnant both to the verity of Christian religion, and also to true pollicy wherein neuertheles I meane not to treat particularly of the opinions of euery sect (for it would require a larger discourse then can stand with my present intention) but only to touch principally *Lutheranisme*, and *Caluinisme*, concerning those poynts only where in they, and all other sects for the most part agree, amongst themselves, and dissent from the Church of Rome, and therefore prouing my intent in them I shall proue yt in all the rest.

2 Now then to speake of the meanes that are in our Catholike Roman Religion to beaify man, and common welch, thou mayst remember, good Reader, that I haue amply proued three thinges, both by philosophy, and diuinity. The first is, that the end, and felicity both of man in this life, and

Chap. 4. 20.
 & 21.
 Chap. 17. &
 21.

of common welch, consisteth in mans vnion with almighty God specially by the meanes of contemplation. The second is, that in this vnion with God there is such ineffable sweetenes, and delectation, that it may worthily be counted mans felicity in this life. The third, that the only way and meanes for man, and common welch to attayne to this vnion with God, and felicity, is the perfection of Christian religion, consisting in

true faith perfect charity, contempt of the world, abnegation of our
 felices, pouerty of spirit, chastity, and purity of heart, mortification of our
 passions, & affections, the continual vse of the sacramens of Gods Church,
 and finally meditation, and mental prayer, all which concurring toge-
 ther, doe make that true Christian contemplation, which I haue proued
 to be the end, and felicity of man in this life, and of common welth. And
 therefore, if I shew that all this concurrerth in most excellent manner in
 our Catholike religion, and that no other hath any vse, or true know-
 ledge thereof, it cannot be denyed, but that I proue the same, to be that
 true Christian religion, wherein the happynes of man, & common welth
 consisteth.

3 This I hope to proue clearly by euident reasons, and by manifest ex-
 perience, both which doe couince that the Euangelicall perfection which
 our Sauour taught, as well by his example, as by his doctrin is, and al-
 wayes hath bene practised only in the Roman Church. Therefore where-
 as the perfection of Christs doctrin consisteth partly in his Precepts, partly
 in his Counsels (as I will make it manifest heareafter) I will now declare
 for the present; first, what were the Counsels of our Sauour, Secondly
 that not only his Apostles, but also infinit other Christians in theyr tyme,
 obserued the same, Thirdly that there vpon grew the contemplatiue,
 and religious life, instituted first by the Apostles themselues, and after pro-
 pagated throughout all Christendome, and deryued to our tyme by the
 most worthy, and famous men that haue bene in the Church of God: And
 lastly, that the Roman Catholikes hauing the true practise of our Sauours
 Counsels in religion as disciplyn, haue also the true meanes to arryue to per-
 fect vniou with God, which is the end, and felicity of man and com-
 mon welth.

4 For although not only religious men, but also euery man of any lawfull
 state, or vocation, may be a perfect Christian, and vnited with God (as I
 haue amply proued in the 22. and 23. chapters) yet, for as much, as there
 are two kyndes of perfection, and diuers degrees therein, if I proue that
 the highest degree of Christian perfection consisteth in the obseruation of
 the euangelicall Counsels, and that the Catholike Roman Church, hath
 the true vse, and practise thereof, yt must needes be graunted, that the same
 Church, hath the highest degree of Christian perfection: which being
 proued, it will also follow, that it hath all the inferiour degrees subordi-
 nate thereto, and consequently that it hath all the perfection of Chri-
 stian religion.

5 The Counsels of our Sauour (which comprehend in them selues all
 the perfection of his precepts) consist principally in three things, to wit,

voluntary

voluntary poverty, chastity and obedience, which are called his Counsells, to distinguish them from his Precepts (to the obseruation whereof, euery man is bound) (where as no man is bound to obserue his Counsells, farther then he list to bynd himselfe, and therefore our Sauyours inuited and encouraged vs thereto, with the proposition, and promise of extraordinary rewards: for as we see in all well gouerned common welths, that extraordinary remunerations are giuen to those, that doe heroycall acts whereto, they are not bound by the law (as amongst the *Romans* beydes, the ordinary pay ordayned for euery souldyar ther: were dyuers crownes, and other particuler honours appoynted for such, as shewed extraordinary valour, and did notable seruices, beyond theyr obligation) so also our Sauyours ordayned in his law singuler, and specall rewards for those which shal performe the heroycal acts of his Counsells, whereto he bound no man.

6 And although yt may perhaps be expected that before I passe further I should proue, the same more amply, as also that there is a distinction to be obserued in the scriptures betwixt our Sauyours Counsells, and his Precepts (which our aduersaries deny) yet because I meane to performe both the one, and the other, very fully hereafter when I shall treat of euery euangelical Counsel in particuler (which I intend to doe only in generall) I will therefore content my selfe for the present, to shew the groundes in the holy scripture, from whence we deduce our Sauyours Counsells, and then proceede to declare how they were performed by the Apostles, and other Christians in theyr tyme, and deriued from them to vs by a continuall succession of doctrine, and practise.

7 The first euangelical Counsel whereof I spoke, was voluntary poverty which our Sauyours counselled, when he sayd, to the rich yong man. *Si vis perfectus esse, &c.* If thou wilt be perfect, goe, and sell all that thou hast, and giue it to the poore, and thou shalt haue a treasure in heauen. The second, which was chastity, he aduised, when speaking of the three kynds of Eunuchs, and particularly of those who held themselves for the kingdome of heauē (by voluntary chastity) he added, *qui potest capere capiat, he that can take it, let him take it.* The third (which was obedience) or rather al three together he counselled, when he sayd, *Qui vult venire post me abneget semetipsum, tollat crucem suam, & sequatur me.* He which wil come after me, let him deny himselfe take up his crosse and follow me. In which words he included al religious perfection consisting in the imitation of him, in his perfect obedience to his voluntary poverty, in his most chaste and single life, in the abnegation of himselfe, and in the carriage of his crosse wherein is added in *s. Luke*, *quotidie, every day*, giuing to vnderstand, that he which will follow our Sauyours Christ, as he aduiseh must not onlie beare with patience,

Matth. 19.

Ibid.

Matth. 16.

Marc. 8.

Luc. 9.

the
ypoc
owne
the
cinn
7 T
selfe
that
sum
hau
are
two
all
that
paren
also
made
w
fif
hund
8 A
mary
their
ther
9 F
Secu
them
exact
iects
to
also
parti
ny of
their
feete
Peter
they
lie to
selue
the
that

the crosse and afflictions which now, and then may by chaunce fall vpon him, or bee laid one him by others, but also must daile cary his owne crosse, that is to say *crucifie his owne flesh*, as the Apostle saith, *with the incontinences thereof*, mortifying his passions and affections, with continuall penance, and austeritie of life.

7 These were the Counsels of our Sauour, which not onlie he himselfe, but also his Apostles practised, and performed, as appeareth by that which *S. Peter* said to him, *Ecce* saith he, *reliquimus omnia, & secuti sumus te, quid ergo eris nobis?* Behould Lord, wee haue forsaken al that we had & haue followed thee, what therefore shal we haue? In which words of *S. Peter*, are included these three pointes of perfection before mentioned, as the two first (to wit, *pouertie and continency*) in that he said we haue forsaken all things, whereby as *S. Ierome* noteth against *Iouinian*, it is signified, that such of them as were maryed, had least their wiues, as well as their parents, and substance (for other waife they least not all) and this hee also confirmeth by the answer of our Sauour to *S. Peter*, wherein hee made mention of wiues, saying, *whosoever shall forsake his house, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or lands, for my name, he shall receaue a hundred fold, and haue life everlasting.*

8 Also *S. Hierome* affirmeth, that though some of the Apostles, were maryed before their apostelship yet afterwarde, they had no vse of their wiues. And in another place he saith, that al the Apostles were *ei-* *uer virgins, or post nuptias continentes, continent after their marriage.*

9 Furthermore their obedience was also signified in that *S. Peter* said, *secuti sumus te, & haue followed thee.* Meaning that they had resigned them selues wholie to him, to obey him as their Lord, observing exactly his commaundements, and instructions, as his disciples, subiects, and seruants.

10 And these vertues were not practised onlie by the Apostles, but also by innumerable other Christians, in their time, partlie seuerallie, & partlie ioyntlie: for we read in the acts of the Apostles, that verie many of the first Christians in *Hierusalem*, liued in common, hauing sold all their possessions, and goods, and laid the price thereof, at the Apostles feete, and that *Ananias*, and *Saphira* were both of them punished by *S. Peter* with suddaine death; for retaining part of the price of that which they had sold. We read also, that manie vsed in the same time, not onlie to abstaine from mariage and liue continent, but also to bind themselves thereto by vow, as the widowes did, which were receiued to the ministerie or office of women Deacons, of whome *S. Paule* saith, that they had a will to marry, *hauing damnation because they had broken their*

Alt. 21.
Euseb. li. 3.
Eccle. hist.
c. 30.

Martial. ep
ad Tholosa.
c. 8.

Abdias in
vit. S. Mat-
thai.

Baron. in
Martyrologio
21. die Sep-
temb.

Gregor. Nis-
sen. ho. 4. in
cant.

Ambros. li. 2.
de virgin.

Epiphani ha-
res. 78.

vide. marty-
rol.

Baron. die. 23
Septem.

1. Cor. 7.

S. Hierom. de
script. Eccle-
ciast.

Euseb. Eccl.
hist. li. 2. ca.
16.

Cassian. li. 2.
ca. 5. & collat
18. ca. 5.

Philo. de vi-
ta. contem-
plat.

S. Hieron. de
scriptor.
ecclesiast.

first faith, that is to say, their vow of continency, and chastitie, as shall be declared further hereafter.

11 Also the acts of the Apostls doe testify, that *Philip* the Deacon had foure daughters virgins who (as yt appeareth by the testimony of *Policrates*, alleadged by *Eusebius*) remayned virgins all theyr lyues. And *Martialis*, a disciple of our Sauour, saith of himselfe, that he perswaded *Valeria* the virgin, to vow her chastitie to God. And *Abdias* witnesseth that *S. Mathew* the Apostle, did consecrat *Iphigenia*, the daughter of a king in *Ethiopia*, to the seruice of God, that is to say, hee did veil her (as the custome is still in the Church) to serue God in virginitie. And *S. Ambrose*, *S. Epiphanius*, and diuers others testifie, that *Thecla* being conuerted to the Christian faith by *S. Paule*, did by his instruction, and perswasion, forsake her spouse, to whome she was handfast, and remained a virgin. And no maruaile that *S. Paule* moued her thereto, seeing hee exhorted all men, and women to a single, and continent life, after his owne example, *uolo*, saith hee, *omnes esse sicut meipsum*. I desire that all men may be as I am, that is to say vnmarried, and continent, of which point I shall haue occasion to speake more ampie heereafter, for here my meaning is, but to insinuat these thinges concerning the Euangelicall Counsell of Chastitie, leauing the further discourse, and prooff thereof to other occasions, which will bee offred heereafter, as I haue signified before.

12 Therefore to proceede; not onlie powertie and continency, but also obedience was practised ioyntlie with them in the Apostles time in a retired religious, and contemplatiue life, consisting in the practise of those three vertues, and in all kind of mortification, as appeareth euidentlie by that which diuers ancient Fathers, and other approued autours doe testifie of great numbers of Christians, embracing that maner of life, vnder *S. Marke* the Euangelist, at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, where hee was bishop.

13 And for as much, as all Christian perfection (consisting in the obseruation of our Sauours Counsell) was exercised in that kind of life, at that time, I will relate some perticulers thereof, out of an eye witnes of the same, though hee was himselfe no christian, to wit *Philo*, the Jew; who in his treatise *de vita contemplatiua*, describeth the maner of life which the first Christians led at *Alexandria* vnder *S. Marke*; For which cause *S. Ierome* placeth him in his catalogue of our ecclesiasticall writers, *quia librum*, saith he, *de prima Marci &c.* because hee wrote a booke of the first Church of *S. Marke* at *Alexandria* wherein he greatlie commended our Christians; and signified that they liued not onlie there, but also in diuers

other

their provinces, and called their houses monasteries. Thus saith *s. Hierome*, and addeth further, *ex quo apparet &c.* whereby it appeareth, that the first Church of the faithfull was such, as our monkes doe now desire, and endeavour to bee &c. *Euseb. eccles. hist. li. 2. c. 16.* *Euseb. also* affirmeth the fame of the first Christians in *Alexandria*, al- leading out of the same booke of *Philo*, that those which professed the contemplatiue life in diuers parts, and especially about *Alexandria*, re- nounced all their possessions, and the care of worldlie busines, that they retired themselues from townes, and cities into the fieldes, and solitarie places, vnder certaine particular heads, or gouernours: That they had a holy place, or dwelling called *Monasterium*, a Monastery where they liued, and celebrated their misteries of holie life. That they laid the foundation of continency in their soules, to build other vertues vpon it. That none of them did vse to eate, or drinke, before the sunne was sett, that some of them did not so much as thinke of meate, once in three daies, yea that some abstained six daies together. That their refection was commonlie bread and salt, and their drinke water, and that those which were more delicat then the rest, added somtimes hilsop to their bread. That there were also amongst them, ancient and ould women, professing chaste life, and contemning the pleasures of the body, who in their congregations, were seperat from the men. That they had the same exercises of reading the holie scriptures, of singing himnes, and psalmes, of fasting, and watching (especially about the time of our Sauours passion) the verie same faith *Euseb. also* that were *demibidem*, vsed in his daies, and finallie, that certaine men, to whome the charge of the ecclesiasticall ministry was committed, gouerned the rest.

14 This with much more, which for breuities sake I omit, is related by *Euseb. also* out of *Philo* concerning the contemplatiue, and monasticall life, of the Iewes, conuerted to the Christian faith about *Alexandria*, & diuers other places of *Egipt*, which booke hee intituled, *de vita contemplatiua supplicum*, of the contemplatiue life of suppliantes, or those whose speciall office was to pray, and praise God; whome he also calleth in the same booke *Therapeutas*, that is to say, worshippers, giuing to vnderstand, that their contemplation (which he also called philosophie) consisted principally in praier, and such other things as belong properlie to the worship of God.

15 And although *Philo* doth not name those of whome hee writeth *Christians*, but *Essai*, and therefore may seeme to treat of a sect of the Iewes called by *Iosephus Esseni*, whose institut in some thinges resembled our Christian religion (for so doe our aduerfaries say, to answer vs

concerning this testimonie of *Philo* yet it is to bee vnderstood, first that those *Esseni* which *Iosephus* mencioneth, were farre different from the *Essai* of whome *Philo* treateth, for that they vsed manie erroneous and superstitious thinges, which are not ascribed by *Philo* to the *Essai*. Secondlie, that there were three different sorts of men, whereof two were called *Esseni*, and the third *Essai*, or *Iessai*. The first were *Samaritani*, called *Esseni*, of whome *S. Epiphanius* maketh mention in his booke of heresies. The second were *Iewes*, called also *Esseni*, of whome *Iosephus* treateth largelie in his booke *de antiquitatibus*, & *de bello Iudaico*. The third were *Christians* called *Essai*, or *Iessai* (as *S. Epiphanius* readeth it in *Philo*) so named either of *Iesse* *Dauids* father, or of *Iesu*, because (saith *S. Epiphanius*) they proceeded from him, and beleueed in him, to which purpose hee also noteth, that the faithfull, who first beleueed in *Iesu* *Christ*, were called *Iessai*, before they had the name of *Christians*, which was first giuen then at *Antioch*. And of these *Iessai* saith *S. Epiphanius*, *Philo* wrote who celebrating their praises, and treating of their monasteries *circa Mariam paludem*, about the marsh, or lake called *Maria* now *de alijs*, saith he, *narravit quam de Christianis*, treated of no other sort of men but of *Christians*.

16 Thus saith *S. Epiphanius*, who was him selfe a *Iew* by birth, and verily learned in their lawes, and ceremonies, and therefore could well ynough distinguish betwixt their sects, and the *Christians*. Besides that not onlie *S. Hierome*, and *Eusebius* (as I haue declared before) but also *Soromenus*, *S. Bede*, and *Nicephorus* doe plainlie affirme, that the *Essai*, whose contemplatiue, or monasticall life, *Philo* describeth, were the *Christians* who liued in *Alexandria*, vnder *S. Marke*: so that no man can denie the same, except he will be so shamelesse to oppose himselfe to the vniforme consent of so manie ancient, and learned Fathers of the Church; and he that list to see further prooffe thereof, let him read Cardinall *Baronius* in his first tome, an. 64. where hee handleth this matter ample, and learnedlie.

17 Therefore it is euident that monasticall life was instituted by the Apostles themselues, seeing it cannot with anie reason be imagined, that *S. Marke* the holie euangelist, ordained it in *Egipt*, without the consent, or rather the expresse order of *S. Peter*, who conuerted him to the faith of *Christ*, and loued him so dearelie, that he called him his sonne, and made him bishop of *Alexandria*, and gaue him all his instructions for the writing of his gospell. Besides that it appeareth in *Philo*, that there were the like monasteries, and places designed for *Christi*an contemplation in diuers parts at the same time as well in *Greece*, as other

Epiph. de heres. bar. 10. li. 1. Iosephus. ubi supra. bar. 29.

Act. 11.

Epiph. ubi supra.

Sozom. li. 1. c. 12. Bede. in prologo sup Mar. Niceph. li. 2. c. 16.

Baron. To. 1. an. 64.

1. Pet. 1. Philo de vita Contemplat.

countries, where the Christian faith was receiued, which could not be so generall in the Apostles time amongst Christians, if they (I meane the Apostles) had not bene the cheefe authours thereof.

18 And all this will yet bee much more cleare, if we consider that *S. Dionysius Areopagita*, *S. Pauls* disciple, not onlie wrote an Epistle, ad *Demophilum monachum*, to *Demophilus the monke* (wherein he signifieth that he made him monke with his owne hands) but also in his booke of the ecclesiasticall Hierarchy, hee deriueeth the institution of monasticall life, and the verie name of *Monke*, from the Apostles themselves saying *Dimini preceptores nostri &c.* Our deuine masters, or teachers (for so hee calleth the Apostles) would haue them to be named *partie Therapeutai*, that is to say worshippers, and *partie Monachos, Monkes*, by reason of their pure worship, and seruice of God, and of their solitarie, and vndeuided life, whereby they become one, by the holie coniunction of thinges deuided, to the end they may attaine to perfection, gratefull to God, and to a deuine vniou. Thus saith he, and afterwards hee describeth, and explicateth the rites, and ceremonies, whereby the monkes of that time were consecrated, and dedicated to the seruice of God.

*Dionis. ep. ad
demo. hil.
monachum.*

*Dion. de eccl.
Hierar. ca. 10*

19 For first hee saith, that the priest standing before the Altar, pronounced a prayre fit for that purpose, and the same being finished, approached to the partie that was to be professed, and asked him, whether he was fully resolu'd to renounce his secular life, and to seporate himselfe wholie from it, and when the partie had made a full promise, and covenant thereof (for so signifieth the greeke word) the priest declared vnto him, that most perfect manner of life, which he was to vnder- take, admonishing him that he ought from thence forth to excell the common sort of men in life and manners, being now to become of the highest, and most perfect order of men, and that being a monke, or religious man, he might not doe manie things, which be lawfullie donne by men of the inferiour order, because his end, and intention was to be ioyned, and vnited with almighty God: And after this *S. Dionysius* shew- eth how the preist signed the partie with the signe of the crosse, & cut of his haire, calling vppon the blessed Trinitie, and that then he tooke of his clothes, and vested him anew, and finallie, that when all those which were present had saluted him, and congratulated with him, the priest gaue him the holie Communion.

20 And this being declared, by *S. Dionysius*, then hee explicateth the reason of these ceremonies, geuing to vnderstand that he which was to be professed, was signed with the crosse, to signifie that he was to die, to concupiscence, crucifying, and mortifying in himselfe all carnall

a *Eusebius*, eccle. hist. li. 5. c. 26.
 b. *S. Hierom.* in *Catologo. scriptor.*
 c. *sinod. Constantino-* pol. 6. Act. 4.
 d. *S. Cyrill Alexandrin* apud *Liberat.* in *Breniario.* ca. 10.
 e. *S. Greg.* ho. 34. in *euangel.*
 f. *S. Ioan. Damascen.* li. 1 de *fide* orthod. ca. 15.
 g. *Euthimius* in *Panoplia.* par. 1. tit. 2.
 h. *Fulk* against the *Remish* testament in. 2. *Thess.* 2. sect. 19.
 i. *Sutlif* de *presbyterio.* ca. 13.
 k. *Doctor Humphrey* in *Iesuitis.* par. 2. rat. 5. pag. 513.
 l. In his answer to the admonition. pag. 105. sect. ult. see the *Apology* of the *Roma* Church. sect. 3. nu. 4. & num. 13.

desires : and that his haire was cut off, to the end, he might vnderstand that he was from thence forth, to cast of all humane, and earthlie ornaments, and to labour to make himselfe acceptable to God, by the onlie beautie of his soule: that his change of garment did signifie the change of his mind, and admonished him, that as much as his habit did differ from the common habit, so much ought hee to differ in manners from the common sorte of men: That the congratulations of the assistants, did represent vnto him the ioy which as our Sauour said, the Angels in heauen haue for a soule that is ioyned with God: and lastlie that hee communicateth of the blessed body of our Sauour Christ, to the end hee might vnderstand for what cause principally that institute of monasticall life was ordained, to wit, to the end that man might thereby arriue to perfect coniunction & vnion with almighty God.

21 Thus much I haue thought good to alleadge out of *S. Dionysius*, & whereas our aduersaries (or at least manie of them, not knowing how to answer him other wayes) doe denie his workes, as not written by him (because *Eusebius*, and *S. Hierome* make no mention of them) it may appeare, how little reason they haue, if we consider two things: the one that both *a Eusebius* & *b S. Hierome* do acknowledge that there were many authours before their time, whome they had not seene: and the other, that not onlie diuers ancient Fathers, but also the sixt generall Counsel hath alledged, and highlie esteemed them. For *d S. Cyrill* bishop of *Alexandria* who liued, & florished in *S. Hieromes* time, citeth his workes, as *Libiratus* testifieth *e S. Greg.* the great, who also wrot about a 1000. yeares agoe, alleadgeth him, and calleth him an ancient, and venerable Father. *f S. Iohn Damascen.* *g Euthymius*; & other verie learned, and ancient authours, doe also cite his workes: Besides that diuers of our aduersaries themselues doe partlie alledge him, & partlie acknowledge him for a verie ancient writer of the primitiue Church: For *h master Fulk* thinketh that this *Dionysius*, whose workes wee haue vnder the name of *Areopagita*, liued in *Origenes* time, which was longe before *Eusebius*, and *S. Hierome*. *i M. Sutlif*, calleth him the most ancient, and best wignes of antiquitie. *k Doctor Humphrey* confesseth that *Gregorius Turonensis*, & *Michaell Singelus* (who wrote aboue a thousand yeares agoe) and *Suydas* did beleeue that *Dionysius Areopagita*, *S. Paulus scholler*, was author of the *caelesti*, and ecclesiastica *Hierarchia*: out of the which this testimony concerning Monkes is taken. Also my Lord of *Canturbury* writing against the *Puritans*, alleadgeth *Dionysius Areopagita de caelesti Hierarchia*. Besides others of our aduersaries mentioned together with these before named, by the learned authour of the *Apology* of the *Roma* Church, an excellent

workes

workes latelie published. And if anie man desire to be further satisfied, touching these workes of *s. Dionisius*, let him read the second tome of *Baron. anno. 109* with the appendix belonging thereto, *104.* where he clearelie proueth them to be his, and fully answereth whatsoever can be said to the contrary.

21 Yt is therefore euident in this most ancient, & famous Father, that contemplatiue, & monasticall life was ordained by the Apostles themselves, and that the perfection of Christian religion consisteth therein by reason of the vnion with God, which is obtained thereby, in respect whereof hee calleth men of that profession, not onlie *Therapētas* or *cultores*, as *Philo* doth, but also *Monachos*, *Monkes*, because (as he saith, they forsake all multiplicitie, to vnite themselves to the true vnity, that is to say, to god himselfe. And both hee, and *Philo* doe also call monasticall discipline, *philosophy*, because religious men, who professe the same, doe hold the same place amongst the Christians, that the Philosophers held amongst the Gentills, professing contempt of the world and the study of wisdom: & therefore *s. Chrysostome* commonlie calleth *Monkes* or religious men, *Philosophers*, and *Nilus* writting of monasticall life, intituled his booke *de Christiana Philosophia*, of Christian Philosophy, because it is the consummation of the philosophy of the Gentills, which tending to the contemplation of God, and vnion with him, by the exercise of the morall vertues (as I haue declared) cannot possibly arriue thereto, without the helpe of this Christian philosophy, consisting in the heauenlie doctrin of our Sauour Christ: who being wisdom it selfe, insuseth into the soules of his seruants, both true knowledge, & true vertue, and so both teacheth, and giueth the meanes to attaine to the perfection of vertuous life, and consequently to that perfect vnion with God which is the end of all true philosophy.

22 To conclud this point concerning the first institution of monasticall discipline, and religious life, all the ancient Fathers of the Church, do referre it to the time of the Apostles, yea and that *s. Chrysostome* called it *philosophiam a Christo introductam*, a philosophy brought into the world by Christ: and saith also, that Monkes in his time, did liue as all the faithfull liued in *Hierusalem*, in the beginning of the Church, and that the Apostles performed all that, which those monkes did practise, and this no doubt they did in the highest degree of contemplation, and Christian perfection. *Ioannes*, *Cassianus* also saith, that *Canobitarum disciplina*, a temple *prædicationis apostolicæ sumpsit exordium*. The discipline of monasticall, or religious men, began in the time, that the Apostles preached.

The same is also affirmed, not onlie by *s. Ephiphanius*, *s. Hierom*, *Eusebius*

Dionis. Areop. ubi supra. Philo de vita contemplat.

Chrysostome. ho. 17. ad pop. Antio. ho. 11. in act. c. li. 3. contra uisuperat. vita monastica. Nilus de Christ. philosophia. Chap. 17.

Chrysos. ho. 17. ad Pop. hom. 11. in Act. li. 3. cant. uisuperat. vita. monast. Cassian. col. lat. 18. c. 5.

S. Epiph. bar. 29. *Eusebius* and *Sozomenus* (as may appeare by that which I alleged out of them before) but also by *S. Augustin*, *Possidonius*, *Isidorus*, and *Nicophon*, to omit manie other later then they.

S. Hieroni. de script. eccles. in philone. Euseb. li. 2. ca. 16. Sozom. li. 1. ca. 12. Aug. ser. 2. de commun. vit clerit. Possid. in vit Augustini. Isidor. li. 2. de offic. ca. 15. Nicophon. li. 2. ca. 16. 24 Well then seeing, that the perfection of this our Christian philosophy, consisteth, as I haue shewed in the exercise of our Saviours counsells, that is to say, of *voluntarie poverty, chastitie, and obedience*, and that the same was practised in all perfection, not onlie by our Saviour himselfe and his Apostles, but also by innumerable Christians in their times, yea and that euen then began the practise of this contemplatiue, and monasticall life, tending to a perfect vnion with God: it resteth now, that I proue, and make it euident, that onlie the Roman Catholikes haue at this day (as euer hetherto they haue had) both the perfect exercise of this Christian philosophie, and also that perfect vnion with God, wherein consisteth the hapines of man: of both which points, I shall not neede to produce anie other prooffe, then experience. First then I will speake of the first point, and after of the second, and shew that the Roman Catholikes haue them both in all perfection, and afterwards I will make it cleare, that their aduersaries haue neither of both in any sorte.

Dionis. eccles. Hierar. c. 10. 25 And to the end it may appeare, as well in this matter, as in others, which I shall handle hereafter, that our catholike religion, is deriued by a continuall course, and succession of doctrine, and practise from the time of the Apostles, and that therefore it is that true christian religion which they taught, and deliuered vnto vs, I will deduce the exercise of this contemplatiue, or religious life from their time, to these our daies, though in diuers orders of religion, yet all agreeing in substance, that is to say, in the obseruation of our Saviours counsels aforesaid.

Damas. in vita Telepho. an. 117. 20. g. c. 1. c. 147. Soter. ep. 2. an. 161. Hierom. catalog. scriptor. Eccles. an. 193. Trithemius de script. eccl. 26 I haue already shewed, that the contemplatiue, or religious life, was instituted in the first age after Christ (as *S. Dionysius* affirmeth) by the Apostles themselves, who hee saith named those religious persons (whose solemne profession he describeth) *cultores, et Monachos* worshippers and monkes. And there is no doubt, but that the same manner of life, was continued both in men, & women, during al the time of the primitive Church, whereof we find sufficient testimonie. For we read, that *S. Telephorus*, who was pope in the second age, whiles *S. Dionysius* liued, was an *Anchor*, or *hermit*, before he was pope, and that the popes *Pius*, & *Soter*, who liued also in the same age, made certaine decrees, concerning Nunnes, or religious women, consecrated, and dedicated to the seruice of God: and that *Serapion* bishop of *Antioch* also in the same age, professed religious disciplin.

17. This also further appeareth in an epistle of *S. Ignatius* disciple to *Iohn* the Evangelist, who writing to the *Tarsenses*, commaundeth them to honour the virgins that were dedicated to God, and exhorted the virgins themselves to remember, and acknowledge to whome they were consecrated: and in his epistle to the *Phillippenses*, maketh mention of colleges of virgins: Also *S. Iustin* the Martyr, *Clemens Alexan- drinus*, & *Origen*, doe write of religious virgins in their dayes, which was also the second age.

18. In like manner *Tertullian* in the same age wrote a treatise, yet extant, *de velandis virginibus*, of veyling virgins (that is to say, of consecrating them to the service of God) distinguishing them from secular virgins, and declaring their obligation, to serve God in perpetual chastity, and in the habire which they had taken vpon them: For, speaking of some who had presumed to bereeue them of their religious habire, he exclaimeth against them, and saith, *O sacrilega manus &c. O sacriligions hands, which could take of the habit dedicated to God!* And after againe, he maketh expresse mention of their vow of continency, and giueth to vnderstand, that they made an oblation to God of body, & soule, & that they consecrated their whole substance, and essence vnto him: and lastlie he saith, that they were married to Christ, and had deliuered their flesh to him: And the like saith *S. Cyprian*, in the third age, in his booke intituled *de disciplina, & habitu virginum*, of the disciplin, and habit of virgins. *Que* saith he, *se Deo dicauerunt & a carnali concupiscentia recedentes tam carne, quam mente, se Deoouerunt, who haue dedicated, and vowed themselves to God, abstayning from all carnal concupiscentie of body, and mynd.* Thus saith *S. Cyprian* of the religious virgins in his time. And in the same age *S. Dionysius* the pope, and martyr, was a monke before he was bishop of Rome. Besides that, wee read that in the persecution of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, monasteries of men, & religious women were subuerted, & some of the virgins sent to the stewes, whose chastitie God preferred, and defended miraculously.

19. And *S. Arhanasius* witnesseth, that Monkes liued in monasteries in the fields, not farre from townes, and cities before *S. Antonies* time (who was borne in the yeare two hundredth and fifty) and that the said *S. Antony* being yong, and desirous to dedicat his life wholie to the service of God, tooke example, & instructions of those monks, and especially of an old man, who from his youth had professed monastical life: Whereby it appeareth, how false it is which the *Magdeburgenses*, in their historie affirme, to wit, that *S. Antony* began monastical disciplin, seeing that hee learned it of old monkes, when hee himselfe was very young, though indeede it pleased God greatlie to amplifie and

Ignat. ep. ad

Tarsens.

Idem. ad

Philip. ep. 8.

S. Iustin. in

Apol. 2.

Clemens. A-

lex. li. 2. stro-

mat.

Origen. ho.

17. & 19.

in Lucan.

Tertuli. de

velan. vir-

gin.

Ibid. ca. 11.

Ibid. c. 13.

S. Cyprian. de

discipli. &

habitu. Vir-

ginum.

Damas. in

vita Dionis.

Baron. an.

301

S. Athan. in

vita Anton

Magdeburg.

cent. 4. ca. 6.

*S. Athanasius
in vita. S.
Anton.*

propagat religious, and monasticall profession vnder him, who being but eightene yeares of age, and hearing in the gospell our Saviour Counsell to the rich yong man (that if he would bee perfect he should sell all hee had, and giue it to the poore) sold the greatest part of his possessions, and bestowed the mony in almes: and shortlie after, hearing againe by an other place in the gospell, that our Saviour commaunded vs not to be sollicitous, or ouer carefull for to morow, he sold all the rest, and gaue the money to the poore, and retyring himselfe into the deserts of *Egypt*, grew to bee of so great fame for his rare vertue, and drew vnto him so many disciples, that at last he peopled the deserts, not only of *Egypt*, but also of *Armenia*, and *Nitria*, with monasteries, of Monks, and Nunnes.

Chap. 15.

*August. de
moribus. eccl.*

30 Also *S. Hilarion* by the example, and instructions of *S. Antony*, replenished *Siria*, and *Palestina*, and all the east parts with monasteries, as may appeare by that which I haue alleadedg before in the fifteenth chapter, out of *Palladius*, & *Theodoretus*, when I treated of the admirable effect of gods grace in Christian Religion: where also it may be seene in what sanctitie, mortification, and abnegation of themselves, they liued, practising (as before I haue signified) the vertues, of voluntarie pauerity, chastity, & obedience, in all perfection, wherevppon *S. Augustin* saith to the *Maniches* in his treatise, *de moribus ecclesie*: Behould saith he, the excellency of perfect Christians, the pouertie of their liues, and their singular continency, and chastitie. But you cannot bee ignorant of that which I am about to tell you, for who knoweth not what a multitude of most religious Christians is disperfed throughout the world, and especiallie in the east, and in *Egypt*. I speake not of those which dwell in Hermitages in the desert, but of them who being worthy of al admiration, and praise, doe dispise al the pleasures, and delights of the world, and assemble themselves into monasteries, where they liue, and employ their time in holie exercises, and prayer. Thus farre *S. Augustin*

*D. Chrysostom
ca. 2. Math.
ho. 8.*

31 *S. Chrysostome* also speaking of the Monkes of *Egypt* in his time, saith thus. *Si quid nunc &c.* If anie man now doe come to the deserts of *Egypt*, hee shall find them more worthy then anie paradise of pleasure, and shall see innumerable companies of Angels shine in mortall bodies &c. And a litle after. *Non ita varijs &c.* The heauens doe not so glister with varietie of starres, as the deserts of *Egypt* are beautified, & illustrated with innumerable habitaides, or mansions of Monkes, and Virgins. *S.* Thus saith *S. Chrysostome*.

Hieron. pr.

32 In like maner, *S. Hierome*, calleth the monasticall order of Monks, and virgins. *Florem quandam, & preciosissimum lapidem inter ecclesiastica ornamenta.*

aments. A certaine flower, and most precious stone amongst the ornaments of the Church. And describeth also the notable manner of life of the religious, as well women, as men in his time.

33 To conclude, *Sozomenus* saith of the religious men of those times, & of their profession (which hee calleth an admirable philosophy) that they despised all worldly glorie, and resisted manfully all the assaults of passions: that they had their understanding fixed one God their creator, whom they did contemplate day, and night: that they exercised themselves all their lives in patience, mansuetude, and humilitie, approaching by contemplation to the deuine Maiesty, as it were as it was possible for humane nature. Thus saith *Sozomenus* in substance, with much more to the same effect, which I omit for breuities sake,

A continuation of the same matter, to proue the continuall discent of religious discipline, from the first 300. yeares after Christ, untill our time, by the occasion whereof, the beginnings, and authours, of al the different professions, and order of religions in Gods Church, are declared: with the reasons, and causes, why it is convenient, that there should be so many different orders in the Church of God, and that his mercifull providence, and bountie euidentlie appeareth therein: finally that the most holie learned, and famous men in Gods Church, haue professed, or allowed religious life, and that the later orders of religion, doe not differ either in matter of faith, or in substance of religious discipline from the first monkes, or religious of the primatiue Church.

CHAP. 26.



Eitherto I haue shewed, that the contemplatiue, and monastical life, containing the perfection of Christian religion, was instituted by the Apostles, & continued in the Church of God, for the first three hundred yeares, and then greatly augmented, and propagated by *S. Antony*, and his imitators, in the reigne of *Constantine*, the great: And now to proceed to the ensuing ages presentlie after the death of *S. Antony*, *S. Basil* instituted an order of religious men, or Monkes in *Greece*, differing from those of *S. Antonys* institution, in two things especially: The one in that hee laboured more to ioyne the actiue life with the contemplatiue, & therefore ordained, that his monkes should draw nearer to citties, and townes, to the end they might aswell by their example, as instruction, gayne more soules to God: The other was, that whereas in former times, the superiours of monasteries, gouerned them for the most part, according to their owne iudgement, and wisdom, without any pre-

Circa. an.
360.

S. Basil. 63.

Ep. 79.

S. Gregor.
Nazianz.

orat. in lau-
dem Basilij.

Platus. de
bono status

religijs. li. 2.
ca. 22.

a *S. Basil.*
constitut.
monast. &
regula bro-
ges. & Asce-
tica. Item de
institutionib.
monacho.

b *Baron.*

an 363.

c *Circa. an*

340.

d *Baron. hoc*

anno.

c *Hieron.*

ep. li. 3. ad

Principiam.

ep. 16.

Circa. an.

386.

f *& Aug.*

li. 8. *confessi.*

ca. 6.

g *S. Sulpitius*

Seuerus de

vita S. Mar-

tini.

h *Beda. eccl.*

histo. Anglor

li. 2. ca. 2.

i *Circa. an.*

390.

Baron.

an. 395.

k *Possid.*

in vita

Aug.

l *Platus.*

de bono stat.

religios. li. 2.

ca. 23.

m *Aug. ser.*

1. de com-

muni. vita.

cleric.

n *Possid.*

in vita Aug.

o *D. Am-*

brof. ep. 82.

prescript of written lawes, or statutes, hee wrote cerraine rules for the gouernment thereof, a prescribing a certaine time, and manner for the probation of nouices, before they should bee professed, and other statuts for their direction after their profession, all tending to the better obseruation of our Sauours Counsell, consisting (as I haue oft said) in the vertues of *pouertie*, *chastity*, and perfect *obedience*: which rules of *S. Basil* are extant in his workes, & vntill this day obserued by the monkes in Greece, b and haue serued for a forme, and paterne to al others, that since his time haue instituted new orders of religion.

2. Some yeares before the institution of *S. Basil*s order (to wit about the yeare 340) monasticall discipline passed into the west parts by the occasion of *S. Athanasius*, and other priests of *Alexandria*, who being banished thence, and flying for succour to *Rome*, taught it to *a Marcella* a holy woman, and first beganne to professe it her selfe, and drew so many other, both men, and women to follow her example, that there were shortlie after (as *c S. Hierom* affirmeth) many monasteries of women, and an innumerable multitude of monkes, in, and about *Rome*: besides that we read, f that *S. Ambrose*, in the same age, maintained a monasterie of religious men at *Milan*, and that g *S. Martyn* erected others in *France*, and about the same time (as it is likely) the Britons receiued their first monasticall disciplin (conforme to that of *Egypt*) either from *Italy*, or from *France*, seeing that the monkes which were in the monastery of *h Bangor*, at the conuersion of the *S axons*, liued all by the labour of their hands, as the monks of *Egypt* did, as may appeare in *S. Bede*.

3 Also about i the yeare of our Lord 390. *S. k Augustin* erected a monastery in *Afric*: And because he builded it in a solitary place, those that followed the institut which he ordained therein, were called Hermits, & though they were manie yeares after commaunded by pope *m Innocentius* the fourth, to liue in towne, to the end that their holie conuersation, might be more profitable to their neighbours, yet the said *Innocentius* ordained, that they should retainne their old name of Hermits, whereby they are distinguished no lesse, then by their habit, and rule, from an other order instituted also by *n S. Augustin*, who whiles he was bishop of *Hippo*, made a monasterie within his owne house, as hee had also made an other ioyning to the Church before hee was bishop, wherein he and other priests liued al in common, hauing nothing proper, imitating therein (as *o Possidius* his disciple writeth in his life) the communitie vsed in the time of the Apostles p, and from this roote are sprong the diuers orders of Chanon regulers, obseruing the rule of *S. Augustin* at this day.

4 And the first of them that went from *Africk* into other parts, were for ought I haue read to the contrarie, *Gelasius*, and certaine companions of his; who came to *Rome*, by reason that *Hippo* was destroyed, and *Africk* ouerrunne by the *Vandals*, and *Gelasius* being within a while after chosen pope, assigned the Church of *S. Iohn Lateran*, to his former companions, whose successors remained there almost eight hundred years, vntill pope *Bonifacius* the eight remoued them, and put secular canons in their places, distributing to euerie one of them a portion of the rents, which the regular canons had enioyed in common.

5 And it is likelie, that as *Gelasius*, and his companions, so also others of the same order of *S. Augustin*, passed from *Africk* into other parts at the same time, vpon the irruption of the *Vandals*, wherevpon it followed, that all Christendome was afterwards replenished with Canon regulers, of *S. Augustins* order, besides that many founders, and authors of other religious orders since his time, haue built the same vpon the foundation of his two rules, of *Hermits*, and *Chanons*, in so much, that some haue noted, about thirty seuerall orders of religious men, and women in diuers partes of Christendome, obseruing the rule of *S. Augustin* in substance, whereof I shall haue occasion to name some hereafter.

6 But to returne to the time of *S. Augustin*, & to shew the progresse of monasticall or religious life in other orders vntill our daies. There liued in the next age after him *S. Benedict*, or *S. Benet*: a man most famous in Gods Church, and admirable for his vertue, and sanctitie, as may appeare by his life written by *S. Gregory* the great. This holie man gaue a most excellent rule, which hee practised himselfe at *Subiaco* 40. miles from *Rome*, and after in his famous monasterie of *Cassinum*, in the kingdome of *Naples*, from whence it spred exceedingly in a short time, into other parts of *Italy*, and *Scicily*, and then into *France*, and other places, in *S. Benedicts* owne daies, and afterwards throughout all Christendome, as may appeare by the infinit number of monasteries of *Benedictins*, which are to bee seene, euen at this day in all the Christian countries of *Europ*: besides that many orders are sprong also from him: at diuers times, either imitating his rule, or restoring it to the first integrity in some places where it was decayed, or els adding there to some more religious constitutions of their owne, all tending to the more perfect obseruation of our Sauours Counsels, wherevpon their followers were distinguished from *Benedictins* by a new name, taken either from the Authours of the reformation, and additions aforesaid, or from the monasteries that were reformed.

*F. Paulo.
Morign. hist.
dell orig. delle
religioni.*

*S. Greg. li. 21.
dialog.
an. 520.
Ibid. c. 36.*

Paul. Mori-
gia.
Platus. ubi
supra. ca. 22.
an. 913.

7 Such were the *Cluniacenses*, so called of the Abbey of *Cluny* in *France*, reformed by *Odo*, the Abbot thereof, in the yeare of our Lord nine hundredeth and thirteene, whose example was followed, by so manie zealous Abbots at the same time in *Italy*, *Spainne*, *England* & *Germany*, that there were in a short time two thousand monasteries reformed, and restored to their ancient severitie of discipline, from which they were much declined.

An. 1000.
Idem. ibid.

8 About eighty seven yeares after this, the Hermits called *Camaldulenses*, were instituted by *S. Romoaldus* vpon the *Apennin* hills in *Italy*, where they still remaine, obseruing for the most part *S. Benedict's* rule, with additions of greater austeritie, fit for the heremiticall life which they lead, to the great admiration, & edification of al those that visit their holy cells.

an. 1073.
Idem. ibid.
Hist. di Gio-
uan. in villa-
ni. li. 4. c. 16.

9 And seauentie three yeares after them, there arose also an other order in those parts, called *de valle Ombrosa*, vnder a holy man named *Ioannes Gualbertus* a Florentin, vpon this occasion. This *Gualbertus* being a singular man, and hauing a determination to kill one, who had slaine his brother, and meeting him one day at such a time, and in such a sort, that hee had him at his mercy, was content neuertheles to forgiue him, yea, and to make a firme frindship with him, because he desired him to pardon him for the loue of our Sauours passion. And it chanced the same day that *Gualbertus* wēt into a church, & praied before a crucifix, which miraculously bowed the head towards him, as it were acknowledging the charitie he had shewed towards his enemy, for our Sauours sake, wherewith hee was so moued, that hee presentlie resolved to forsake the world, and to become religious, and was afterwards so examplar of life, and famous for his miraclis, that hee drew very many to imitate and accompanie him, whereuppon hee erected diuers monasteries vnder the rule of *S. Benedict*, with some constitutions of his owne, tending to more severitie, and rigour of monasticall disciplin, and because his cheefe monasterie was in a place called *valle Ombrosa*, all those of his institution tooke the name thereof.

Baron. an.
1051.

10 After these beganne the *Cistercienses*, about the yeare of our Lord a thousand ninty eight vnder *S. Robert*, Abbot of *Molisme* in *France*, who hauing noted, that the monasterie where hee liued, was much declined from the austeritie of *S. Benedict's* rule, found meanes to erect a poore monastery, first in *Molisme*, and after in *Cisters*, in which two places, hee began a notable reformation, and after, within a few yeares, *S. Bernard* prosecuting the same, brought it to so great perfection, and increase, that hee himselfe founded a hundredeth, and threescore reformed monasteries

An. 1098.
Baron. hoc
anno.
Paulo. Mori-
gia nella
hist. dell or-
gine delle
religione.

monasteries, of *S. Benets* order, and in respect thereof, as also of his great fame, and wonderfull sanctitie (which the whole world admired) the religious of those couents, following his rule of reformation, are called as well *Bernardini*, as *Cistercienses*.

11 Besides these holy men above named, who were properly children of *S. Benet*, there haue bene also diuers other great seruants of God, who vppon the mould, or paterne of his institut, haue framed others of singular edification, and rare perfection. The first was *Bruno*, a great doctor of *Paris*, who being present at the exequies of a cannon of our Ladies Church, and seeing his dead body raise it selfe from the hearce three times, and say first, that he was accused, and after that hee was iudged, and lastlie that hee was iustlie condemned, was moued therewith to abandon the world, and with six companions, retired himselfe into the desert of *Grenoble* in *Daulphine*, & there beganne the most holie contemplatiue, and religious order of the *Carthusians*, called commonly in *England* in times past, the *Charterhouse Monkes*, famous euen at this day, for their solitude, contemplation, silence, perpetual abstinence from flesh, and continuall prayer, accompanied with the exact discipline of monasticall profession, and no where more then in the monasteries of our English *Carthusians* at *Mechlyn* in *Flaunders*, who being as it were the offspring, and succession of the famous couent of their order in *England* called *Sheen* (dissolued in the beginning of the late *Queens* raigne) haue euer since vpheld, and conserued that religious body, and for their most holie, and contemplatiue life, are notable ornaments, as well of our country, as of the Church of God.

12 About a hundredeth, and twenty yeares after the institution of the *Carthusians*, there began an order of Cannon regulars, founded by a holy man called *Norbert* Archbishop of *Magdeburg*, in a place named *Premontre*, in the bishopricke of *Laon* in *France*, whereuppon they were called *Premostratensi*, and such hath bene the encrease of that order in *France*, *Spayne*, and other countries, that they haue about a thousand five hundredeth monasteries in one place, & other. Their rule is of *S. Augustin*, though with some litle difference.

13 In the same age also was instituted an order dedicated to the blessed *Trinity*, by two holie men, the one called *Thon* of *Malta*, and the other *Felix* an Anchorit: & besides their rules common to all other religious, they bind themselves to goe into *Turky*, and other countries of the Infidels, to redeeme Christian captiues, which they do yearely, procuring the deliery of many. They are called the order of the *Trinity*.

14 Within three yeares after the foundation of this order, the religion of the

Idem. ibid.
Platus de bono stat. vij.

Baron. ann.
1086.

an. 1120.

Baron. an.
1120. ex *Hugone de xii.*
Norberti.

an. 1197.
Paul. Mor.
gia. uba. i.
pra.
Sabellienus.
Ennead. 9.

of the

an. 1200.

Idem. ibid.

Paulus. Mo-
rigia. &Platus. ubi
supra.Tho. VV al-
densis. de Sa-
cramētis.

tit. 2. 24.

an. 1212.

Platus. ubi
supra.Paulo. Mo-
rigia.

an. 1216.

Idem.

Ibid.

Platus. ubi
supra.

an. 1232.

Idem.

Ibid.

Paulo. Mo-
rigia.

of the *Carmelits* came first into *Italy*, and from thence dilated it selfe into other parts of *Christendome*, hauing bene instituted long before in the yeare of our Lord, *four hundred and twelue*, by *Iohn* patriarche of *Hierusalem*, or as some graue authors say, but only restored then by him, for that it was (as they suppose) extant in the time of the Apostles, vpon the mount *Carmelus*, whereof they say, the whole order tooke the name, and that being afterwards spread ouer al *Palestina*, it was cut out by the *Sarazens*, when they subdued that country: this order being very examplar for pouerty, and all perfection, florished in times past in our country, as well in learning as vertue, vnder the name of the white Friars, by reason of their white habit.

15 Within *twelue* yeares after that the *Carmelits* came into *Italy*, it pleased God to raise two new orders of Friars (as wee commonlie call them) vnder *S. Francis*, & *S. Dominicke*, two lights of the world, shining in miraculous workes, and excelling in all the religious vertues, but making speciall profession of a most exact, and euangelicall pouerty, aboue al the religions of former times, with whome it pleased almighty God to cooperat wonderfully in the conuersion of sinners, and increase of their orders, in so much, that *S. Francis* holding a generall Chapter at *Assiso*, assembled *five thousand* of his order, and admitted thereto *five hundred* more, before the chapter broke vp, and within a while after, all *Christendome* was replenished with them, who are now deuided into three orders, to wit, *Conuentuals*, *Observants*, & *Capuchins*, vnder three seuerall generals.

16 And the like also may be said, of the propagation, and increafe of the holie order of *S. Dominicke*, which in very short time was spread through *christendome*, & because his speciall institut was to preach for the conuersion, as well of the heretikes *Albigenses* (of whome bee himselfe conuerted great numbers) as also of all sorts of sinners, those of his order were called the *Friar preachers*, though in our country they were best knowne by the name of black Friars, by reason of their vppermost weede which is black, though they weare white vnder it.

17 Although the same time also (to wit within *sixteene* yeares after) began the order of the *Serui* or *Seruite* at *Florence*, by the occasion of seauen riche and noble gentlemen who retyring themselves to a hille not far from thence, to doe penance, grewe within a while, to be so exemplar, and famous for their holie life, that very many ioyned themselves with them, who daylie multiplyinge, were at last deuided into diuers monasteries, vnder the name of *Serui della B. virgine*, seruants of the *B. virgin Marie*, in respect of their particular deuotion to hir, and diuers ap-

paritions

partitions of her to them. They obserue the rule of *s. Augustin*, with some litle difference, wherby they ar distinguished from the *Augustins*.

18 In the same age, about *thirtie* yeares after, there began in *spaine* an order of religion, called *de la Merced*; of the redemption, whose obligation is like to that of the order of the *Trinitie* before named, to wit, to redeeme Christian captiues. This order was instituted dy *Don Iayme* king of *Aragon*, according to the rule of *s. Augustin*, but do weare a white weede with an escuchon vpon their habit, hauing in it a white crosse in a read field, with the armes of *Aragon* vnder it.

19 About *tenne* yeares after this, a holy man caled *Pedro Moron*, hauing lined many yeares in a desert, grew to be so famous, partly for his holy life, and partly for his greate miracles, that many resorted to him out of all partes, and submitted themselues to his direction, for their manner of life, to whom he prescribed religious rules, and so many were his disciples in a few yeares, that he was faine to procure diuers monasteries for them, and his rule beinge confirmed by the sea Apostolicke, and he himselfe some yeares after chosen pope, and called *Celestinus* the first, those of his institution were named *Celestini*.

20 And to passe ouer the rest briefly, seeinge all tende to one end (to wit, to contemplatiue life, and the perfect obseruation of our Sauours counsell) the *Olinirani*, had their begining of a holy man caled *Bernardus Philomeneus*, who professing the studie of philosophy in *Sienna*, withdrew him selfe with two companions, in the yeare a thousand three hundred and *thwertie*, to a mountaine, not farre from thence called *Oliuetus*, where they passed their time in such feruour of deuotion & penance, and drew so many to follow their example, that there grew a particular order of that name.

21 Also not long after (to wit in the yeare a thousand three hundred *fiftie*) there began in the same citie of *Siena*, an other order of religious men caled *Iesuati*, because they had euer the name of *Iesus* in their mouthes. Their firste founder, was a gentleman called *Ioannes Columbinus*, a man of singular perfection, and austerity of life, who out of his great humilitie ordained, that none of his order should be priestes, for the reuerence he bore to the dignitie of priesthood, for which respect also *s. Antony*, *s. Hilarion*, *s. Benit*, *s. Francis*, and very many religious men in ancient times forbore to bee priestes. Neuertheles now very lately, it hath seemed good to the popes holines to ordaine, that the *Giesuati* shall haue priestes, as other religious haue. These also of this order, doe vse to get their liuing with their labour, and therefore employe themselves commonly in the distillation of all kind of holosome waters, for the be-

of the sick, and in diuers other things, besides their obligation of Poverty, chastitie, obedience, muche prayer, and many mortifications, which they haue common with al other religious orders.

an. 1383.

Idem ibid.

22 And within a few yeares after this, one *Pedro Ferdinando* a Spaniard abandoning the court and fauour of his prince, *Peter* king of Castil, renewed the rule instituted about twelue hundred yeares agoe, by *S. Hieronim* in Bethleem, which is now obserued by the *Hieronimists* in Spaine, and Portugal, with exceeding great edification for their notable discipline, and perfection of monastical life.

Idem ibid.

Sabellicus.

ennead. 9.

li. 6.

23 In like maner the *Crucigeri*, hauing first their beginning from a company or congregation, instituted by *S. Cletus*, the second bishoppe of Rome after *S. Peter*, to receaue, and assiste poore Christian pilgrimes or trauellers, which should come thither, and being by reason of the great persecutions vnder the pagan Emperours dissolued, were restored first by pope *Vrbannus* the second, with the addition of the name of *Crucigeri*, at the same time that *Godfrey* of Bullen recovered Hierusalem from the *Sarazens*, and after wardes they were augmented, by the popes *Innocentius* the third, *Alexander* the third, and *Pius* the second, which latter also in the yeare a thousand four hundred and sixty, and in a general counsell helde at *Mantua*, changed their habit from ashe colour, to blew.

an. 1460.

circa. an.

1450.

Platus. ubi

supra.

Paulo Mori-

gia. ubi. sup

24 About the yeare of our Lord a thousand four hundred & fifty, the holy order of the Friars caled *Minimi*, which is of singular edification in the Church of God at this present, was instituted by the famous Father, *Francisco de Paula*, a man for austerity of life and vertu of miracles, helde inferiour to none of the founders of the auncient orders.

an. 1528.

Idem ibid.

25 Lastly to conclude this point concerninge contemplatiue and religious life, two other orders of religious priestes are sprong in the memory of man yet liuing, to wit, the *Theatins*, and the society of *Iesus*, commonly caled *Iesuits*, whereof the first was instituted by pope *Paul* the fourth, before he was pope. And because he had bene Archbishop of *Theata*, and was stil so caled when he began that order, they were caled *Theatins*, who though they are not spread out of *Italye* (for ought I knowe) yet their life is so exemplar, and of such edification, that they are of no smale profit in the Church of god, in those places where they liue,

Idem ibid.

Platus. li. 2.

ca. 23.

an. 1540.

26 The other order of regular priestes, was founded by *Ignatius de Loyola*, a Spanish gentleman, whose straunge vocation, from a secular and military state, to all religious perfection, and to so greate a woork as was the institution of the societie of *Iesus*, sufficiently appereth to haue proceeded from the special operatiō of the holy Ghost, not only for the

strang

strang maner thereof, & his admirable vertues (which I haue not now time to relate) but also for the notable effects & fruit which the said society hath wrought, and daylie doth worke, in the conuersion of souls from Infidelity, heresie, and sinne, thoroughout the whole world euen in the east and west Indie, where they haue notably propagated the Christian faith: besides theire continuall labours and indeuours in all parts of Christendom, in the instruction of youth in al kind of learning and vertu, which is one special end of their institut, as also to ioyne the actiue, and the contemplatiue life together in al perfection, in imitation of our Sauour *Iesus* Christ, to whose holye name, their order or societie, is specially dedicated, by the occasion of his apparition to Father *Ignatius* their founder, as he, and two of his companions (*F. Fabro* and *F. Layner*) were going to Rome. In which voyage our Sauour appeared vnto him, with his crosse vpon his shoulder, and said with a louing and gracious cheere. *Ego vobis Roma propitius ero. It wil be fanorable vnto you in Rome.*

Riba deneyra. in vita Ignat. l. 2. ca. 11.

17 This shal suffice, concerning the propagation of religious orders, though I might ad many which ar in particular cities, not dispersed or yet knowne abroad in other places, of whom some haue care of hospitals, others of orphanes and poore children, and other of other workes of charitie and pietie. Besides that, I might also ad hereto, if I thought it needful (diuers holy orders of religious women, by whom our Christian philosophy and contemplatiue life, hath beene alwayes exercised in all perfection, euer from the Apostles tyme vntill these our dayes, as may apeare by those religious women, who (as I haue declared befor) were in the Church of Alexandria, in the firste age vnder *S. Marke* the Euangelist, and those other vayed and consecrated virgins, mentioned by *Tertulian*, and *S. Ciprian*, in the second and third age, and innumerable others in the fourth, fifth, and sixt age, in Egypt, Palestina, Hierusalem, and Italie, or rather ouer al Christendom, as I haue sufficientlye proued already out of the Fathers who liued in those ages, and from that time forward, I thinke no man doubreth, but that there hath bene a continual descent and succession, of monasticall discipline, as well in women as men, vnder the rules of *S. Augustin*, *S. Benedict*, *S. Francis*, *S. Dominick*, the *Carmilites*, and lastly of the blessed *S. Brigie*, who being descended of the royal race of the kinges of Sweden, and married to prince of Nericia, did not only hir selfe, embrace a religious life after his death, but also induced and drew many others thereto, and finallie left an excellent order, of religious men and women of hir owne institution, wherof there is at this day, a notable monastery of our coun-

Philo. de vita contemplat. Euseb. eccles. hist. li. 2. c. 16.

Tertul. de uirg. land. virgin. S. Cypri. de discipli. & habitu. virginum.

Ludovic. Bloufus. in append. Alpho dice. monilis spiritualis. Paulo Morin. gin. dell origine della religione.

try women in Portugal, being as I may say, the daughter of the famous couent of Sion, which in the begining of the last queenes raigne, passed into voluntarie banishment, and now after great variety of fortune by sea and land in diuers countries, is seated in Lisborne.

28 Whereto I may also ad, other couents of religious women of our nation in Flaunders, professing monastical disciplin vnder diuers rules to wit, of *s. Augustin*, *s. Benit*, the *Carmelits*, commonly called *Teresians* (because the holy mother *Teresa* reformed that order, as I shal haue occasion to declare more particularly in the next chapter:) & lastly of the holy virgin *s. Clare*, who being in Assisio in Italy, as *s. Francis* also was & liuing there in the same time that he did, receiued hir rule of him. And so exemplar are the liues of al these our religious country women, as wel in Portugal as Flaunders, that I may wel say, they shine like as many starres in the perfect practise of contemplation & mortification, beinge true patterns of all religious perfection, besides that many of them are no lesse remarkeable and eminent, for the nobilitie and worthines of their linag, then venerable for their vertu, being most of the gentlewomen of good houses, and some of them of the most noble and honorable families in England, and this I could not omit to touch by the way, partly in respect of their great merit, and partly for Gods greater glorie, to the end it may appeare how powerful is his grace and vocation in them, seeinge that nether the weakenes of their sex, nor the delicacie of their education, nor the natural loue to their country, parents, and friendes, nor the difficulties and dangers of the sea or land, could diuert them from so hard a choise, as it seemeth to be to flesh & blood to vndertake a voluntarie banishment, and to leade a religious and monastical life in a forreine country. In which respect I may boldly say, that euery one of them, far better deserueth to be honored with a *statua*, or image, for an eternal monument of their valour, then that Roman *Clelia* (mentioned by me before in the epitome of the Roman history) who receued the like honor in Rome, for that being an hostage in the handes of king *Porfenna* when he besieged the cittie, shee escaped away together with hir companions, ouer the riuer Tiber, being moued and drawne therto by the loue of hir liberty, country, parents, and friendes: wheras these religious and holy women, haue vndergone infinit dangers by sea and land, with the losse of libertie, friendes, and al worldly comodities, to performe the most heroical act that may be, that is to say, to tread and trample vnder their feete, al the honours and delights of this life, for the pure loue of God.

29 Wel then, by al the former discourse in the last chapter and this, it

Tit. Liv. l. 3.

Dec. 1. li. 1.

appea

appeareth, first, that the practise of contemplatiue and monastical life began in the time of the Apostles, and by their institution. Secondly, that it hath bene euer since continued in the church of God without interruption, aswel in women as in men. Thirdly, that the propagators, and practisers thereof since the apostles time, haue bene of the most famous men for vertu and miracles (and very many of them also for learninge) that haue bene in Gods church, as those which I haue mentioned, to wit, *S. Antony, S. Hilarion, S. Basil, S. Athanasius, S. Hieronim, S. Martin, S. Augustin, S. Chrysostom, S. Benedict, S. Gregory the great, S. Bernard, S. Romuald, S. Gualbert, S. Francis, Dominick, S. Petrus Celestinus, S. Francis de Paula*, to omit other not yet canonised, though of immortal fame for their exemplar life, and singular vertu.

Fourthlie it is to be considered, that although there haue bene, &c are different rules, in the different order of religious men, and wemen, yet all of them tend to one end, that is to say, to the perfect obseruation of our Sauours Counsels (consisting as I haue said, in *voluntary poverty, chastitie and obedience*, whereto they all bind themselves) as also that the reformations, or restitutions of religions decayed, and all mutations, or additions of rules, which haue bene at anie time in the said orders since the Apostles time, haue had no other end, but the further augmentation of the aforesaid vertues, and of the perfection of Christian contemplation, thereby to attaine to a perfect vnion with God, which is the end of al religion, and giueth true felicity to man, and common wealth.

Fifthly the great prouidence of almighty God, and his mercifull goodnes towards his Church, may be noted, in the multitude of religious men, and in the varietie of their orders: for euen as in the different Hierarchies, and diuers orders of Angels, and in the whole course of nature in heauen and earth, hee hath ordained that there shall bee multitude, and varietie, to the end he may communicate his owne perfections, the more amply to his creatures, for their greater good, and his greater glorie: so also he hath most mercifully disposed, that there shall be the like in his church, to the end, that the endles treasure of his grace, may be the more abundantly distributed amongst his children, and seruants, to their greater benefit, and the more euident manifestation of his bountie: whereby also his spouse the church is maruillously adorned, and beautified, being as *S. Bernard* saith. *Circumamicta varietatibus*. Reuested, and clad al ouer with variety, like the *Queene* mentioned in the psalme.

*S. Bernard.
in Apol. ad
Galil.
psal. 44.*

Besides that the admirable force of his grace, and the veritie of

christian religion, is also euidentlie scene therein, seeing that so many of both sexes, are contented to abandon the world, and all the delights thereof, yea, and themselves also, for the loue of him, to the end, they may imitate him in cariage of his crosse, during all their liues; which being a thinge so contrarie to mans corrupt nature, as it is, can not bee ascribed to anie other cause, then to the wonderfull force of Gods grace, and is so much the more glorious to our Sauour Christ, by how much greater is the multitude and number of those which follow him, with so much worldlie discomoditie, and bodily affliction to themselves.

33 Againe, the variety of these religious orders, testifieth his providence and bountie, in that he so mercifully provideth for the different necessities of his church, by the different orders of religions. For as in cities and common welths, it is conuenient for the publike, and common good, that there be diuers trades, and occupations to supply all the temporall necessities thereof: so also in this spirituall citie, or common wealth of the church, it is no lesse conuenient, that there bee many, and different professions of religious orders, to serue, and supply, the spirituall necessities of the faithfull, and therefore some orders apply themselves to prayer (recommending to god the necessities of the church, no lesse then their owne:) others excell in mortification of the flesh, & austeritie of life (as well to pacifie the wrath of God for the sinnes of men, as to excite others to penance by their example:) some also employ themselves most in preaching and teaching (to instruct the ignorant, and to gaine them to God) and though all religious orders haue the practise of all the christian vertues in a high degree, yet to the end that euerie vertue may bee the more specially recommended, and the more eminent in the eyes of men, for their example, and Gods glorie, diuers orders, doe diuersly excell in prticuler vertues, some in obedience, some in pouertie, some in contemplation, and some in action, so that euerie man may by this varietie, receiue verie particuler edification, instruction, and example, according to the neede, or want, he may haue more of one vertue then of an other.

34 Moreouer the goodnes of god, and his infinit wisdome appeareth wonderfully, in that hauing speciall consideration of mens habilities, yea, and of their different humours (whereby they are moued even in spirituall matters, some to take one course, and some an other) he hath mercifully provided such different professions, and orders of religions (some more straight and hard, and others more easie, and yet all tending to perfection) that euerie man may find some order, or other, af-

well

well to his humour, and liking, as also fit for his strength, wherein hee may to his contentment, dedicate himselfe to the seruice of God. and attaine to the highest perfection of Christian life: besides that he hath no lesse mercifully, and prouidentlie ordained, that new orders shall springe in his Church from time to time; not onlie to succcede others, which by humane frailty doe in time fall to decay, but also to serue for medicins, and remedies, against the new diseases, which grow manie times in faith and manners, and to renew in men the decayed seruour of deuotion, by their seruorous endeouours, furthred not a litle, euen with verie noueltie thereof, seeing that noueltie, is euer of it selfe grateful to mans nature, and potent to moue him, either to good, or bad: so that wee see how mercifully, almighty God doth vse to accomodate his vocatio of vs, to our owne infirmitie, inuiting, & drawing vs to perfection sweetelie, euē with respect of our owne humours & dispositiōs.

35 Finally the prouidence, and bountie of almighty God towards his seruants, appeareth admirably in the sustentation, and maintenaunce of such an innumerable multitude of religious men, who haue forsaken the world, and all the welth thereof, to serue him in pouertie, in so much, that we euidentlie see therein, the accomplishment of our Saviours promise of, *Centuplum in hac vita*, a hundreth fould in this life, e- *Marc. 10.*
uen in temporall commodities, besides the spirituall, and heauenlie *Matth. 19.* consolations, whereof I shall speake amplie hereafter.

36 For as *S. Chrysostome* obserueth notable in the Apostles, that they re- *S. Chrysost.*
ceiued a hundreth fould temporally in this life (who in steede of their poore *in ca. 19.*
netts, and angle-rods, which they leaft for Christ, had all the goods of *Matth. 10. 65.*
the faithfull laid at their feete, yea, and their persons at their deuotion) so may wee say of all religious men (as *Ioannes Cassianus* noteth a thousand two hundreth yeares agoe) for in recompence of some one, or two, or a few houses of their owne which they sell, or abandon for Christs sake, they haue as manie houses, as there are monasteries of their order: and for a father, and a mother, or a few brethren, & frindes (and them manie times vnkind, vnfaithfull and ingrat) they haue as manie true and sincere friends, brethren, fathers and mothers (for sincere affection) as there are true religious of their order, yea, or as there are good men in the world, whose goods and riches, are alwayes at their deuotion, rather then they should want, as euidentlie appeareth in the plentifull almes daylie giuen to religious men, by the good, and vertuous people, in such abundance, that manie worldly and yncharitable men, exceedingly repine and murmur thereat.

37 So that wee see, it is truly fulfilled in the religious, which *S. Paule* sayd

1. Cor. 3.

Psal. 54.

said to the Corinthians. *Omnia vestra sunt, sine mundus, sine presentia, sine futura.* All things are yours, whether it be the world, or things present, or things to come, and as Salomon saith, *fidelis viri totus mundus diuitiarum*, all the riches in the world, belonge to the faithfull man. Wherein as I haue said, manifestlie appeareth the singular prouidence, and infinit bountie of almighty God: besides that it may also serue for an encouragement to al the faithfull, to follow the counsell of the psalmist, who saith. *Lacta curam tuam super Dominum, & ipse te enutriet.* Cast thy care vppon our Lord, and hee will nourish thee. Thus much I haue thought good to say breefly, concerning the multitude and variety of religious orders in Gods church.

38 Furthermore, I wish it also to bee noted by the way, that as the contemplatiue, and religious life, hath descended from the Apostles time to this, so also the true Christian religion, hath in like maner descended therewith, seeing it is euident, that all the aforementioned propagators of religious life (who were also the lights of the church in their tymes) haue bene all of one religion, and of the selfe same that our religious now professe. For otherwayse, let it be shewed, how *S. Antony* differed in fayth from the monks of whom *S. Dionysius* speaketh, or how *S. Basil*, *S. Augustin*, or *S. Hierome*, differed from *S. Antony*, or what difference there was in faith betwixt *S. Benet*, or any of these aforementioned, and *S. Bernard*, *S. Francis*, *S. Dominick*, or the monks, and religious, that obserue theyr rule, or lastly, betwixt these of our dayes, and theyr predeceffors: let it I say be shewed, how they differ in faith, and beleefe, one from an other? But this cannot be shewed by any meanes, it being most euident that the succession of religious disciplin in the church of God, hath bene alwaies accompanied with the succession of one, and the selfe same fayth, as will most euidently appeare heereafter, by the discussion, and examination of matters in controuerfy betwixt the protestants, and vs.

39 Therefore I wil conclude for the present vppon all the premises, that for as much, as I haue made yt manifest before, first, that the felicity of man and common welth, consisteth in a perfect vnion with almighty God, by the meanes of Christian contemplation: And secondly, that the true practise and exercise of this christian contemplation, is the special subiect of religious disciplin: And lastly, that the same religious disciplin hath descended to our tyme from the Apostles, without interruption, therefore it must needs follow, that the Roman Catholikes (who haue the true practise of the contemplatiue, and religious life) haue also the true meanes to arryue to a perfect vnion with God, and consequently to the true felicity of man, and common welth:

where

wherevpon it also followeth, that they haue the veritie of christian religion, al which shall be yet more euident in the next chapter, where I will shew the same by manifest experience.

Thus God hath in all times and ages, giuen testimonie of his vnion with religious men, by manie extraordinarie fauours bestowed vpon them, as by extasies, and rapt, by visions, reuelations, the spirit of prophesie, and the operation of miracles, whereof examples are alleadged in euerie age, from the primitiue church, euen untill this day: And therevpon it is concluded, that the Roman Catholikes, hauing the true imitation of Christ in religious disciplin, and all the external signes of Gods internall vnion with them, haue not onlie the perfection of Christian religion, but also the cheefe felicitie of man in this life, and of common wealth.

CHAP. 27

Hou hast seene good Reader, in the last chapter, not onlie the antiquitie of religious life, but also the end, and fruit thereof, which as I haue shewed, is noe other but a perfect vnion with God, and noe maruaile, seeing therein is contained the perfect practise, and exercise of christian contemplation, consisting, as I haue often signified, in meditation, and mental prayer, accompanied with the true loue of god, contempt of the worlde, abnegation of a mans selfe, chastitie, pouertie, obedience, and the perfection of all vertue: Al which being the speciall effects of Gods grace, doe dispose the soule of man, to the perfect vnion with god, which not onlie wee that bee christians, but also the pagan philosophers, doe teach to bee the end of contemplation, as I haue ampie declared in the seventeenth, eighteenth, nintenth, twentieth, and one and twentieth chapters, where I haue proued that almighty God (whose speciall delight is, as he himselfe saith, to be with the sonnes of men) doth of his infinit bounty so communicate himselfe to a contemplatiue soule, purifieth with his grace, and enflameth with his loue, that he vniteth it with himselfe, & (as the holie scriptures doe speake) espouseth it, imparting such ineffable consolations vnto it, that it remayneth manie times absorpt in his loue, and alienated from the senses of the bodie, wherevpon ensue those admirable rapt, whereof I spake in the aforesaid chapters, and promised to speake further afterwards, which I will now performe.

Neuerthelesse, I thinke good, first to aduertise thee good Reader,

Ccc

that

Chap. 17.
18. 19. 20. &
21.

Prouer. 8.

Cant. 4. &

that it is not my meaning to shew here, that there is no vnion of man with god, but in rapts, or alienation of the soule from the senses, seeing I haue sufficientlie declared before, that almighty God vniteth himselfe with his seruants diuersly, according to the different capacity of euerie one of them: For euen as the sunne doth perfectly illuminate the ayre, when it is pure, and cleare from clouds, and at other times also doth imparte so much light vnto it, as the multitude, or thicknes of the clouds doth permit, and entred into euerie house, more or lesse, according to the capacitie of the windowes, holes, or slisters, whereby it may passe: euen so almighty God being *lux vera*, the true light, as the euangelist saith, and true goodnes, doth impart the light of his grace, and communicate himselfe to his seruants, according to the puritie of their harts: so that when he findeth in them no cloudes of passions, or worldlie affections, he vniteth himselfe with them in great perfection, and neuer faileth to enter into euerie deuout soule, more or lesse, according to the disposition he findeth therein: which disposition neuertheles, is to bee vnderstood to proceede also from his grace, without the which, we cannot thinke as much as a good thought.

Ioan. 1.

1. Cor. 3.

Esa. 24.

3 And although the effects of his presence, and vnion, are for the most part so internal, and secret, that his seruants, who enioy the same, may say with the prophet, *secretum meum mihi*, my secreet is to my selfe: yet it hath pleased his deuine maiestie in all times, and ages, for the encouragement and example of others, and for his owne greater glorie, to giue testimonie thereof to the world by externall signes, and demonstrations, as some times by extases, or rapts, some times, by visions, and apparitions of our Sauour Christ, or his Saints, sometimes by reuelations and the spirit of prophesie, & other whiles by the abundance of teares, proceeding either of hartie contrition, or of seruent loue, and deuotion, and some times also, by an euident redoundance of the internall and spirituall comforts, to the externall, and corporall parts (as it appeared in *Moses*, whose face was so glorious, vppon his conference with almighty God, that the children of *Israell* could not behold it) and finally by miraculous workes, which manifestly witnes his supernaturall assistance.

Exod. 24.

Chap. 22. &
23.

4 Therefore I intend to make it manifest here, that the Roman Catholikes haue alwayes had, and at this day haue, this externall testimony of Gods internall vnion with them, such Catholikes I meane, as practise true christian contemplation in religious life, nor that I tye these extraordinarie graces and fauours of almighty God, onlie to cloysters, and religious houses (for I haue shewed sufficientlie before by

divers examples, that secular men of all states, and vocations, may be so mortified, that they may also participat thereof) but because the secular state (especially in such as are married, and haue care of children, and familie) is so subiect to the distraction of worldlie cares, and busines, that it verie rarelie admitteth true mortification, and the exercise of perfect contemplation, therefore I say, it is seldom seene, that secular men attaine thereto in so high a degree, as religious men doe, who hauing abandoned the world, and giuen themselves wholie to the studie, and practise of true christian contemplation, doe with greater facilitie arrive to the perfection thereof, and receiue in all abundance, that *Centuplum*, or hundredth fold which almightie God promised to giue euē in this life to those, which should forsake the world for his seruice, such being his bountie towards them, that hee giueth them (as *S. Bernard* saith) not onlie eternal life for their reward in the end, but also spiritual ioyes, and consolations for their entertainment in the meane time, for so, saith hee, men are also wont to giue their workmen meate whiles they worke, and their hire, or wages, when they haue finished their worke, so souldiars haue their pay whiles they serue, and a greater donatiue, *gift in the end*, and so also the children of *Israell* were fed with manna in the desert, and arrived in the end to the land of promise. Thus saith *S. Bernard*, who also addeth further, that this is notably signified vnto vs, in the booke of wisdom, where it is said, that God will giue to the iust the reward of their labours, and in the meane time lead them, *in via mirabili*, in a merueilous way, and this way saith he, is that wherein the psalmist saith he was delighted, *sicut in omnibus diuitijs*, as in all riches: whereby we may see, that the way which God leaderth his seruants, is both pleasant, and maruelous, and therefore the psalmist doth not onlie say, that God is sweete, but also that he is *mirabilis in sanctis suis*, maruelous in his saints, and no meruaile, seeing he is so meruelous, and wonderful in all his workes.

Matth. 19.

Bernard ser.
ecce nos re-
linquimus
&c.Sap. 10.
Psal. 118.Psal. 33.
Psal. 67.

What wonder then is it, that carnall and fleshlie men, who haue not so much as anie tast of matters of spirit, and commonlie beleue no more, then that which they see, know, or feelee with their hands, do not beleue nor can conceue the wonderful, and ineffable manner of almighty Gods proceeding, with his seruants here in earth, nor the inuinciball familiaritie that hee vseth towards a deuout contemplatiue soule, wherewith he is vnited? Which I will now make euident, by the experience that hath benne seene of Gods extraordinarie fauours, and the externall signes of his internall vnion, imparted to religious men, and women since our Saviours time, to shew thereby as well the veritie and continual succession, of Catholike religion in religious pro-

feſſion: as alſo the vnſpeakeable conſolation, and true felicity, which it affordeth to thoſe that embrace, and praſtiſe it in perfection, where- by it ſhall alſo appeare (as before I noted out of the pſalmiſt) that *Deus eſt mirabilis in ſanctis ſuis. God is marvellous in his ſaints.*

Pſal. 67.

Chap. 21.

6 In the One and twentieth chapter, where I treated amply of the internal vnion of man with God, by the meanes of chriſtian contemplation, I ſpoke ſufficiently of ſome ſpecial effects, and external ſignes thereof, as well in the prophets of the ould teſtament, as in *S. Peter*, *S. Iohn*, the euangelist, and *S. Paule*, to wit, their reuelations, and rapts, mentioned in the holy ſcriptures. And I further ſignified, that the ſame was not peculiar, and proper only to them, but alſo common to others of the faithfull in the new teſtament; concerning which point, I now ſay further, that the ſame appeareth ſufficiently in *S. Dionisius Areopagita*, *S. Pauls* diſciple, who maketh mention not only of his owne re-

S. Dionis. de miſti. theo- log. & de di- ui. nomin.

Idem ep. ad S. Iohn. E- uang.

Idem Epiſt. ad Demophi- lum mona- chum.

Idem de di- uin. nomin. o. 2. per. 1. in ſua.

uelations, touching the deliuey of *S. Iohn* the Euangelist from his baniſhment in *Patmos*, but alſo of a very ſtrange viſion, and reuelation, which *S. Carpus*, a biſhop in *Creta*, had in his prayers, of whome alſo, he ſaith that for the purity of his ſoule, he was, *apriſimus ad dei ſpeculationem*, moſt fit to ſpeculat, and contemplat God, and that therefore he had alwaie ſome holly, and fauourable viſion, before he celebrated the deuine miſteries (that is to ſay before he ſaid maſſe:) and further he alſo ſignifieth, that *S. Hierotheus*, was illuminated with holly inspirations concerning the miſteries of the chriſtian faith, *patiēdo diuina*, ſuſtaining deuine things, meaning the exceſſe of ſpirit, which he ſuſtained by the abundant influence of Gods gracious viſitations, whereby he attained faith *S. Dionisius*, to that miſtical vnion, & faith, that the Apoſtles them ſelues had, which could not be taught, or obtained by human induſtry.

Chap. 26. nu. 20. 22. & 24.

7 Seeing then this learned father, acknowledged theſe deuine fauours, and external ſignes of gods vnion in himſelfe, and others in his time, it cannot be with any reaſon denied, but that he thought, and knew the ſame to be moſt proper to religious men, ſeeing he taught, that the vnion of man with God, is the ſpecial end, and effect of monaſtical diſciplin, as I haue proued out of him in the laſt chapter.

8 And the ſame no doubt, would haue benne manifeſt to vs in the monks or religions of that time, if their liues had bene particularly written as were the liues of the *Hermits*, and religious, which lived ſhortly after, namely of *S. Paule* the *Hermit*, and *S. Antony*, both which flouriſhed in the very next age after *S. Dionisius*. For whereas he died in the ſecond age after Chriſt, (to wit in the yeare a hundreth and nineteene) they were borne in the third age, and *S. Paule*, who was a few

yeares more ancient, then *S. Anthony*, began his heremital life, about the yeare of our lord, two hundredth and fifty, at what tyme also *S. Antony* was borne, who, as I signified before, replenished the deserts of *Egypt*, with monasteries, and learned monastical discipline of an old monke, which had professed, and obserued it from his youth.

9 Let vs then see, what is testified by approued authours, concerning the spiritual fauours, and consolations imparted to these two, whose lyes were written by twoo of the most famous Fathers of Gods church, to wit, *S. Athanasius*, and *S. Hierome*, who liued in their tyme, and *S. Athanasius*, was familiar with *S. Anthony*, of whom he also learned so much, as the church of God hath hetherto knowne of the life of *S. Paule* the hermit, and witnesseth of them both (as also *S. Hierome* doth) that hauing liued many yeares in one wildernes, they li. vnderstood one of an other by deuine reuelation, and that there vpon *S. Anthony* going to seeke, and visit *S. Paule*, they saluted each other by their owne names at their very first meeting, and that where as a crow had for threescore yeares together, brought to *S. Paule* halfe a lofe of bread, for his dayes allowance, shee brought him at that time a whole lofe, with diuers other things concerning *S. Paule*, which testify how highly God fauoured him.

10 And the like appeareth concerning *S. Antony*, by that which *S. Athanasius* writeth of him, as that he had such heauenly consolations in his prayers, and meditations, that many times he continued them whole nights throughout, and complained of the light of the morning sunne, that it disturbed him, and depriued him of the true light, which he had beheld in his contemplations. Besides that he ad many apparitions of our Sauour, many rapt, and reuelations, and did such wonderfull miracles, that all the world admired him, as may be seene in the history of his life, which was most famous in *S. Augustins* tyme, and wrought wonderful effects in them who heard, or read it, in so much, that *S. Augustin* confesseth of himselfe, that he, and *Alipius*, were marueloussly moued, and amazed when they heard it first related, before he was conuerted. *Stupebamur*, saith he, *audientes &c. VVe* were astonished to heare things, so maruelous in the true faith, and in the Catholick church, tam recenti memoria, & prope nostris temporibus, testissima, which were so fresh in memory, and most manifest almost in our tyme.

11 Thus saith, *S. Augustin*, and further recounteth the strange effect that the reading of *S. Antonies* life wrought in twoo great courtiers, who suddenly there vpon forsooke the world, and entred into religion,

Chap. 76. gion, whereof I haue declared the particulars already, when I treated of the suddayne, and admirable effects of gods grace. Thus much concerning *S. Antony*, and the fauours which he receyued of almighty God, in the exercise of contemplatiue, and monastical life.

12 With him I will ioyne a disciple of his, to wit, *S. Hilarion*, who also greatly encreased monastical disciplyn (as I haue declared before) whose continuall penance, mortification, meditation, and prayer, *S. Hierome* amply declareth, and signifieth with all, many notable miracles, which he did, and the deuine illustrations, and reuelations which he had, euen in the presence of many thousands of people, who came to see him in the wilderness.

13 There liued also in the same tyme, to wit, in the fourth age, two notable men, and great pillars of the church, *S. Basil*, surnamed the great, and *S. Ephram*; the first a *Grecian*, and the other a *Syrian*, both of them religious men, great friends the one to the other, and glorious for their miracles, reuelations, and other heuently fauours, in so much that *S. Ephram* compareth the miracles of *S. Basil*, with those of *Eliaz*, and *Elixeus*, and testifieth, that as he him selfe was admonished by deuine vision, to goe seeke faint *Basil* to the end he might receiue spirital comfort of him:) so also *S. Basil* knew of his comming to him, by deuine reuelation, besides that the miracles, prophesies, and rapt of *S. Basil*, are witnessed partly by *S. Gregory Nazianzen*, partly by *S. Amphilochius*, and partly by *Socrates*, *Theodoretus*, and *Zonaras*, in their histories.

14 And such was the fame, and estimation of *S. Ephrams* learning, and holy life, that his homilies were publicly read in churches, next after the scriptures in *S. Hieroms* tyme, as he testifieth, who liued in the same age, and died not many yeares after *S. Ephram*. Besides that, we also read, that he was wont to feele, such an inundation of sweetenes in his prayer, and contemplation, that his hart seemed to him ready to burst with the abondance thereof, in so much, that he often said to almighty God. *Recede a me domine &c. Goe from me o lord, for the infirmity of my vessel, is no longer able to endure this.*

15 And no lesse admirable was *S. Martin*, at the same time, who hauing benne a monke, before he was bishop of *Tours*, would not altogether leaue his monastical life afterwards, but liued for the most part in a monastery, with fourscore other monkes his disciples. And it appeareth in the history of his life (written by *S. Sulpicius* who liued with him) that he had very many apparitions of Angels, and some of our

Sauio

Sauio
man
that h
faith,
16 S
mona
witne
dayes,
such h
seeme
did ioy
turnm
ments.
17 V
the fif
bor of
temiti
from I
not at
before
week
might
had ea
teth v
thing
which
18 I
of his
desert
were d
great
tion o
tions
tinua
who
les h
this p
goy
ment
to, i

Chap. 76.

Obiit. an.
361.

Chap. 25. nu.

32.

S. Hieron. in
vita S. Hila-
rio.

Obiit. an.

383.

S. Ephr. in
orat. in laud.
Basil.

Obiit. an.

40.

S. Greg. Na-
zian. orat. in
laud. Basil.
Amphil. in
vit. eius.

Theod. li. 4.

c. 17.

Zonar. in
valente.

Baron. To 4.

S. Hieron. de
Scriptor. eccl.Platus de
bono stat. re-
lig. li. 3. ca. 7.
Obiit. an.

370.

S. Sulpit. Se-
uer. in vita
S. Mart.

Saintour himselfe, and that he had the spirit of prophesy, in admirable manner, and did so many stupendious miracles, euen in raising the dead, that he conuerted thereby infinit numbers of Gentils to the Christian faith, and was held ouer all christendome for an apostolicall man.

16 *S. Hierome*, also liued both in the *Fourth*, and *fift* age, who led a monastical life in *Bethlem*, and affirmeth of himselfe (calling God to witnesse of it) that whiles he liued in the desert, and passed whole dayes, and nights in contemplation, fasting, prayer, and teares, he had such heauenly meditations, visitations, and spiritual comeforts, that it seemed to him very oft, that he was amongst Squadrons of Angels, and did ioyfully sing the verse of the canticles, *post te in odorem unguentorum curramus. VVe will runne after thee, to the sweete sauour of thy ointments.*

17 We read also in *Cassianus*, who liued at the same time, to wit in the *fift* age, and died within a few yeares after *S. Hierome*, that an Abbot of a monastery in the desert of *Scithia*, who had led before an heremical life, was oft times in the desert so rauished, and abstract from his senses, with the sweetnes of contemplation, that he knew not at night, whether he had eaten any thing that day, or yet the day before, and that therefore his allowance of bread for the whole weeke was giuen him at once, by seauen equal portions, to the end he might know, as well at the weekes end, as euery eueninge, whether he had eaten his daies allowance, or no: And the same authour also writeth vpon his owne knowledge, diuers other notable, and strange things, of the heauenly contemplation, of many other religious men, which I omit for breuities sake.

18 In like maner *Palladius*, a bishop of *Capadocia* (who wrote a history of his owne peregrination, wherein he visited the monasteries in the deserts of *Egypt*) recounteth most admirable things, not only of the severall disciplin, and angelical life of the religious there, but also of the great graces which almighty God bestowed vpon them, in the operation of miracles, the spirit of prophesy, rapt, and caelestial consolations, namely of the famous *Macarius*, who he saith, was almost continually rauished in spirit: And the like he affirmeth, of one *Isidorus*, who was so contemplatiue, that he fell many times into his rapt, whiles he was at meate amongst his brethren. And if I should confirme this point further by the examples of *S. Augustin*, *S. Chrysostome*, *S. Gregory Nazianzen*, and others (who were religious men, and great ornaments of Gods church in the *Fourth*, and *fift* age) and also add thereto, many admirable things which might be alleadged to the same purpose,

Obiit. an. 402. Baron. eod. n.

S. Hieron. ep. 22. ad Eustochium.

Cant. I. Obiit. an. 420.

Ioan. Cassia. col. 19. c. 14. a. Obiit. an. 435.

Palladius hist. lausica, vel sanctior. parum

Idem in Macario. Idem in Isidoro.

*Theodoret.
hisor. reli-
gioſa.
an. 550.*

purpose, out of *Theodoretus* in his history, of the religious liues of holy Monks, and Nunes in his time (which was the sixt age, to wit about the yeare of our lord, siue hundreth, and fifty) I feare, I should be much to tedious, and therefore I will omit, not only those examples but also many other, no lesse admirable in the ensuing ages, contenting my selfe from henceforth with some one, or two in euery age.

*Obiit. an.
519.*

*S. Greg. in
uita. S. Be-
nedicti.
Ioānes Dia-
con. in vita
S. Greg.*

*Baron. To.
8. an. 590.*

*Obiit. an.
604.*

*Beda. li. 2.
hisor. c. 2.
Obiit. an.
609.*

*S. Beda in
uita S.
Cuthberti. c.
4.*

19 Therefore to proceede, in the sixt age, florished *S. Benedict*, founder and patriarke of the holy order of the *Benedictins*, who being a true mirrour of monastical disciplin, was highly fauoured by almighty God, with the spirit of prophesy, with deuine reuelations, with most wonderful miracles, whereby he raised twoo dead men, besides other thinges no lesse miraculous, testified by *S. Gregory* the great, who liued in the same age and wrote his life, and may also serue for an example of this matter, hauing benne himselfe a monke, and an abbot of a monastery before he was pope. And how much he was fauoured by almighty God, yt may appeare, in that being chosen pope, and fled from *Rome*, to hide himselfe in a rock, he was discouered from heauen, by a bright pillar, which hanged ouer him in the ayre, whereby he was found, and brought back to *Rome*: besides that, he had also diuers apparitions of our Sauour, and of Angels, and did notable miracles, recounted by *Iohannes Diaconus* in his life, wherein it is also witnessed that *petrus Diaconus*, who liued familiarly with *S. Gregory*, saw diuers times, the holy ghost vppon his head in forme of a doue.

20 In the seauenth age, died the blessed Monke *S. Augustin*, our Apostle, sent by *S. Gregory* aforesaid, into our countrie, to conuert the same from paganisme, to the faith of Christ, which hee performed, giuing sufficient testimonie of his vnion and familiaritie, with almighty God, not onlie by the notable effect of his Apostolicall preaching, in the conuersion of King *Ethelbert*, and his subiects, but also by his prophesie of Gods punishment vppon the monks of *Bangor*, for their refusal to preach to the *Saxons*: as also by the miracle which he did, in restoring sight to a blind man by his prayers, as *S. Bede* our famous country man testifieth. And therefore I cannot but note here by the way, how much England is behoulding to monks & religious men, seeing it receiued the light of christian faith from them.

21 Wee read likewise in *S. Bede*, that *S. Cuthbert*, who liued also in the seauenth age, being disposed once whiles he was verie yonge, to spend a whole night in prayer, had such heauenlie consolations and visions, that he determined presently to leaue the world, saying to himselfe, if with one nights praier, I haue obtained so great a fauour at Gods han-

10. what may I expect if I bestow al my hole life in prayer, and contemplation? And so repayred presentlie to a monasterie, where he entered into religion, and had afterwards, manie visions of Angels, and glorified God greatlie, by manie notable miracles, both before & after his death, whereof *S. Bede* writeth verie particularly.

Idem ibid.
ca. 5. 6. 7. 8.
Etc.
obiit. an. 88.

11. In the eight age, *S. Iohn Damascen* (who was also a monke) flourish'd in al vertue, and learning (as appeareth by his notable works yet extant) and how acceptable he was to almightie God, and how effect-
ual were his prayers, it is euident inough by the famous miracle of the restitution, and healing of his hand, cut of by the commaundement of a king of the *Saracens*, which great grace and fauour hee obtained of almightie God, by his prayers to our blessed Lady, who appeared vnto him in his sleepe, and restored his hand, and reunited it to his arme, as testifieth *Iohn* the Patriarke of Hierusalem in the historie of his life.

Iohn. patria
solim. in vi-
ta S. Damas.

12. In the age following, which was the ninth, there was an Abbot, called *Ioannicius*, who as *Metaphrastes* witnesseth, so exceeded in contemplation, that hee was often eleuated into the ayre, whiles he was in his prayer: besides that hee was verie eminent for the spirit of prophesie, and manie miraculous workes, which I omit for breuities sake.

obiit. circa.
an. 730.

13. In the tenth age, liued and died *S. Dunstan* Bishop of *Canterburie*, who was a monke before hee was bishop, and after built forty eigh monasteries, and had throughout the course of his life, manie celestially comforts, rapt, visions, apparitions of Angels, and conference with them, and excelled also in the operation of miracles, and prophetical predictions, testified by al our ancient historiographers, which write of his time.

obiit. an.
846.
Metaphras.
in *Ioannicio.*

14. In the next age, *S. Remwaldus*, founder of the Hermits of *Camaldole*, was famous throughout al christendome, for his holie life, his miracles, his reuelations, his spirit of prophesie, his illuminations, and heauenlie visions, related by the famous Cardinal, *S. Petrus Damianus*, who wrote his life, within fiftene yeares after his death, whiles the same, and knowledge thereof, was yet fresh in euerie mans memorie.

obiit. an. 988.
Osbert. in
vita Dunsto.
apud Suri-
um. 19. maj.
Matth. vve-
stm. an. 979.
Polid. histor.
Ang. li. 6.
obiit. an.
1027.
S. Petrus.
Damian. in
vita S. Re-
mualdi.
Baron. an.
1027.

15. In the same age, liued the famous *Hildebrand*, who being first a monke in the Abbey of *Cluny*, and afterwards pope, called *Gregory* the seauenth, was so contemplatiue, and had such deuine illuminations, that he was some times rauished in spirit, amidst his temporal negotiations, and had frequent rapt in his priuat deuotions: besides

Baron. an.
1073.

*Guliel. Mal.
melf. de gest.
reg. Angl. l. 3.
Baron. an.
1061.*

that hee had manie reuelations euen in mens thoughts, and visions of Angels, and the spirit of prophesie, as testifieth *William of Malmesbury*, an historiographer of ours, who vnderstood some strange particulars, which he writeth of him, by the relation of the Abbot of *Cluny*, who knew him, and witnessed the same vppon his owne knowledge, and experience.

*Edimerus. in
vita Ansel-
mi.*

*obijt. an.
1109.*

27 In the age following, died our notable prelate, *S. Anselmus*, who was first monke, and after Abbot of *Beck* in *Normandy*, and lastlie bishop of *Canterbury*, famous throughout the christian world, for his great vertue & learning, whereof sufficient testimony remaineth vntill this day, by his learned bookes: of whome *Edimerus* (who liued with him, & wrote his life) witnesseth that he had manie notable reuelatiōs, visions, & rapt in his prayers, & that a globe of fire, was once scene about his head, whiles he was at his deuotions, and finally that almighty god wrought by him wonderfull miracles, whereof he recounteth very manie.

28 In the same age, liued and died *S. Bernard*, the honour of religious men, of whose stupendious and continual miracles, all the histories that treat of him, & his time, giue ample testimonie: besides that his vnion & intire familiaritie with almighty god, abundantly appeareth by his propheticall predictiōs, & by the innumerable soules which he conuerted to God, with his sermons & conferences, in so much that women were faine manie times to shut vp their children, & diuert their habūd from hearing him, least otherwise they would forsake the world, as his father, vnclē, brethren & sisters, & verie manie others had done, & dalie did by his example, & perswasion, of whose great grace in the operation of miracles, I shall haue so iust occasion to speake amply hereafter, that I thinke good to omit it heare.

*S. Bonavent.
in vita S.
Francisci.*

*obijt. an.
1226.*

29 After him in the next age, three Apostolicall & Euangelicall men, were of singular fame in Gods church, to wit, *S. Francis*, *S. Dominick*, & *S. Thomas Aquinas*. Of the first (who instituted the holie order of the grey Friars) the famous *S. Bonauenture* witnesseth in the historie of his life, that besides the vertue of miracles, which hee had in wonderfull manner, he had also manie deuine visions of our Sauour, manie reuelatiōs, & verie frequent rapt, & the same some times most stupendious; being raised, & cleuaued into the aire, as high as the clouds. Lastly that in one of his rapt, two yeares before his death, the marke of our Sauours most sacred wounds, were printed in his handes, seete & side, and that they remained there during his life, whereof there were innumerable witnesses, & amongst others, *Pope Alexander* the fourth, who in a sermon

whereat *S. Bonaventura*, as he writeth was present) testified that he had seene them himselfe.

S. Dominick also (who was the founder of the holie order of the black Friars, or Friar preachers) was no lesse admirable for his miracles, and namelie for reuiuing the dead, then for his reuelations, propheticall predictions, and most strange rapt, whereby hee was sometimes eleuated, and detained in the aire, a cubit aboue the ground. And the verie like wee read of *S. Thomas Aquinas*, who was a *Dominick* Friar, and no lesse fauored by almightie God, then his founder *S. Dominick*, with diuine visions, reuelations, & admirable rapt, in so much that he was also sometimes eleuated in the aire, besides diuers miracles, which pleased God to worke by him, aswel in his life, as after his death.

And although I haue for breuities sake, omitted heretofore diuers notable women, whose miraculous workes, reuelations & rapt, shewed evidently their great vniō, & familiarity with almightie God (as namely *S. Gertrud*, *S. Mechtilde*, *S. Clare*, *S. Elizabeth Abbess of Spalbeck*, of them admirable for rapt, & reuelations, & specially the two last, of whom we read, that *S. Clare* was verie oft a whole month together, raiued in spirit without anie vse of her senses: and *S. Elizabeth of Spalbeck*, was comonly seauen times a day abstracted from her senses in such sort, that shee had neither sence, nor breath, but was stife & cold, as if she had bene starke dead:) though I say I haue omitted these, & diuers other famous contemplatiue women, yet I cannot lett passe two, which succeeded in the next age after *S. Thomas*, to wit, *S. Brigit* & *S. Katherin of Siena*, of whome the first being descended of the royal race of the kings of Sweden, as I haue signified before, and married to a prince called *Alpho*, gaue her selfe after his death, to monasticall and contemplatiue life, wherein shee profited and excelled so much, that beeing oftentimes raiued in spirit, shee had verie manie apparitions of our Saviour, who amongst manie other thinges, reuealed vnto her, the holie rule which shee least to those of her order (whereof I haue also spoken before:) besides that hee imparted vnto her so great a grace, and such a hate and horroir of sinne, that if anie man that was in mortall sinne came to her presence, shee could not endure the saueur of him, but was faine, ether to stop her nose, or to depart from the place.

S. Katherin of Siena, dedicated her selfe to the seruice of God, and to religious life, euen from her infancy, and afterwards taking the habit of *S. Dominick*, became as I may say, the wonder of the world in her time, for the infinit fauours she receiued of almightie God, & the ineffa-

Obijt. an.
1221.
S. Antonin.
hif. s. 23. c.
4. *parag. 7.*
In vita eius.
apud Suriu.
4. *Augusti.*
Obijt. an.
1271.
Ibid. 7. mar.

Lodouicus
Blossius in
Apolog. pro
Thauro
ca. 2.
Idem in
monili spiri-
tuali ca. 2.

Paulo Mori-
gia dell' ori-
gine delle re-
ligioni.
Obijt. an.
1373.
Blossius in
monili spi-
rit.
Chap. 263.
nu. 27.

Obijt. an.
1380.

F. Raimund. de Capua. in vita S. Katerina Senensis. familiarity she had with him, which appeared in her supernatural gifts, of more then humane wisdom and prudence, her most rapturous workes, her prophecies, frequent rapt, continuing ordinarily two, or three houres, after she receiued the blessed sacrament, and once three daies together, during which time, she had no use at all of her senses, and some times in these rapt, shee was drawne vp into the aere, and finally in one of them, shee receiued of almighty God the same fauour, which *S. Francis* did, hauing the signes of our Saniours five blessed wounds, printed in her hands, feete, and syde, all which is testified, not only by two most religious, and graue personages, who liued

P. Stephanus Carthus. with her, and wrote her life, but also by pope *Pius* the second, in his Bul of her canonization, vppon due and euident prooffe thereof.

P. Raymundus Dominicus. 33 In the next age, liued *S. Diego de Aleala* in Spaine, a lay brother, of the holy order of *S. Francis*, a man of such rare vertue, and so highly contemplatiue (though altogether vnlearned) that he was seene many times, eleuated into the aire in his rapt (as before I haue also signified of diuers others :) and so many were the miracles donne by him, not only in his life, but also after his death, that he was after due examination and prooffe thereof, canonized by pope *Sixtus* the Fifth, in the yeare a thousand five hundred eighty eight, at the sute of *Philip* the second last king of Spaine, vpon the miraculous recovery of his sonne *Charles*, who being in *Arcala* at the point of death, and giuen ouer by the physicians, had an apparition of *S. Diego*, and there vppon recovered his health. The life, and Miracles of *S. Diego*, were written by a very learned man, called *Francisco Pena*, auditor of the *Rota*, at this present, and by *Pietro Gallefino*, *procurator Apostolico*, and others.

34 In the same age, liued also *S. Francis de Paula*, founder of the holy order of the *Minimi* (whereof I haue spoken before) and so famous was he for his sanctity, and holly life, his many, and wonderfull miracles, his prophecies, and reuelations, his infused, and supernatural wisdom, that *Lewis* the eleuenth king of France, procured that pope *Sixtus* the Fourth, commaunded him to passe from *Calabria* in the kingdome of *Naples* into France, for the said kings consolation; and in what admiration he was there held, it may appeare by the testimony of *Philip de Comines*, vppon his owne knowledge, affirminge that he had heard him oft times discourse so wisely, and deuinely in the presence of king *Lewis*, of king *Charles* his sonne, and of all the peeres of France, that it seemed that the holy Ghost inspired him, and spake by his mouth (as I haue signified in the first part of this treatise :) and further the same auth or saith, that in his opinion he neuer saw so holly a man, and that

Phil. Comin. du Roy. Louis.
c. 130.

his search to speake more particularly of him, because he was then living. His passage into *France*, was about the yeare of our lord, a thousand four hundred eighty, and he died in the beginning of the next yeare following, to wit in the yeare a thousand five hundred, and seaven, Obiit. an. being Ninetyone yeares old, hauing liued an hermits life, from the age of twelve yeares, as *Philip de Comines* also witnesseth.

Being now come to the last age, whereof the greatest part doth not passe the memory of man, I will conclude with the examples of certaine holy personages, knowne to many yet lying. The first shalbe the blessed Father *Ignatius de Loyola*, founder of the holy society of *Jesuites*, of whome I haue also spoken sometimes before. Of him it is written, by a reuerend and learned graue man yet aliue (who was in vnderstanding with him) that after he had fully abandoned the world, and given himselfe wholly to the seruice of God, yea, and passed some greuous temptations (as commonly all those doe which tend to perfection of life) he had exceeding great consolations from almighty God, in his meditations, and prayers: As for example, being one day in *S. Dominicks* church in *Manresa*, saying our Ladies office, as he daily did, he was suddenly illuminated in his vnderstanding, and had such a liuely representation therein of the blessed Trinity, with such an inward ioy and heauenlie comeftort, that he burst out into teares, which he could not stay for a long time, and all that day after, could not talke, or discourse of any thing els, but of that blessed misterie, which he explicated admirablie, to the astonishment of those which heard him; and though at that time he had studied nothing at all, neither had any ability of learning, but only to write, and read, yet he wrote presently a treatise of the blessed Trinity, of eightie, sheetes of paper, and euer after during his life, had particuler consolation, and sweetenes, in the meditation of that profound misterie.

The like light he also receiued at diuers other times, concerning diuers other articles of our faith, and was sometimes wholly rauished, and transported with the contemplation of heauenlie thinges, and speciallie once most admirablie at *Manresa*, where he had a rapt, which continued eight daies; in such sort, that no life appeared in him, but only by his pulse, and a litle panting of his hart, which this author saith, was related to him, and others, by them who were eye witnesses of it. And so abundant was the sweetenes, and spiritual comeftort which he commonlie had in prayer, that the abundance of his teares, proceeding thereof, had almost made him blynd. Finallie his great vnion with almightie God, appeareth also sufficientlie other waise,

P. Ribadeneira della
vita del. P.
Ignat.

Idem ibid.

as well by diuers apparitions which he had of our Saviour, our Lady, and other Saints, as by his reuelations and propheticall predictions of things to come, which may be scene in the historie of his life; and proued by other sufficient testimonie of men, yet liuing, besides many notable miracles donne by him, and his intercession to God both since, and before his death, whereof autentical informations, and profes haue benne for some time, and are daily taken by order of the sea Apostolike.

37 In like maner, the Blessed Father *Franciscus Xauierus*, one of the first companions to Father *Ignatius* in his holy institut, and sent by him afterwards in to the east India, was also most admirable, not only for his reuelations, prophecies, and miracles (which he did in the conuersion of the Indians, and namely for reuiuing fower dead persons) but also for the abundance of spiritaual consolations in his prayers and deuotions, wherein he passed, and spent whole nights many times before he was aware: and so insupportable was the sweetenes which he felt therein, that he hath bene ouer heard to say to almightie God,

P. Petrus Ribaden. in vita eius & Horatius Tursellin. in vita B. Xaue. ij li. 2. c. 7.

Plarus de bono status relig. li. 3. cap. 7.

Obiit. an. 1552.

No more o lord, no more, this is ynough take mee o lord, vnto thee or doe me not this fauour, for it is intolerable to see thee, and not to see thee. Thus was he some times heard to say in his priuat, and secret deuotions; besides that, he was so transported, and absorpt many times with his heauenlic meditations; that when he went any iourney (which he did alwaise on foote) he lost his way, and went into the briers and brambles, before he was aware. And to conclude concerning him, his apostolical vertues, and vnion with God, are further sufficientlie testified, by the fruites of his holy labours, in *Capo de Camorin* (where he built aboue forty churches) and in *Macane* (where he conuerted twoo kings and a great number of their subiects) and in *Malacca*, the Ilands of *Molucche*, the Iland of *Mors* (where the people were most sauage, fierce, & barbarous: & lastly in *Giapone*, in which places he conuerted an innumerable multitud of soules to the christian faith, cured the sick, healed the lame, restored sight to the blind, and life to the dead, as I haue said: besides that his body remained a long time after his death vncorrupt, and fresh (as it still doth, for ought is yet knowne to the contrary) of all which, *Don Iohn* the third of that name, king of *Portugal*, caused autentical, and publike testimonie to be taken, in those parts where he had preached.

38 To these twoo, I cannot omit to add twoo others of the same society, the one father *Franciscus Borgia*, and the other father, *Leuis*

Castro

both of them princes of birth, to whome almightie God, im-
pended his fauours abundantlie, in prayer, and meditation. The first
was *Father Borgia*, being duke of *Cambrin* in *Spain*, and much este-
med of the Emperour *Charles* the first, abandoned his estate, and digni-
ties, and tooke the habit and name of the societie, in the yeare of
our lord a thousand five hundredth fifty, and one, and within a short time,
made so great progresse in contempt of the world, and mortification
of himselfe, that he was admired of all that knew him, and after some

*P. Pedro Ri-
baden. en la
vida del P.
Francis. Bor-
gen.*

yeares, was made general of the societie: and (to omit other particu-
lers of his admirable vertues, and Gods great fauour towards him) the
heauenlie consolation, and visitations which he had in prayer were
such, that he was very oft depriued of all sence, and feeling for a time:
and it chaunced once in the colledge of the societie at *Medina del Cam-
po*, that the Rector called *Father Ruiz Portillio*, entring into his cham-
ber vpon a suddaine, whiles he was at his prayers, found him all en-
uironed with a heauenlie light, and his face casting out beames like
the sunne. As also an other time, a doctour called *Ayala*, comming sud-
denlie to him in the night at *Berlanga*, whiles he was praying without
candell or fire, found all his chamber full of light, proceeding as it
seemed to the doctour, from the fathers face, and eyes. I omit for bre-
uities sake his prediction of diuers things to come, and knowledge
of things donne, in places remote, and other his miraculous workes,
which may be seene in the historie of his life, written in latine, by
father *Andreas Schottus*, and in Spanish by father *Ribadeneira* yet li-
uing.

*Andreas
Schottus in
vita eius.*

*Obiit. an.
1572.*

11. *Father Lewis Gonzaga*, eldest sonne to the Marquesse of *Castiglione*,
of the house of *Mantua*, being but twelue yeares of age, had won-
derfull illuminations of almightie God, and such grace of prayer,
and contemplation, that euen then, he gaue himselfe wholie to deuo-
tion, and by importunate suite to his parents, obtained after a few
yeares, leave to renounce his right in their state to his yonger brother,
and to enter in to the societie of *Iesu*, and within a while grew to
be so contemplatiue, and recollected in himselfe, that he comonlie
passed whole houres of meditation, without any distraction in the
world of other cogitations, in so much that if any entred into his
chamber, during the time of his ordinarie prayer, he had no vnder-
standing, or knowledge thereof: and such was the sweetenes, and ce-
lestiall comfort he felt in his soule, & so feruent his loue of God, that
commonly his hart melted, as it were, into streames of teares: and he
had these heauenly motiōs of Gods loue not only in his meditatiōs but
also

*P. Virgil.
Seppa i re la
vita del P.
Luigi Gon-
zaga.*

also in his ordinarie vocal prayer, not being able many times, to say the wordes thereof, insomuch that his superiours were forced to allow him double time to that which others had, for the saying of his office. Yea and which is more, it fell out very oft in common conuersation, that when there was any speech in his presence of our Saviours passion, or of his loue to man, he grew to such an agony, and pang of deuine loue, that his hart would swell, and beate, as though it would breake, or leape out of his body, in which respect many did forbear to speake of such matter, whiles he was present: and such was withall his puritie, and innocencie of life, that he was held of all that knew him, for a very saint on earth, though he was in the flower of his youth, being not about *twenty three yeares* of age when he died, which was but *sixteene yeares* agoe: sithence which time, it hath pleased God, to glorifie his owne name, and to giue testimonie to the great vertue of his seruant, by many notable, and manifest miracles, done as well here in *Rome* where he died, and is buried, as also in diuers other parts, and namely vpon the Duke of *Mantua* his kinsman, who hauing benne here not past three yeares agoe, in the yeare *a thousand sixe hundredth and sixe*, and returning backe to his state by *Florence*, was suddainely deliuered from most grieuous paines, and diseases, with the only application of a relick of Father *Lewis*, to the affected parts: whereof he presently after, aduertised by his letters, the *Marques of Castiglione*, yonger brother to father *Lewis*, and embassadour for the Emperour at that time here in *Rome*, as he also is at this present, which letters are printed with the historie of Father *Lewis* his life, and the relation of about *seauenty* notable miracles, and of the autenticall proofes thereof.

40 I omit to speake of twoo notable men, who died but a few yeares past, partly for breuities sake, and partly because they were not possessed of any order of religion, though ecclesiastical persons, and lived most religiouslie, I meane the famous Cardinal *Carolo Borromeo*, Archbishop of *Millan*, and father *Philippo Nerio*, the institutor of the congregation of priestes, called the *Oratory* in *Pozzo Bianco*, or *Chiesa nuova*, both of them highly fauoured by almightie God, with the gift of contemplatiue prayer, accompanied with many euident miracles, both in their life, and also since their death, which I omit, I say, to the end, that I may say somewhat of a notable, and holy woman, called Mother *Teresa de Iesus*, who died in *Spaine*, not past *sixe and twenty yeares* agoe.

41 This mother *Teresa*, being a *Carmelitan Nunne*, and the first author of the late, and notable reformation of that order, as well of

Obiit an.
1591.

the
alm
For
rue
fite
visu
com
the
refo
ritus
son
of o
whi
ther
farr
with
of a
othe
bod
it ca
her
vied
side
rupt
to a
(wh
ness
me
her
odo
sixe
suite
for
by
sand
he a
42
mer
man

the men as of the women, receiued admirable graces, and giftes of almightie God, to his great glory, and the edification of his church. For she had not only the spirit of prophesie, frequent rapt, and sometimes eleuations in the aire, in the sight, and presence of her religious sisters, but also ordinarie apparitions, and most louing, and famlliar visitations of our Sauour, and conferences with him, wherein he comforted, aduised, and directed her in matters aswell concerning the reformation of her order (which as I haue said, shee notable reformed, and reduced to the first perfection) as also for her owne spiri- tual comfort, and the direction of others in matters of spirit, and contemplation, whereof she wrote most deuinelie by the instruction of our Sauour himselfe, as appeareth in the historie of her owne life, which shee sett downe by the commaundement of her ghostlie fa- ther, in such sort, that whosoeuer readeth it, may easelie see, that it farre surpasseth the capacitie of a woman, yea, or of any man els, without the special assistance of the holy Ghost: and in confirmation of all former fauours, which almightie God bestowed vppon her, and others by her meanes in her life, it pleased him also, to honour her body after her death, with most sweete and fragrant fauours, which it cast forth, to the admiration of all that were present, and not only her body yelded the same fragancie, but also all the clothes that shee vied in her sicknes, had, and retained the same a long time after: Be- sides that the body being also visited six yeares after, was still vncor- rupt, retaining that fragrant fauour, and communicating the same to all things that touched it, as the graue and learned father Ribera (who wrote a most excellent coment vppon the lesser prophets) wit- nessed in the historie, which he wrote of her life, affirming the sa- me vppon his owne knowledge, describing the maner how he saw her body stand vpright vncorrupt, and breathing forth a most sweete odour, in the yeare a thousand five hundredth eightie eight (which was five yeares after her death:) and further he declareth, the great suite in law, which was betwixt the townes of *Alua*, and *Anila* for her body, and how pope *Sixtus Quintus* decided the controuersie, by his sentence in fauour of the towne of *Alua*, in the yeare a thou- sand five hundredth eightie Nyne, besides diuers notable miracles, which he affirmeth to haue bene done by her relickes.

P. Ribera in
vita M. Te-
resa.

42 And forasmuch as this holy woman, in her notable booke aboue mentioned, relateth certaine admirable things, concerning a religious man of her acquaintance, I wil set downe some part thereof, because

Ecc it also

it also partly concerneth her selfe, and is very pertinent to the matter, which I now treat.

43 This holly father was a Spaniard, called *F. Pedro de Alcantara*, who liuing in the austere rule of the *Franciscans*, called *Observants*, added thereto an incredible austerity of penance, and mortification, for the space of *Forty seauen yeares*, whereof shee recounteth many strange particulars, which I omit, because I treat not of matters of that kynd, but of spirituall fauours, and consolations, accompanying the exercise of christian contemplation, to which purpose shee testifieth, that his prayer, and contemplation was such, and so continuall, that sometimes he passed eight daies without meat, by reason of his frequent, or rather continual raptures (whereof shee her selfe was once an eye witness:) and that a yeare before he died, he appeared to her in a vision, being many leagues distant from her, and that when his end approached, he called for all his brethren, and hauing made them a notable exhortation, he began the psalme, *Lectus sum*, &c. And as soone, as he had ended it, kneeled downe, and gaue vp the ghost, and appeared to her presently, saying, that he went to repose, which shee told to some at the same time, and within eight daies after, the newes came, that he was dead. Finally shee also witnesseth, that he appeared vnto her afterwards in great glory, and said vnto her amongst other things, that it was a happy penance, which he had donne in this life, seeing it was so highly rewarded. Thus much concerning her, and him.

44 And hauing had now this occasion to speake of this holy man, of *S. Francis* his order, I will addrewe, or three others of the same profession, for the deuotion I haue to that great Saint, and the honour I beare to those that obserue his rule. And although there is no printed testimony extant, of that which I meane to relate, concerning these holly men of whome I am to speake, yet I haue vnderstood the same by so good, and certaine relation, of men worthy all credit, and respect, that I make no doubt of the truth thereof.

45 Father *Antonio da monte Cicardo*, an *Italian*, professing the rule of *S. Francis*, in the holy order of the *Capuchins*, was a man of wonderful perfection of life, eleuation of spirit, and seruour in mentall prayer, wherein he receiued very many heauenly visitations, and deuine consolations, and had withall so great a grace of miracles, that he not only miraculously cured, and healed very many sick men in diuers places, but also raised a dead child at *Ascoli* in the kingdome of *Naples*.

46 Also Father *Antonio Corso*, a man of great austerity of life, and mortification, was so wholly giuen to mentall prayer, that he spent commonly

commonly the greatest part of the night in the church, and of the day in the woods. And other whiles he was so abstract in contemplation, that he passed some daies without meate, or drynke, and had withall a notable grace, and gift of miracles, as to giue sight to the blynd, to heale the sicke, and to cast out deuils, and after his death a blind man receiued sight, by putting on his spectacles.

47 In like maner, an other holly *Capuchin* in *Italy*, called *F. Giovanni Sgarulo* (because he was a Spaniard) was so contemplatiue, that most commonly after masse, he passed eleauen or twelue houres together in mental prayer, and many times had great rapt, and notable reuelations, which he would neuer ytter for humilities sake, but only when Father *Francisco da Ghiesi*, the general of his order, commaunded him to doe it vpon obedience, for the edification, and comefort of his brethren. He foretold, that he should be martired, as afterwards he was: for, hauing got leaue of his generall to goe into *Barberie*, to preach vnto the *Mores*, he was killed by them, and as it is constantlie reported, his head being cut of, as he was preaching, continued his speech almost an howre after. All these three *Capuchins*, died neere about one time, to wit, about the yeare of our Lord; a thousand five hundred sixty six.

48 I will now conclude these examples, with twoo religious women, whereof the one died, in *Siena* the 30. of Iuly, in the yere of our Lord 1606. and was called *Suora Caterina*, who hauing benne in her youth, of a very dissolut life, and falling into affliction became so repentant, that shee proued an other *Mary Magdalen*, and after she had some yeares liued very retired, and so mortified with continual penance, that shee grew admirable to all that knew her, she entred into the monastery of the couertices in *Siena*, where shee daily encreased in seruour of deuotion, and arriued in time to so high a degree of contemplation, that shee was very oft abstracted from her senses, and wholly absorpt with the sweetenes of her inward consolations; and this hapned oft times, not only in her priuat prayers, but also in her ordinarie conuersation with others. And further shee had the grace, and spirit of prophesie, and did many miraculous things, which were also confirmed by other miracles, as well at the time of her death, as afterwards, whereof the truth may easelie be knowne, by such of our countrie men, as trauell into these parts, as many yearelie doe, whom I remit to their owne information, as occasion shalbe offered.

49 The other holy woman, was called *Maria Magdalena di Pazzi*, who

AN. 1607.

died in Florence, the five and twentieth of May, in the yeare following, to wit, a thousand sixe hundred, and seuen. And although there passed in the course of her religious life, many admirable things worthe to be recounted, yet I will content my selfe for breuities sake, to touch a few only, which may suffice to shew the stupendious effects, of Gods vni-
 on with a contemplatiue soule, enflamed with his loue, which in her was so abundant, that shee did often in her meditations exclaime, *My sweete Iesus, I can no longer endure this, I die, I burst, this my vessel of earth cannot suffer so great a flame, with such other like wordes.* And this was also verified, by diuers other strange effects, proceeding from the heat, and flame of Gods loue, which being kindled in her soule, had such a redundance to her body, that shee was faine oft times in the deapth of winter, to cast whole buckets of cold water into her owne bosome, in so much that shee might truly say with the Psalmist. *Concaluit cor meum intra me, & in meditatione mea exardescit ignis. My heart was heated within me, and in my meditation there burned a fire.*

Psal. 38.

Psal. 67.

50 And albeit this is very rare, and may seeme maruellous to such, as doe not consider how meruelous God is in his saints, yet the like hath bene also experimented in these our daies, in a holy yong man, a Pole of the societie of Iesus (called. B. Stanislao) who for the same cause, was very oft forced, to apply to his naked breast, linnen clothes wet in cold water, and often renewed, to delay, and temper the heat that redounded from his hart to his external parts, in so much that the phisicians being consulted, concerning the cause thereof, determined that it was supernatural: which also sufficientlie appeared by many other signes concurring therewith, all testifying that his heart being, as I may say, a very furnace of deuine loue, caused those externall, and miraculous inflammations in his breast, whereof there are many witnessses yet liuing: besides that the wonderful miracles wrought by almighty God, through his merits, both before, and since his death, doe notable confirme the same, as appeareth in the historie of his life.

51 But to returne to the holy woman of whom I spake before. This strange effect, and diuers others, happened vnto her many times vpon, the meditation of these words of the Euangelist. *Verbum caro factum est. The word was made flesh.* Whereby she was commonlie replenished with an extraordinarie loue of God, and drawne into frequent and wonderfull rapt, wherein her face did cast out such beames of light, that the eyes of those which did behould her, dazeled therewith. And in these rapt she continued some times, foure and twenty houres, and sometimes three, or foure daies and nights together, and

since from Whitsun eue, vntill the feast of the blessed Trinitie, which was eight daies, excepting only two houres euery day, during which timeshee came to her selfe, and tooke some litle refectiō of only bread and water, and without any other sleepe then, as it were, a silent repose vpon her knees, and leaning vpon her armes some part of those two houres.

52 And at these times, shee receiued most admirable illustrations, concerning the incomprehensible misterie of the blessed Trinitie, and many deuine impressions of most heauenlie, and saraphical conceits, which shee vttered oft times in very good latin, though shee neuer learned the latin tongue, and applied many obscure places of holly scripture very aptly to her purpose. Finallie, so many and meruelous were her speeches in this kind, that some quires of paper remaine written thereof, being sett downe at the same time, and in the same manner that shee vttered them.

53 Shee had also the spirit of prophesie in great abundance, and frequent visions, and apparitions of our Sauour, of his blessed mother, and of other saints: besides that, it hath pleased almightie God (for the confirmation of his other fauours towards her, and his owne greater glory) to worke many notable miracles by her, as well in the expulsion of Deuils, as in the cure of incurable diseases, and diuers other admirable things, not only in the time of her life, but also since her death, euen vntill this day, as will shortly appeare in print vnder publick authoritie, with such autentical proofes of the particulars thereof (as also of all that which I haue here related) that I may be bould to say, curiositie it selfe may rest satisfied therewith.

54 This I haue thought good to set downe, concerning the contemplatiue and religious persons of our time, omitting to speake of many others, no lesse admirable then they, because I should these sufficient. And I forbear also to speake of diuers, liuing at this day, because no man yet knoweth how they will perseuer, for such is the mutability, and frailty of man, that the holly Ghost aduiseeth in Ecclesiastes. *Ante Ecclef. 11. mortem ne laudes quenquam: praise no man before his death.* yet this I may bouldly affirme, that there are amongst the Catholikes very many in religion, to whom almightie God communicateth himselfe in no lesse familiar manner, then he hath donne heretofore to most of these others, of whom I haue here spoken: and further, I make no doubt, but that there are innumerable other catholikes, partly religious, and partly secular, who doe participat of such celestiall sweetnes in prayer, that they find how true it is, which God

E/say. 56.

promised to the faithfull, by the prophet *Esay*, saying. *Adducam eu in montem sanctum meum & letificabo eos in monte orationis mee. I will bring them in to my holy hill*, meaning his church, and *I will make them glad, and ioyful in the mountaine of my prayer*. Thus saith the prophet, giuing to vnderstand, the great consolation, that God promised, and giueth many times in prayer to his seruants: whereof all those I say, which are true members of his catholike church, and withall truly contemplatiue (of what state, or vocation soeuer they be) haue sufficient experience, tasting, and drinking now, and then of that heauenly wine mentioned in the *Canticles*, whereof I haue spoken amply before, and will now conclude with *S. Bernard*, saying. *Orando bibitur vinum letificans, &c. In prayer we drinke the wine that maketh vs merry, that is to say, a spirituall wine, which maketh vs dronke, and causeth in vs an oblivion of all carnall pleasures*. Thus he, who had sufficient experience thereof himselfe.

Bern. ser. 18.
in Cant.

55 How then can it be denied, that the true contemplatiue man, who receiueth such inestimable fauours of almighty God, is most happy eu in this life, though in the meane tyme, he should endure neuer so great affliction, & torment? For if the pagan philosopher (of whome *Cicero* maketh mention) being extreamely afflicted with the goutte, could say to his paine: *nihil agis dolor, paine thou preuailest nothing at all*, that is to say, thou art not able to shake, or trouble the constancy of my mynd, or to depriue me of the comfort of my vertue, how much more truly may the contemplatiue christian say the same, to all the torments, and miseries of the world, seeing he hath not only true peace of conscience, much more, then any pagan could haue, but also a supernaturall sweetenes of deuine consolations, which so replenish, and fortifie his soule, that the comfort, and strength thereof, redoundeth also to the very body, making the same partaker in some sort, of heauenly felicity?

Vide Platun
de Bono statu
religiosi
li. 3. c. 13. ex
histor. ordinis
Cister-
tien.

56 We may vnderstand, how true this is, by the example of *Arnulphus*, who being perswaded by *S. Bernard* to forsake the world, and to abandon the great wealth, and pleasures wherein he liued, vndertooke a religious life in the Abbey of *Clareuall*, where hauing passed some yeares in great austerity, he was withall miserable vexed with the torments of the Collick, and hauing one day, endured such an extreame pang thereof, that he had bene long without speech, or sence, he came at last to himselfe, and suddainelie exclaimed, saying. *All is true, o Lord, which thou hast said: which he so oft repeated, that those who were present greatelie wondered thereat, and asked him the cause why he said soe, and when he still repeated the same words, and*

answered

answered nothing els, but that all is true which our lord said, they were persuaded that he spooke idlie, and knew not what he said: no saith he, I know well, what I say, for our Lord hath said in his gospel, that if any man renounce his riches, kinsfolkes, and freendes for his sake, he shall receiue an hundreth fould for it, euen in this life, which I now proue to be most true, for in these verie torments, which I endure, I find such sweetenes, in respect of gods mercy, that I would not want them, for all the wealth which I haue forsaken, no, though it had benne an hundreth times greater then it was. Therefore if I that am a wicked, and sinfull wretch, do receiue such contentment, and ioy of these my afflictions, that they are a hundreth times more sweete to me, then were all my worldlie pleasures, what may be thought of the contentment, which the good, and seruient religious men, receiue of their spiritual ioyes, and consolations?

Thus said he to the great admiration of all those which were present, whereupon I conclude, that hereby it appeareth, that the opinion of the Stoicks (to wit, that a good, and wise man, is happy euen in corporall torments, and miserie) is trulie verified in perfect christians, and especially in those that liue in perfection of religion, who by the assistance of gods grace, and holie spirit, doe glorie, as the Apostle *Rom. 5.* saith, in tribulationibus, in their tribulations and afflictions, and feele sweetenes in sorrow, pleasure in paine, and felicitie in corporal miserie, being in soule vnited with their cheefe good, and the autour of all felicitie: and therefore *S. Ambrose*, speaking of the beatitude, or felicitie of a perfect christian, saith. *Non frangitur doloribus corporis, &c. He is not distressed with the paines of the bodie, nor with other discomforties, and miseries of this life, which cannot any way impair his happines, or diminish the sweetenes, and pleasure thereof.* Thus saith he. *Ambrosii. 1. de iacob. vita beata. ca. 7.*

And this shall suffice for contemplatiue, or religious life, and the experience that there is at this present, and hath benne in all ages, of Gods extraordinarie fauours towards those, who liue in the perfect exercise thereof. And what I will further inferre thereon, shall appeare in the next chapter.

That

That the aduersaries of the Roman Church at these dayes, haue no perfect imitacion of Christ, and therefore no perfection of Christian religion, nor vnion with God, and consequentlie, no true felicitie either for themselues, or for the common welth. And for this purpose it is proued, that they haue no practise of the Euangelicall Counsels of our Sauour: and first touching voluntary pouerrie, the practise whereof, is deduced from our Saviours example, and expresse words, besides the authority, and vniforme consent of all the ancient Fathers: and by the way, the distinction betwixt our Saviours precepts, and counsels (denied by our aduersaries) is clearelie proued, the shifts and false gloses of Luther, Caluin, and their fellowes, discovered, and confuted.

CHAP. 23

IT is manifest by that which I haue handled hitherto in this treatise. First, that the felicitie of man in this life, and of common welth, consisteth in mans vnion with God. Secondly, that the same is to bee obtained, specially by the highest perfection of christian religion (consisting in the performance of our Sauours Counsels, that is to say, in true pouerrie of spirit, chastitie, obedience, and the perfect mortification, and abnegation of a mans selfe). Thirdly, that the said Counsels of Sauour, were practised and performed, not onlie by him selfe and his Apostles, but also by verie manie christians in the Apostles time, in the exercise of religious life. Fourthlie, that religious disciplin hath benne deriued from the Apostles time, to this our age, by the approbation, and practise of the most famous, learned, and godlie men, that haue benne in the church of God. Fifthly, that god hath euidentlie concurred with the true and perfect professors thereof, by al the externall signes, that he is euer wont to shew of his internal vnion with man, to wit, by reuelations, by the spirit of prophesie, by rapt, by a corporall participation of spirituall comforts, &c. by miraculous workes. Lastlie, that the Roman Catholikes, which liue at this day, haue not onlie the same practise of our Sauours Counsels, and religious life, but also that they haue in like manner, al the externall signes of internal vnion with him, as euidentlie appeareth in the last chapter.

2 Now then, all this hauing benne sufficientlie proued, I inferre thereon two things. The one, that the Roman Catholikes, haue as well the perfection of christian religion, as also the effect thereof, which is true vnion with almighty God, and consequentlie the true felicitie

felicities of man, and common welth. And the other is, that their aduersaries, namelie the *Lutherans*, and *Caluinists*, haue none of these, that is to say, they haue no perfection of christian religion, nor vnion with god, and consequentlie no true felicitie, eyther for them selues, or for common welth.

3 And because, the former of the two inferences, which concerneth only the Catholikes, haue bene partly proued already, & wilbe much more cleare hereafter, I will now treat of the latter, concerning *Lutherans*, and *Caluinists*, and make it manifest, that they haue not any perfection of christian religion. And forasmuch, as they not only deny, that christian perfection consisteth in the obseruation of those euangelicall counsels (whereof I haue hethereto treated) but also teach that there is no distinction at all of our Saniours counsell, & precepts (interpreting the scriptures which we alleadge for the same, farre otherwise then wee doe,) I will therefore, first clearely deduce the euangelical counsels, out of those words of our Saniour, which I alleaged, to that end, in the *five and twentieth*, chapter, and wil confirme our interpretation thereof, aswell by the circumstances of the places themselves, as also by the authoritie of the most ancient, and learned Fathers of the church.

4 Secondlie I will proue, by the same authoritie of Scriptures, & Fathers, that the euangelical counsels, are necessarie to the perfection of christian religion: & lastly I will make it cleare, that the sectaries of this time, haue no practise thereof at all, where vppon it must needs follow, that they haue no true christian perfection. In all which discourse, I will also by the way euidentlie shew, the distinction of our Saniours counsells & precepts, & both discouer, & also confute the shifts, & cauils of our aduersaries, concerning the interpretation of those places of scriptures, wheruppon we ground our Cath. doctrine.

5 Therefore, to the end, that the whole discourse hereof may be the more cleare, I will treat of euery one of the euangelical counsels a part, and first I will beginne with *voluntary poverry*, vnderaken for the loue of God, which how grateful it is to him, and necessary to christian perfection, may easely be iudged, aswell by the example of our Saniour Christ, as by his doctrine, seeing he not only preached it, but also practised it himselfe, for our example, as may appeare by the course of his life, which I laid downe breefely out of the holy scriptures, when I treated of contemplation.

6 For he chose to be borne of a poore mother, & in a poore stable, to be visited, first by poore sheppards, to make the poore mas offering

at his presentatiō in the tēple, & to be brought vp in pouertie. He liued in his youth (as may be gathered in the scripture) by Ioseph his supposed fathers trade (in which respect, it may be thought, that he was called *faber*, the carpenter:) and afterwards when he preached, it appeareth, that he liued by almes, whereof Iudas was the purse-bearer, *qui habens loculos*, saith the euangelist, *ea quæ mitterebantur portabat*, who hauing the purse, caried those things, which were cast in, that is to say, he had the charge of the almes, which was giuen by good people, for the maintenance of Christ, and his disciples: besides that, the holly women, which accompanied him from Galilee (as the Euangelist also testifieth) *ministrabant ei de facultatibus suis*, did minister vnto him, that is to say, did assist, and helpe him with their goods, and yet neuertheles when tribute was demanded of him, he was not able to pay it of his owne store, but commaunded *S. Peter*, to take it out of a fish, which *S. Hierome* noteth for an euident argument of his pouertie, saying that he was so poore: *unde tributa pro se, & Apostolo redderet, non haberet* that he had not where wish to pay the tribute, for himselfe, and his apostle: and then addeth further, that if any man, will obiect, that Iudas had money in the purse, which he caried, *respondebimus*, saith *S. Hierome*, *rem pauperum in usus suos cōuertem nefas putauit*, we will answer, that Christ held it for a wicked act, to conuert the goods of the poore to his owne use, so he: giuing to vnderstand, that Christ had not so much as any part of the common almes in particular, and therefore would not employ it to his owne priuat vse.

Matth. 3.

Luc. 10.

Matth. 10.

S. Aug. de

de consensu

euang. li. 2.

c. 30.

Mar. 6.

Luc. 7.

S. Bonauen-

opus. see S.

Hierome

epist. 22. ad

Eustoch. Li.

ra in 1. Io.

Replicator.

Mar. 1. A-

bulens. q. 68

in 3. Matth.

Suarez de

vppr part.

vita Christi

Tall. in 1.

Joan. an-

not. 61.

Matth. 19.

7. Moreouer he had not, as he witnesseth himselfe, so much as a poore cottage to dwell in. *Vulpes foueas habent*, saith he, &c. Foxes haue their holes, and birds their nests, but the sonne of man, hath not where to lay his head. Also he chose poore disciples, and sent them to preach with expresse order to cary neither gold, nor, siluer, nor so much as a purse, wallet, or scrippe, nor to weare shoes, but sandals (as *S. Augustin* affirmeth:) and so it also may be gathered out of *S. Marke*, which sandals were a kind of shoe, or slipper, hauing only a sole without vpper leather: and the same sort of shoe, it seemeth also Christ vsed himselfe (if he vsed any) being other waise barefoote, as it appeareth in the holly scripture, for that *Mary Magdalen*, could not haue washed, wiped, and annointed his feete, as he was at meat, if his feete had not bene bare, at least on the

Furthermore, he did inculcat nothing more vnto his disciples, and hearers, then the contempt of riches, comparing them to thornes, that choake vpp the good feede, representing the dangerous state of rich men, affirming it to be as hard for the to enter in to the kingdome of heauen,

is for
alth
dese
yong
with
T
exact
that
cell?
prece
and en
and et
And ch
man, w
lasting
comm
his you
siour
is in the
me; tha
des, and
ries, an
holly F
to S.
precept
low, and
to recal
sell giue
the prop
much m
and the
by a dist
stand, th
to whom
wurther
commar
said, tha
giuen hi
scriptur
mandate

as for a Camel to passe through a needles eye, counselling them also to sell all that they had saying, *vende quæ possideris*, & date elemosinam, sell these things which you possesse and giue almes: & after againe to the rich yong man: *si vis perfectus esse uade, & vende omnia quæ habes &c.* if thou wilt be perfect, goe and sell all that thou hast, and giue it to the poore.

This then being so, to what purpose did he both practise such an exact pouerty, and also preach, teach, and counsell it, but to the end that some at least, should imitate his example, and follow his counsell? And therefore although he would not bynd any man thereto by precept, or vnder paine of sinne, and punishment, yet he invited, and encouraged euery one thereto, by the promise of extraordinary, and eternal rewards, as to a special point of christian perfection. And this is most manifest, by that which he said to the rich yong man, who demanded of him, what he might doe to obtaine life euermore, whereto our Sauour answered, that he should keepe the commaundements, and when he replied that he had kept them from his youth, and desired further to know, what he yet wanted, our Sauour added: *if thou wilt be perfect, goe, and sell all that thou hast, and giue it to the poore, and thou shalt haue a treasure in heauen, and come, and follow me*: thus said our Sauour. And now because the sence of his wordes, and doctrin therein, is much controuersed betwixt our aduersaries, and vs, let vs see what some of the most learned, ancient, and holly Fathers of the church vnderstand thereby.

St. Ambrose, hauing notable declared the difference, betwixt a precept and a counsell (saying, that where there is a precept, there is a law, and where there is a counsell, there is grace, and that a precept is giuen to recall men to the law of nature, by terrour of penaltie, and a counsell giuen to stirr men, and prouoke them to good woorkes, with the proposition, and promise of rewards) hauing I say taught this, and much more to the same purpose, he proposeth an example of the one and the other in Christs words, to the rich yong man, saying, *Vt intel- ligas distantiam præcepti, atque consilij*, &c. To the end thou maist vnderstand, the difference betwixt a precept, and a counsell, remember him to whom it was præscribed in the gospel, that he should not commit murder, or adulterie, or beare false witnes (for there is a præcept, or commaundement, where there is a penalty of sinne) but when he said, that he had fulfilled the precepts of the law, then counsell was giuen him to sell all he had, and to follow our lord, *hæc enim non præcepto dantur, sed pro consilio deferuntur*: For these are not giuen as a commaundement, but as a counsell.

ibid.

Ambros. li. de uidiis ultra modum.

11 Thus saith *s. Ambrose*, wherein twoo things are to be obserued against our aduersaries, the one is, the distinctiō of our Sauours precepts, & counsels noted by *s. Ambrose* expressly; the other is that our Sauour counselled to the yong man voluntary pouerty, aduising him to sell all he had, & to giue it to the poore: where vpon also diuers other things must needs be inferred, as first that, voluntarie pouertie vnderaken for the loue, & seruice of God, is most grateful to him, & shalbe highly rewarded by him, seing he counselled it, as *s. Ambrose* teacheth & expressly promised, *thesaurum in celo, a treasure in heaue*, for the performance of it: secondly it also followeth, that voluntary pouerty is necessary to the perfection of christian religion, seing our Sauour not only said, *if thou wilt be perfect, goe, & sell all thou hast &c.* but also added, *& veni, sequere me, & come follow me*: signifying that voluntary pouerty, is necessary to the perfect imitation of Christ, wherein consisteth the perfection of christian religion: thirdlie, it must needs also be vnderstood, that this counsel of our Sauour, was not giue only to the yong man (as some of our aduersaries affirme, namely *Peter Martyr, & Osiander*) but also to all men in general, and therefore *s. Ambrose* alledgeth those wordes of our Sauour, to proue the difference of precepts and counsels giuen to all men alike, and not to particuler persons: besides the very circumstances of the text make the same most cleare, for, as when our Sauour said, *if thou wilt enter in to life euerlasting, keepe the commaundements*, he gaue to vnderstand, that the obseruation of the commaundements, was a necessarie meane for all men to attaine to saluation: so also when he added, *if thou wilt be perfect, sell all thou hast, &c.* he signified, that pouertie is a necessarie meane for all men to arriue to perfection.

12 This appeareth also most manifestlie, by that which followeth in the text, for after that *s. Peter*, had heard our Sauours words, and saw the yong man goe away sadd, as *Origen* noteth, he said: *behold we haue leaft all that we had, and followed thee what then shall we haue?* as who would say, we haue dōpe that which thou hast counselled this yong man to doe, we haue abandoned all that we had and followed thee, what then shalbe our reward? whereto he answered, not that his words were to be vnderstood, as spoken to the yong man only, but to the end they might vnderstand, that he spoke also to them, and to all men els, he said, that they, (to wit the Apostles) which had leaft all, and followed him, should sit vpon twelue seats, and iudge the twelue tribes of *Israell*, and added further

*Petrus Mar.
li. de Cal-
latis & vo-
lunt.*

*Origenes in
ea. 19. Matt.
ha. 9.*

Further, whosoever shall forsake eyther brethren, or sisters, father, mother, wife, children, or possessions for my name, shall receiue a hundred fold for it, and possesse life euerlasting.

Thus said our Sauour, giuing plainely to vnderstand, that both the counsell of voluntarie pouertie, which he gaue to the yong man, and also the promise of euerlasting reward for the same, was general to all men: whereby also it appeareth, how friuolous is the cuation of *Caluin*, to auoid the force of this place, who saith, that where as the yong man had said to our Sauour, that he had kept the commaundements from his youth, our Sauour meaning to signifie that he had lied therein, proposed vnto him, that he should then sell all he had, and giue it to the poore, as if a man, saith *Caluin*, should boast that he knew all things, it might be said vnto him, then tell me how many graines of sand there are in the sea coast: but that this cuation, I say, of *Caluin*, is most vaine, it is euident by our Sauours answer, to *S. Peter*, promising the reward of eternal glory, yea and an hundred fold in this life, to whosoever should performe that counsell of his.

*Caluin li. 4.
Instit. ca. 13.
ff. 13.*

Therefore *S. Augustin* expounding this same place, calleth the counsell which our Sauour gaue to the yong man. *Grande, & praclarum perfectionis consilium, de vendendis rebus suis.* A great, and notable counsell of perfection for the selling of his goods: and further addeth, that those which haue not receiued, or followed his counsell, and yet shall be free from mortall sinne, *non sedebunt*, saith he, *cum Christo sublimiter iudicaturi*: they shall not sit with Christ to iudge in sublimity, or dignity (as he promised to his apostles) *sed ad ipsius dextram stabunt misericorditer iudicandi*: but shall stand on his right hand to be iudged mercifullie. Thus saith he, signifying thereby the eminencie, and excellencie of their reward, who follow our Sauours counsell of perfection, in comparison of those, who are otherwaise good men, and doe not follow the same: and therefore, the same holy Father saith also in the same place: *Magister bonus mandata legis ab ista excellentiore perfectione distinxit.* Our good master, or teacher (that is to say our Sauour) distinguished the commaundements of the law, from this more excellent perfection: *ibi enim dixit &c.* for there he said, if thou wilt come to life, keepe the commaundements, and here he saith, si vis perfectus esse, vende, omnia, si thou wilt be perfect, sell all.

*Aug. epist.
39. q. 4.*

Allo *S. Christostome*, noting the difference of a precept, & a counsell in the same words, of our Sauour saith, whereas he said, if thou wilt paulo post be perfect &c. he spoke it by the way of counsell, and admonition, & it is not al-

*D. Christost.
in locum A-
postoli ad
Rom. saluta-
re Priscam,
post
principium.*

one to giue a counsell, and to make a law, for he which maketh alaw, will haue that which he ordaineth to be fully performed; but he which counselleth, and exhorteth, leaueth yt to the iudgement, and will of the heauer, to chuse what he will, of that which is said vnto him, and so, *faciendum dominum*, lord, or master of those things which are to be done. Thus farre *s. Chrysostome*, who also in an other place, noteth the like difference of a counsell, and a precept, in those very words of our Sauour to the yong man, whereof I here speciallie treat. In diuise, saith he, *alia precepta, alia permisit, libero animi arbitrio &c.* In the rich man, he commaunded some things, and leaft some other to the free will of the mind, for he said not sell all thou hast, but if thou wilt be perfect, sell all. &c.

*Idem ho. 21.
in 1. Cor. 19.*

*Petrus Mart.
tyr. & Cal.
uinus ubi
supra.*

16 These are the words of *s. Chrysostome*, wherein it is also to be noted, that he vnderstood not those words of our Sauour, as spoken to the yong mā only, (as *Peter Martyr* affirmeth) or as of a thing which he did not wish, should be performed (as *Caluin* teacheth,) but as spoken, and counselled to all men in the person of the rich man, and therefore, *s. Chrysostome*, doth not say, *diuisti alia precepta*, Christ commaunded some things to the rich man, but in diuise, in the rich man, meaning that in his person he commaunded some things to all men, as the obseruation of the commaundements (when he said vnto him, if thou wilt enter into life keepe the commaundements,) and left some other things to their free wills, as namely voluntarie pouertie, when he said, if thou wilt be perfect, sell all, &c.

*S. Hiero. in
ca. 19. Mat.
Idem ad De
metriadem
ep. 8. de ser.
uiginit. cir.
la medium.*

17 In like manner *S. Hierome*, expounding the same words of our Sauour, saith. *In potestate nostra est &c.* It is in our power, whether wee wilbe perfect, or no, but whosoever wilbe perfect, he ought to sell all that he hath. And in an epistle to *Demetrius* the virgin, hauing said, that it is a point of apostolical, and perfect vertue, to sell all, and to giue it to the poore, he addeth, *si vis inquit perfectus esse non cogis, non impero &c.* If thou wilt be perfect, saith our Sauour, I doe not compell thee, I doe not commaund thee, but doe only propose vnto thee the prize, and shew thee the reward, it is in thy hands, to chuse, whether thou wilt be crowned for the victory in the combate. Thus saith saint *Hierome*,

18 Loe then how clearelie *S. Ambrose*, *s. Augustin*, *s. Chrysostome*, and *S. Hierome*, deduce the distinction of precepts, and counsels of our Sauours owne words, & how euident it is, that he counselled voluntarie pouertie, as a special meanes to the perfection of christian life, yea, & promised a farr greater, & more excellent reward for the same, then for the only obseruation of his commaundements, and lastly

how

low vaine, and absurd are the shifts of *Caluin*, and *Peter Martir*, in the exposition of this place, seeing they contradict therein, not onlie the sense, and doctrin of the Fathers, but also the verie circumstances of the text it selfe.

19 Besides that the impudency of *Caluin* may bee wondred at, in that he sticketh not to affirme in his Institutions, that *omnes veteres, una voce clamant nullam uoculam a Christo emissam esse, cui non sit necessario obtemperandum*, that al the ould Fathers cry out with one voyce, that there is no one little word vttered by Christ, which must not of necessitie be obeyed: as though the Fathers affirmed, that Christ counselled nothing, but commanded all things, whereas you see, these Fathers manifestlie reach the contrary, distinguishinge clearelie betwixt his precepts, and his counsells, as also all the rest doe, that haue iust occasion to handle that matter, as shall further appeare in some of them, when I shall treat of the next euangelicall counsell, and in the meane time for breuities sake, I remit my reader to the places cited in the margent, out of *Origen*, *S. b Ciprian*, *c Eusebius*, *S. d Basill*, *S. e Hierom*, *S. f Gregory Nazianzen*, *g Theodoretus*, *S. h Gregory the great*, and *i Theophylact*, to omit many others, or rather al other ancient Fathers, who to vse *Caluins* owne wordes, *una voce clamant, doe cry out with one voyce*, that our Sauour commanded some things, which must of necessitie be obserued, and counselled some other things which hee left to our choise, and therefore *Origen* in the place before cited, calleth the latter, *supra debitum*, things above our dutie, or more then we are bound to, or more then is commanded, which is also signified by the worde *supererogare*, to bestow or giue more then is due, as *S. Augustin* and *S. Paulinus* obserue in the wordes of our Sauour, speaking of the good Samaritan, who hauing giuen to the twelue two deniers to cure the wounded passenger, said vnto him, *quodcumque supererogaueris reddam tibi*, whatsoeuer thou shalt lay out, or bestow ouer and about that which I haue giuen thee, I will render it vnto thee: which wordes of our Sauour, the Fathers aforesaid apply to the performance of his Counsells, as surpassing the bounds of duty, wherevpon groweth the phrase, or manner of speech which Catholics vse, of workes of supererogation, vtterly reiected and derided by our aduersaries, though warranted by the ancient Fathers, and grounded vpon the veritie of the holy scriptures.

It being therefore most euident, by that which I haue said already, that our Sauour counselled voluntarie pouertie, not onlie to the rich young man, but also to euerie man, and a speciall meanes to attaine Christian perfection, let vs now examin what practise the *Lutherans*,

a *Origen. in c. 15. ad Roman.*

b *Cipri. de discipl. c. 1.*

c *Euseb. li. 1. euang. de monstr. ca. 8.*

d *Basill. li. de uirg.*

e *Hieron. li. 1. in Ioniu.*

f *Grego. Nazian. orat. in 1. li. d.*

g *Theodor. in 7. 1. ad Cor.*

h *Greg. li. 15. moral.*

i *Theophyl. in ep. ad Titum.*

S. Aug. li. 1. de adulter.

coning. c. 14.

Ep. li. 2. quast.

Origen. ca. 19.

S. Paulin. ad Sueton. i. Sub-

pitionem. ep. 1.

or

or *Caluinists*, haue thereof? Was it euer scene, that anie of them sold, or forsooke all that he had for Christs sake, to giue it in almes, and to imitate our Sauour and his Apostles in pouertie? Nay doth not the doctrine of their masters, *Luther*, and *Caluin* teach the contrarie, as that it is vnlawfull, and superstitious for a man to make himselfe poore, with intention to please or serue God thereby? Wherein they reuiue the old heresy of *Vigilantijs*, who taught that it were much better for a man to keepe his goods, and to giue almes thereof by litle and litle, then to sell the same out right, to giue the mony at once to the poore: to whom *S. Hierom* answereth thus. *Non à me, sed à Domino respondebitur* etc. It shal be answered not by me, but by our Lord, if thou wilt be perfect, goe & sell all thou hast, and giue it to the poore: wherein our Lord speaketh to him that desireth to be perfect, who forsaketh his father, shipp and ner, as the Apostles did, whereas this other degree, which thou (*Vigilantijs*) dost praise, and commend (to wit, to keepe a mans goods, to giue almes thereof) is but the second and third degree which we also allow, so that it be vnderstood withal, that the first & highest degree, is to be preferred before the second and third.

21 Thus saith *S. Hierome*, wherein I wish two things specially to be noted. The one that hee vnderstandeth no lesse then the Fathers before alleadged, that those words of our Sauour to the rich yong man, were a general and serious counsel, or aduise giuen to al men, and not spoken to him alone, or onlie to confound him, as *Peter Martyr* & *Caluin* would haue it.

22 The other is, that voluntarie pouertie vnderaken for Christs sake, is both most acceptable and gratefull to God, and also a point of the highest perfection of christian life, and consequentlie to be performed, not onlie to auoyd the care & danger, that accompanie worldly wealth, or for the better commoditie, of study, and contemplation, as the philosophers did, or yet to the end, we may preach the gospel more freely, (for which respect the aduersaries seeme some times to admit it) but for the pure loue of God, and the true imitation of our Sauours pouertie, which were the motiues which induced, not onlie the Apostles to forsake all they had, but moued also the faithfull in their time, to sell their goods, and to lay their money at the Apostles feete.

23 For I would gladlie know, what other cause moued so manie at that time to embrace pouertie? was it to the end they might the more freely preach the gospel? How can that be vnderstood, either of manie of the common people, whose office, or habilitie was not to preach, or els of women, who might not so much as speake in the congregation? And yet aswell women as men of all sorts, sold their goods and

*S. Hieron.
contra Vigilant.
circa fine.*

land after in common. Therefore, what els could induce them there-
in, but that they vnderstood, that Christ did not only liue himselfe
a poore life, to giue vs example, but also that he promised the king-
dome of heauen, to all those that would forsake their riches, and pos-
sessions for his name, that is to say, for the loue of him? In which res-
pect *S. Bernard*, treating of *S. Peters* words to our Sauour (behold we *S. Bernard*
have leaft all, and followed thee) and of our Sauours answer to him, in verba
faith. *Hac sunt verba &c.* These are the words, which haue throughout the euang. ecce
whole world, perswaded men to the contempt of the world, and to voluntary nos reliqui-
pouerty. These haue filled cloisters with monkes, and deserts with hermits, paulo
these doe spoile Egypt, and carry away the vessels thereof, this is the liuely, post princi-
and effectuall speech, which conuerteth soules, with a happy desire of holly pium.
life, & veritatis promissione fideli, and wish the faithfull promise of ve-
rity.

14 Thus saith *S. Bernard*, ascribing as you see, all the practise, and
exercise of our Sauours counsel, touching voluntary pouerty, to the
force of his words, and promise of eternal reward, which *S. Bernard*
calleth *fidelem promissionem veritatis*, the faithfull promise of verity, or
truth, that is to say of Christ who is verity it selfe, and yet how po-
tent soeuer his example, words, and promise haue benne in the world,
from this time, vntill this day, yet they haue not had the power to
make any *Lutheran*, or *Caluinist* (for ought that euer I haue heard)
to sell his substance, and to giue it to the poore for Christs sake, wher-
as some of all sorts of men (be they neuer so riche, and powerful,
neuer so noble, neuer so wise, or learned doe amongst the Roman
Catholikes, abandon their worldly welth, power and nobility, re-
nounce, and resigne their wills, wisdom, learning, and themselves
wholy to serue God in religion, for the loue of him, which *S. Hierome*, *S. Hieron. ep.*
also acknowledged, and admired in his time, saying. *Nostris temporibus*
Roma possidet &c. Rome hath and possesseth, that in our time, which she world 26. ad Pa-
hath not before, for in times past, it was rare to see wise, potent, and no- machium:
ble monkes. Thus saith *S. Hierome*, which hath also appeared to be true paulo post
in all ensuing ages, euen vntill this day, whereof infinit examples principium.
might be alleaded, but for breuities sake, I will content my selfe
only to name some Emperours, kings, and princes, that haue bene
moued with the words of our Sauour, according to *S. Bernards* ob-
seruation, to change their imperial, royal, and princely dignities, sta-
tes, and riches, with religious pouerty.

15 So did in Greece the emperours ^a *Isaacius Comnenus*, and ^b *Iohannes*
^a *Zonar.* ^b *Vide Pla-*
^c *Baron. an.* ^d *tum da bono*
^e *flatus reli-*
^f *Brena, gios.*

Brend, which latter being both emperour of *Constantinople*, and king of *Ierusalem*, tooke the habit, and profession of the poore *Franciscan* Friar, vppon an apparition, which he had in his prayers of *S. Francis* offering him his habit, wherein he died within a few daies after. Also the greek emperour *Theodorus Lascaris* the second of that name, tooke a monastical habit in his last sicknes. And in our west parts *d Lotharius* hauing ben Emperour *fifteene* yeares, abandoned the empire, and all worldly honours and pleasures, to serue God in religion.

26 Of kings there hath bene such a number, that I cannot reckon them all, and no where more, nor so many, in any one country (for ought I read) as in ours, after the comming in of the Saxons, as *g Sigi- bertus*, *h Ethelredus*, *i Chenredus*, *Offa*, *k Inas*, *l Ceolulfus*, and *Egbertus*. In other countries there haue bene very many, as *m Radisus* king of the *Lumbards*, *n Pipinus* king of *Italy*, *o Bamba*, *p Veremundus*, *q Ranimirus* king of diuers parts of *Spaine*, and *r Carlomanus* king of *Austraria*, and *Suenia* in *Germany*, of whome it is written in the chronicle of the famous abbey of *Casinum* (where he was monke of the holly order of *S. Benedict*) that being sett by *Petrus* the abbot, to keepe the sheepe of the monasterie, he was so diligent in his office, and carefull of his flock, that once, when one of his sheepe was fallen lame, and could not goe with the rest, he rooke her vp, and caried her vppon his shoulders to the fold.

27 Furthermore to these may also be added, *a Trebellis* king of *Bulgar* in the age following, *b Hugo* king of *Italy*, and of latter times, *c Sigismund* king of *Burgundy*, *Henry* king of *Cypria* (who was famous for his miracles) and finally *d John* king of *Armenia*, which two last, chose to serue God in the poore habite, and religion of the *Franciscan* Friars, who lyue altogether vppon almes. These emperours, and kings, besides diuers others, whome I haue not named, and many more *Empresses & Queens* (whome I purpose to omit for breuities sake) haue for the loue of God, voluntarilie, and ioyfullie, forsaken their imperiall, and royall riches, and dignitie, to embrace religious pouerty.

28 And if I should take vppon me, to sett downe the names of all other princes, who haue in like maner abandoned the world, and betaken themselves to religion, I meane all those, who though they had not the title of kings, were neuertheles descended of royall race, or otherwise eyther absolute princes, or of princely state, and dignitie, I feare, I should be ouer tedious, seeing that I haue obserued in the histories of our owne country, about sixty sonnes, or daughters, nephewes, or neeces of kings, who ended their daies in monasticall, and religious

c. Nicepho.
Gregor. li. 3.
d. Baran. an.
835.

S. Beda. &
Polidor. Vir-
gil. hist. An-
gli.
g An. 640.
h An. 704.
i An. 710.
k An. 740.
l An. 737.
m Baron.
an. 750.
n An. 805.
o An. 674.
p An. 786.
q An. 1150.
r Baron. an.
747.
Vide Platun
de bono stat.
religio. li. 2.
ca. 26.
a Platun ibi-
dem.
b Baron. an.
945.
c Platun ubi
supra.
d Ibidem.

religio
hence
ment
taken
of Gen
neral
France,
religio
chape
France,
and exe
29 In
norabl
(best k
one aft
God in
being i
signed
su, wh
tw, and
also ro
shee be
yonger
against
bar o w
thee er
sonne
brothe
the Soc
notoma
to actu
ligious
ger bro
p I o
baptis
lesse
malle
exceed
nes res
religio

religious life, whereby it may be iudged, how many such may haue bene in all other countries. I will therefore let all other passe, and mention only some men of great wealth, title, and state, who haue taken the same course in these our daies, as *Don Francisco Borgia*, Duke of *Gandia* in *Spain*, who entred into the society of *Iesus*, and was general thereof, as I haue signified before. And the duke of *Ioyeuse* in *France*, who some yeares agoe, tooke vpon him the poore habit, and religious rule of the *Capuchins*, and hauing benne here in *Rome*, at the chapter general of his order this last sommer, died in his returne to *France*, leauing behind him an eternal memorie, of his most religious, and exemplar life.

Obiit 1572.

Chap. 7. nu. 38.

In *Spain*, also there are at this day, foure heires of the most honorable, and ancient family, of the Earles of *S. Agadea*, and *Buendia*, (best knowne abroad by the title of the *Adelantado* of *Castile*) who one after an other, renounced their estates, and inheritance, to serue God in religion, of whom the eldest, to wit *Don Antonio Padillia*, being in possession of his estate, vnmarried, and hauing no brethren, resigned it to his eldest sister, and entred himselfe into the society of *Iesus*, wherein he still continueth, with great fame of learning, and vertue: and his sister after shee had a while possessed her state, gaue it over also to her yonger sister, retiring her selfe into a monasterie, where shee became religious, and so liueth vntill this day. And although her yonger sister, was by the importunitie of her friends, forced much against her will, for the maintenance of her house, to marry one of her owne name, and family, neuertheles after her husbands death, shee entred into religion, resigning her whole estate to her eldest sonne, who died without issue, not past two yeares agoe, his second brother (to whome the state then belonged) being newly entred into the societie of *Iesus*: and although he was then but a novice, and had not made his profession, yet he could not by any meanes be perswaded to returne to the world, but continueth in his former purpose, and religious profession, hauing passed over his title, and states to his yonger brother.

I omit father *Lewis Gonzaga*, sonne, and heire to the Marques of *Salaparuta*, of the house of *Mantua*, in *Italy*, who died in the society of *Iesus* some yeares agoe, and (as I haue declared before) hath benne no lesse glorious for miracles, then he was admirable in his life for his exceeding great vertue, and sanctity. I also let passe many yonger sonnes to princes, and dukes, who are at this present in diuers orders of religion. As namely two sonnes of the present viceroy, or gouer-

nour of the kingdome of Naples, who entred a few yeares past, the one into the society of Iesus, and the other, into the order of *S. Dominico* whom I might add, *Don Inigo de Mendoza*, heyre apparant to his brother the marques of *Mondexar* (one of the grandies of *Spain*) which *Don Inigo*, hauing serued the catholik king some yeares, in diuers honorable employments, and lastly in the embassage of *Venice*, abandoned the world, and died a nouice in the society of Iesus, seauen or eight yeares agoe. But on these, I say, and diuers others of like quality, I meane not to insist, to conclude with *Don Inigo de Guenarra* Duke of *Bonina*, and great marshall of the kingdome of Naples, who hauing had many yeares the possession of a great estate, least the same three yeares agoe vnto his sonne, bestowing also great somes of money in pious workes, and entred into the society of Iesus here in *Rome*, where I heard him protest, whiles he was in his Nouiship, that he could not imagine before he tried it, what true pleasure, and contentment God giueth to his seruants in religious life, and that he had written to his friends, and kinsfolkes, that they litle knew the comfort that he, and others receiued in *S. Andrewes* (for so is called the Nouiciat for the society in *Rome*) where he then liued, since which time, he hath sometimes for his better mortification, begged for the prisoners, vp and downe *Rome*, with a wallet on his back, according as the nouices of the societie, other whiles vse to doe.

31 This I haue thought good to signifie, concerning such great personages, as in my owne knowledge haue in these our dayes, accounted all the wealth, honour, glory, and delights of the world, for no better then *detrimenta*, or *stercora*, *detriments*, and *dong*, for the loue of Christ, insomuch that we may say, as *S. Bernard* said of such in his time. *Legeram &c.* I haue read, saith he, that God hath not chosen many noble men, nor many worthy wise men, nor many porent men, but now contrary to that rule, a wonderful number of such are conuerted to God, through his admirable power, for now the present glory of the world is contemned, the flower of youth troden vnder foote, generosity dis-esteemed, wisdom of the world reputed folly, flesh, and blood not regarded, the affections, and loue of parents, kinsfolkes, and friends renounced, the fauours, honours, and dignities of the world, held for no other then *dyrt*, or *dong*, to the end that Christ may be gained.

32 Thus saith *S. Bernard* of his time, as also *S. Hierome* said the like before, as you haue heard of the time wherein he liued, and the same may we say still of the Roman Catholikes in these daies, wherein

S. Bernard.
ep. 109.

every man may see, how much God is glorified, shewing continually such admirable effects of his grace, in the Catholike Roman church, to the vndoubted testimonie of the truth which is taught, and delivered therein, whereas the *Lutherans, Calvinists*, and other sectaries, haue so little experience, or knowledge thereof, that very many amongst them, or rather the most part of them in our country (where no publike exercise of catholike religion ys permitted) are vterly ignorant, that any such things passe in the world abroad: whereby they are deprived, not only of the good example, that such men giue by their contempt of the world, but also of the consolation, that we catholikes receiue, by seeing the great glory of God dayly augmented, by such a manifest demonstration, of the force, and power of his grace, to the confusion of the diuill, and the conquest of the world, and the flesh. Where vppon I conclude, concerning the euangelical counsel of voluntary pouerty, that as the sectaries haue none, or practise thereof, so also consequently they haue no perfection of christian religion, which partly consisteth therein, as I haue sufficiently proued, and therefore I will now passe to another euangelical counsel, to wit, single, and continent life, which shall be the subject of the next Chapter.

of the Euangelical counsel of Chastity, grounded vppon our Sauours example, and expresse wordes, according to the interpretation of the ancient Fathers. Also the cauils, and peruerse glosses of our aduersaries, are detected, and refuted.

CHAP. 19.

He Euangelical counsel, of single, and chaste life, is dedicated, as I haue signified before, out of these wordes of our Sauour to his Apostles. *Sunt Eunuchi qui de matris utero* Matth. 19. &c. There are Eunuchs, which are borne so from their mothers wombe, and there are Eunuchs which are made by men, and there are Eunuchs, which haue gilded themselves for the kingdome of heauen; he which can take it, let him take it. Thus saith our Sauour: wherein it is to be obserued, that he did not commaund, but counsel continencie, in that, hauing said, there are Eunuchs which haue gilded themselves for the kingdome of God, he added, *qui potest capere, capiat*, he which can take it, let him take it: for so doe all the ancient Fathers vnderstand by those wordes,

and therefore *s. Cyprian*, speaking of voluntarie Eunuchs, which good themselves for the kingdome of heauen, addeth. *Nec hoc iudex dnm. sed hortatur.* God dath not commaund this, but exhort vnto it. Also *s. Augustin*, hauing distinguished plainly betwixt a counsell, and a precept *Aug. serm.* (saying, *aliud est consilium, aliud preceptum*, a counsell is one thing, and a precept 61. de *de pore.* is an other;) exemplifieth the counsell of virginitie in those wordes of our Sauour: *Qui potest capere capiat: he which can take it, let him take it.*

Hieron. in *s. Hierome* also expounding the same wordes, saith. *Hortantur domini ut ca. 19. Math. est.* & *milites suos ad pudicitie premium concitantur.* Ye is the voice, or saying of our lord, encouraging his souldiars to the reward of chastity. And againe, hauing alledged the same wordes of our Sauour against Iouinian, he saith thus. *He proposeth a reward to his champions, he inuiterh them to the counse,* Iouinianum *he shoulderh the prize of virginity in his hand, he sheweth the most pure founde.* li. 1. *taine, and crieth, he which thirsteth, let him come, and drinke, &c.*

2. Also *s. Christostome*, interpreting the same wordes of our Sauour, saith, that forasmuch as he knew, that it would seeme greuous to exhort men to virginity, he therefore sought to draw them to the desire thereof, by representing vnto them the necessitie of the law, concerning the indissolubilitie of marriage, and then to shew also, that virginity was possible, he said, that there were Eunuchs, which were borne so, of their mothers, and others made by men, & others againe, which haue gelded themselves for the kingdome of heauen; *quibus verbis,* saith he, *scilicet eas ad eligendam virginitatem inducit, dum eam virtutem possibilem esse asseruit:* in which wordes, he dath secretly induce them to make choise of virginity, whiles he affirmeth yt to be a vertue possible to be obtained.

Ibidem.

3. Thus gathereth *s. Christostome* of our Sauours wordes, and afterwards concludeth, that whereas our Sauour added, *he that can take it, let him take it*, he propounded the possibilitie of virginity, together with the difficultie thereof, *ut voluntatis studium plus augeretur,* in the end that the desire of virgins will might be the more encreased, and stirred up to seeke it. In all which is to be noted, that *s. Christostome* teacheth not only, that Christ counsell'd virginity, but also that he shewed with all, the possibilitie of it, of which point, I shall haue further occasion to speake amply hereafter.

4. But what neede I produce the testimonie of the Fathers of the church to proue virginity, and continency, to be an euangelical counsell, seeing that the Apostle also, ledd with the spirit of his master our Sauour Christ, so expressly, and seriously counsell'd the same, that it may be wondered that any christian man will denie it. *Bonum est,* saith he *mulierem non tangere,* it is good not to touch a woman, & againe: *Virum suum*

1. Cor. 7.

What from a wife? Then doe not seeke a wife. Also I say to those that are unmarried, and to widowes, it is good for them if they remaine so, as I doe. And againe I haue no precept of our Lord, concerning virgins, but I giue counsell, as one that haue obtained mercy of God to be faithfull. In which words he giueth to vnderstand, that the counsell which he gaue in this behalfe, was not humane, but deuine, seeing he saith, that hee gaue it as a faithfull minister of God, which he signifieth also most euidentlie after wardes as S. Hieron. noteth, when hauing said, that the widow may marrie when shee will, he addeth. *shee shal be more blessed or happy, if shee remaine so still* (that is to say a widow) (and I thinke that I haue also the spirit of God.

S. Hieron. lib.
1. aduersus
Iovinian.

Behould then how seriously the Apostle exhorteth to continency, ascribing his counsell to the holie Ghost in so much, that the impudency of Luther may be wondred at, who is not ashamed to say that S. Paul doth not counsell, but dissuade continency in that epistle to the Corinthians, for that he speaketh also there (as Luther supposeth) of the necessitie of matrimonie, because hauing said: *It is good for a man not to touch a woman*, he addeth immediately *propter fornicationem autem unusquisque suam habeat uxorem*: let euery man haue his wife to auoyd fornication: as though he should say (saith Luther) I would exhort al men to continency, were it not for one thinge, to wit, for the danger of fornication, for in respect thereof, let euery man marrie. And this is also the opinion of Calvin, and other sectaries, as shall appeare more ampie hereafter.

But to the end, it may be seene, how these new Gospellers peruert the sence of the Apostle in this place, contrarie to the circumstances thereof, and to the interpretation of all the ancient Fathers of the church, it is to be vnderstood, that the Corinthians, being troubled with the erroneous doctrine of false apostles and preachers (who amongst other things, taught that married men being conuerted to the christian faith, ought to abstaine from their wiues, or vtterlie to leaue them) wrote to S. Paule, to haue his resolution concerning the same, who therefore answered: *De quibus scripsistis etc.* As for the matters whereof you wrote unto me, *bonum est homini mulierem non tangere*, it is good for a man not to touch a woman, meaning his wife, as some of the Fathers vnderstand it, as it is more plaine in the grecke where the word *Ginaikos*, signifieth a wife as well as a woman, and therefore S. Hieron. readeth it, it is good for a man not to touch his wife: so that the sence is, according to that exposition, that it were good that euen married folkes, would abstaine from the act of matrimonie: and then the Apostle addeth *propter fornicationem autem*: but to auoid fornication (whereinto the one, or both might fall,

Lo. cit.

fall, in case they should continually abstaine the one from the other, let euerie one of you haue *uxorem suam*, his wife, as *S. Hieron* vnderstandeth it, that is to say, the wife that he had before he was conuerted to the christian faith.

*Hieron. li. 1.
et: a Iouin.
post princip.*

7 This I say, is the interpretation of *S. Hieron*, who in his booke against *Iouinian* saith thus, *Non dixit &c.* The Apostle saith not, let euerie man to auoid fornication, marie a wife, but let euerie one haue his wife, *sua inquit habiat, sua utatur quam habebat antiquam crederet.* Let him haue saith he, & use his wife, which hee had before he beleued: *quam bonum erat non tangere &c.* VVhom it were good for him not to touch, but after the faith of Christ to know her as his sister onlie, and not as his wife, were it not that the feare of fornication dash excuse it. Thus saith *S. Hieron*, concluding that the question expounded by the *Corinthians*, and answered by the Apostle, concerned onlie those who were married before they were conuerted to the faith, and the same also *S. Ambrose* affirmeth in his commentary vpon this epistle.

*S. Ambros.
in c. 7. ep. 1.
ad Corin.*

8 And although some other Fathers doe vnderstand, that *S. Paule* speaketh generally of all men, as well of the unmarried, as the married, (and so it may bee verie well vnderstood) yet none of them euen so much as dreamed of that which *Luther* auoweth, to wit, that the Apostle diswadeth from virginity, and exhorteth to marriage, yea some of them reach expressely, that hee not onlie exhorteth to virginity, but that also in some sort, hee diswadeth from marriage, which is flat contrarie to that which *Luther* affirmeth.

*S. Chrysost.
de virginitate.*

9 This is euident in *S. Chrysostome* and *S. Augustin*, two principall pillars of the Greeke, and Latin Church. *S. Chrysostome*, alleading the wordes of the Apostle: *propter fornicationem &c.* to auoid fornication, let euerie one haue his wife, & addeth, *in quo videtur &c.* wherein hee seemeth to giue a reason, why marriage is graunted or allowed, but indeede hee doth secretly praise and extoll continency. Thus hee, and a litle after he saith, that the apostle representeth to the *Corinthians*, the incōueniences of married folkes (as their mutuall subiection, and seruitude the one to the other) like a fisher, that couereth his hooke with his bayte, *eo consilio* saith he, *ut illo ipso sermone de nuptijs deterreat:* with the intent to with draw them from marriage, by his verie speech, and discourse of marriage. And againe afterwards, yealding a reason, why the Apostle did not inuite the *Corinthians*, to the loue of virginity, by the hope of heauenlie rewards, and ascribing it to their incapacity of heauenlie thinges, hee concludeth, *Idcirco &c.* Therefore by the relation of earthlie, visible & sensible thinges hee both exhorteth them to virginity, and diswadeth them from marriage.

Thus saith *s. Chrysostom.* And the same also *S. Augustin* oblerueth, *S. Aug. de*
 in the Apostles manner of writing to the Corinthians. *Hoc modo* saith he, *sancta vir-*
abstinere ad virginitatem, continentiamque perpetuam, ut aliquantulum, *ginitate. ca.*
etiam a nuptijs detereretur. He exhorteth them so to virginity, that hee did some-
 what dissuade them from marriage. Thus saith this holie and learned Fa-
 ther, little imagining that an apostata from his order (for so was *Luther*,
 being an *Augustin* frier) should a thousand two hundred years after him,
 reach expressly the contrarie. And if perhaps the sectaries do say (as
 sometimes they doe not stick to doe) that these Fathers, and wee fol-
 lowing their doctrine, doe condemne marriage, I beseech thee, good
 Reader, suspend thy iudgment therein, for a while, and thou shalt heare
 them anon answer, both for themselves, and vs. In the meane time
 thou seest, that whether the wordes of the Apostle, be to be vnderstood
 of those only, who were married before they were conuerted, or of all
 men in generall, our aduersaries exposition thereof, is cleane contrary
 to the sense that the holie Fathers deliuered, who made noe other con-
 struction of them, but that it is better for euery man (that hath not
 bound himselfe voluntarie to single and chaste life) to marie then to
 commit fornication, and this they also gathered out of that which fol-
 loweth afterwarde, to wit. *Qui se non continent nubant. Those which doe not*
contine, or liue chaste, let them marie. Melius enim est nubere, quam vri. For it is
 better to marie then to be burnt. Not vnderstanding by the word, *vrio*, to be
 tempted (as our aduersaries will needes haue it to be vnderstood) but
 to be overcome by temptation, which is also manifest, partly by the
 next wordes before: *Qui se non continent. Those which doe not liue chaste,* and
 partly by the verie nature of the word *vrio*, to be burnt, which signifieth a
 consumption, or a detriment, and damage receiued by fier, and there-
 fore gold which endureth and resisteth the flame, though it bee made
 neuer so hoat, cannot properly be said to be burnt; but straw or wood
 or such other matter as suffreth damage, and is consumed thereby, in
 part or in all, and therefore iust men, who resist temptations, are com-
 pared in the scripture to gold which is tried in the fier.
 Herevpon *s. Hieron* saith. *Si autem se continere non possunt &c.* If they can-
 not containe themselves, and wil rather quench the fire of lust with fornication, then
 with continency, it is better to marie then to be burnt; that is to say, it is better to
 marie then to commit fornication. thus saith he.

Also *s. Augustin*. It seemeth to me saith he, that now at this time, those
 who should marie who doe not liue chaste, according to that sentence of the Apostle, *S. Aug. de*
 who which doe not containe themselves, let them marie for it is better to marie, *bono coing.*
ca. 10.

s. Ambros. in theen to be burns. In like manner, s. Ambrose vpon the same wordes 1. Cor. 1. *When the will, saith he, consenteth to the heate of the flesh, it is burnt: for to suffer desires (that is to say temptation) and not to be overcome, is the act of a worthy, and perfect man.*

13 And Theodoretus in like manner, obserueth, that the Apostle, doth not call burning, cupiditatis molestiam, the trouble of desire or of temptation, sed anima mancipationem, but the seruitude, and slavery of the soule: that is to say, when the soule is tyrannised, and ouerthrowne by the temptation of the flesh. So that we see, that the Apostles meaning, (as the Fathers teach) is not to diswade men from single, and chaste life, or to perswade them to marriage, as Luther dreameth, nor that euery one who is strongly tempted, or may feare fornication, should marry, but that such only as fall into fornication, and will not doe their endeouour, by prayer, or other meanes, to resist the temptation, that such, I say, should vse the remedy which God hath ordained, that is to say, take a wife, propter fornicationem, to auoide fornication.

14 Furthermore it is euident, that the Fathers vnderstand the Apostles counsell, or permission of marriage, not to belong to those, who haue by vow bound themselves to chastity, and therefore *s. Ambros. ad virginem lapsum. ca. 5.* *aliquis &c.* But some doth say, melius est nubere, quam vri, it is better to marry then to be burnt, but this saying of the Apostle, doth belong to such a one, as is not yet promised, and hath not receiued the holy veile, but she which hath promised her selfe to Christ, is already married, and ioined to an immortal husband, and if shee will marry, according to the common law of marriage, shee committeth adultery, and becommeth the hand mayd of death. Thus saith he. And in the same place a litle before, he saith. Nescio an possit condigna mors aut pena cogitari. I know not whether there can be imagined a sufficient death or punishment for such a one.

15 And Theodoretus, saith of those wordes of the Apostle. Non peccas si nubar, shee sinneth not if shee marry. Hoc non peccat, saith he, dicit de uin. decreto. iis &c. These wordes, shee sinneth not, he speaketh of those, who haue not made pacta, conuentia, seu uota virginittatis, pacts or bargains, couenants or vowes of virginity.

Theodoret. Epitome diuin. decreto. cap. de virginitt. prope finem. 16 And in like sort *s. Chrysost. li. de uirginit. c. 39.* *s. Chrysost.* And in like sort *s. Chrysostome* distinguishing, betwixt the widow, that hath made no vow, and another that hath consecrated her selfe to God, saith that the Apostle giueth liberty to the first to marry, but to the latter, saith he. Non his ergo sed illis dixit, qui se non continent nubere. Not to these but to those he saith, those which doe not lue chaste, let them marry.

Thus

Thus farre *s. Chrysostome.*

17 To whom I will adde, the learned, and holly Father, *s. Ephram*, most famous in the church of God, even in his owne dayes, for learning, eloquence, and purity of life, who being demanded, to whom doe properly belong, these wordes of the Apostle. *It is better to marry then to be burnt*, not only satisfied the demand, but also by the occasion thereof, expounded notably diuers other places of the Apostle, according to our catholike doctrine. *Audi*, saith he, *Apostolum dicentem* &c. Heare the Apostle saying, *I desire, that all men, should be as I*. *paulo post am, but every man hath a proper gifte of God, some in one sort, and some in princ. in Resp. ex other*: for he neither forbiddeth men that are at liberty, lawfully to marry, neither doth he deliuer those which haue renounced the world, from the law of continencie, for to them that are free, and at liberty, he graunteth marriage, saying: *To avoid fornication, let euery one haue his wife*, and againe: *Marriage is honorable in all, and the bed immaculat, and God will iudge fornicators and adulterers*, but to those, who haue renounced the world, he commaunded continencie, when he said: *Every one that contendeth or striveth for the maistry, doth abstaine from all things* &c. Therefore to secular men, he permitted lawfull marriage, but he would that religious men should liue continent, for if those wordes, *it is better to marry, then to be burnt*, should concerne, or belong to euery one, no man would haue exercised that vertue of continencie, neither *Helias Thesbites*, nor *Eliem*, nor *Iohn*, nor those that haue gueldest themselves for the kingdome of heauen, and haue conferred their flesh chaste vnto God, neither would the Apostle himselfe haue liued continent, if he had not had respect to the reward.

Thus farre *s. Ephram.*

18 The like is also taught by *a. S. Augustin*, *b. S. Hierome*, *c. S. Epiphanius*, *d. S. Gregor*, *e. Theodoretus*, *f. Theophilactus*, *g. and Oecumenius*, whose wordes I forbear to alleadge, because that which I haue said already, may suffice for this point, besides that I shall haue further occasion to touch the same hereafter, when I shall treat more particularly of *vowes*. In the meane time it appeareth manifestly (if I be not deceiued) that *Luther* and his progenie, doe shamefullie peruert the sense of the holy Scriptures, concerning virginity, and matrimonie, contrarie to the interpretation of the most ancient, and learned Fathers of the church, which yet wilbe much more manifest, when I shall haue examined an other shift of theirs; touching the counsell of virginity, which *s. Paule* giueth so euidentlie, that they cannot

H h h ij

possiblie

s. Ephramto. 1. paulo post am, but every man hath a proper gifte of God, some in one sort, and some in princ. in Resp. ex other: for he neither forbiddeth men that are at liberty, lawfully to marry, neither doth he deliuer those which haue renounced the world, from the law of continencie, for to them that are free, and at liberty, he graunteth marriage, saying: To avoid fornication, let euery one haue his wife, and againe: Marriage is honorable in all, and the bed immaculat, and God will iudge fornicators and adulterers, but to those, who haue renounced the world, he commaunded continencie, when he said: Every one that contendeth or striveth for the maistry, doth abstaine from all things &c. Therefore to secular men, he permitted lawfull marriage, but he would that religious men should liue continent, for if those wordes, it is better to marry, then to be burnt, should concerne, or belong to euery one, no man would haue exercised that vertue of continencie, neither Helias Thesbites, nor Eliem, nor Iohn, nor those that haue gueldest themselves for the kingdome of heauen, and haue conferred their flesh chaste vnto God, neither would the Apostle himselfe haue liued continent, if he had not had respect to the reward.

a. S. Aug. li. de bono vi- duitat. c. 8. b. S. Hierom. lib. 1 in Iouinian. c. S. Epiphanius. bar. 61. d. S. Gregor. pastor. li. 3. admonit. 28. e. Theodor. Theophil. Oecumenius. in 1. cor. 7.

possibly deny it, with any appareance or shew of reason, and therefore graunting much against their willes, that hee at least praised, and commended it, they find this euasion, that though he allowed it for temporal respects (because virgins, and continent men, are free from the troubles of mariage, for so saith *Luther*) yea, and for some kind of spirituall consideration, as to attend the more freely to preaching, and prayer, (for so saith *Peter Martyr*, and *Melanchton*;) yet by no meanes say they, it is to be applied to the worshipping of God, as a thing gratefull to him for it selfe, or meritorius of the kingdome of heauen.

Peter. Mar.
in verb. A-
post. bonum
est homini
mulierem no
tangere. 1.
Cor. 7. Me-
lanch. in loc.
15. c. de casti-
tate.

19 I will therefore proue, that the Apostle commended, and counsell'd virginitie, and single life, not only for temporal commodity, or to the end we may preach, or pray the more freely, but much more for respect of the eternal reward, which is due to chastity, as to a thing most acceptable to God, and therefore to be dedicated to his honour, and seruice.

Matth. 19.

20 For this purpose our Sauious owne words (whereof I haue already treated amply before) are first to be considered, who inuiting to virginitie (when he spoke of voluntary Eunuchs) specified the cause, why they gild themselves, saying, *Castrauerunt se propter regnum calorum. They haue gilded themselves for the kingdome of heauen.* Signifying, not only that he would reward it with euerlasting life, but also that it is to be vndertaken for the loue of him, to the end we may thereby eternally enioy him, and be vnited with him: and this he signified also plainlie, when he said, to his disciples, whosoever shall forsake his wife, *propter nomen meum*, saith he, for my name (that is to say for the loue of me) he shall receiue in this world a hundred fold, and life euerlasting in the next.

Idem.

21 Therefore *S. Augustin*, worthily taxeth *Iovinian* the heretike, and and others his followers, of extreame folly, in that they taught (as *Luther*, and other Sectaries doe in these daies) that virginitie was not necessarie for the obtaining of heauen, but for temporall respects. *Mirabiliter* saith he, *desipiunt &c.* They are notable fooles, who thinke that the vertue of continency, is not necessary for the kingdome of heauen, but for this present world. And in another place, *Quaecunque mandat Deus*, saith he &c. *Vt* what soeuer God commaunderth, (of which sort this is, thou shalt not commit fornication, or adultery,) and whatsoeuer he commaunderth not, but specially counselleth, or dissuadeth (of which sort this is, it is good for a man not to touch a woman) it is then well performed, when it is referred to the loue of God, and of our neighbour in this world, and in the world to come. Thus

Aug. de san-
cta virginit.
ca. 13.
Aug. in En-
chiridio. ca.
123.

farre,

farre,
special
ought
good
this w
next, v
perlie
calorum
12. An
Saiou
tent to
preach
of the h
he saith
ward pr
of their
23. Al
teth vir
rent ha
shew co
frances
or cut of
heauen.
to pleas
gimty
gilded
prian, a
mour st
of virg
24. S.
saith to
thou sh
glitterin
Saiou
heauen.
25. Fu
I sayes,
shall k
liabw,

here, s. *Augustin*, teaching that virginity, and chastity, was not only speciallie counselled, and aduised by our Sauour, but also that it ought to haue the same scope, and end which all other vertues, and good workes haue, that is to say, both the loue, and seruice of God in this world, as also the euerlasting sight, and fruition of him in the next, whereby we may reigne eternallie with him, and this is properlie that, which our Sauour signified, when he said, *propter regnum celorum, for the kingdome of heauen.*

22. And therefore also *s. Hilarius*, vnderstandeth those wordes of our Sauour, not as *Peter Martyr* doth, to be spoken of those who are content to liue single, and chaste, to the end they may the more freely preach the gospell, but of those that doe it, *spe regni celestis, for the hope of the heauenly kingdome*, which *s. Hierome* also signifieth plainely, when he saith. *Istis (Eunuchis) &c. To this third kind of Eunuches, there is a reward promised, but to the other, whose chastity proceedeth of necessity, and not of their will, nothinge is due.*

23. Also *s. Cyprian*, alluding to those wordes of our Sauour, comforteth virgins, representing vnto them, that wheras there are many different habitations, or mansions in the kingdome of heauen, our Lord shewed vnto them the better sort, and then addeth. *Carnis desideria castantes, maioris gratia premium in celestibus obrinetis. When you do gould or cut of the desires of the flesh, you obtaine the reward of a greater grace in heauen.* And againe in the same treatise, he exhorteth virgins, to study to please only their Lord, from whom they expect the reward of virginity, seeing he himselfe saith, that there are Eunuchs, which haue goulded themselves for the kingdome of God. And thus you see, that *s. Cyprian*, also teacheth, that the kingdome of heauen, whereof our Sauour spoke, is to be vnderstood, as promised by him, for the reward of virginity.

24. *s. Chrysostome*, in like maner, expounding our Sauours words, saith to the voluntary Eunuch. *Gratias agas Deo &c. Giue God thanks, for thou shalt haue, magna premia, & rutilantes coronas, great rewards, and glittering crownes.* In which words, he giueth to vnderstand, what our Sauour meant, when he said, *propter regnum celorum, for the kingdome of heauen.*

25. Furthermore, the same may be confirmed, out of the prophesie of *Isayas*, who in the person of God, promiseth to the Eunuchs which shall keepe his law, a place in his house: *Et nomen meum a filijs & filiabus, nomen æternum quod non peribit: A better name then to sonnes, and*

H h h ij.

daughters.

s. Hilarius.
in 19. Matth.
paulo. post.
prinsep.
s. Hierom.
19. Matth.

s. Cipri. li. de
habitu virg.
prope finem.

s. Ch. i. off.
ho. 63. in ca.
19. Matth.

S. Basil. de
vera virgin.
S. Amb. in
exhort. ad
virgin.
S. Hieron. &
S. Ciril. in
hunc locum.
S. Aug. de
virgin. c. 24.
S. Gregor. 3.
par. pastoral.
c. 29.
Petrus mari.
ti. de cal. &
votis.
S. August. de
sanct. virgi-
nit. c. 24.
ibid. 25.

daughters, an everlasting name, which shall not perish. Which words of the prophet, S. Basil, S. Ambrose, S. Hierome, S. Cyrill, S. Augustin, and S. Gregory, to omit others, doe vniuniformelie vnderstand, to be spoken of the voluntary Eunnuchs, of whom our Sauour spoke in the same place before alleadged. And for asmuch as Iovinian, and some other his followers, did in derogation of virginity, interpret those words of the prophet, as spoken only of true Eunnuchs, which are either borne so, or made by mans hand (as also the Lutherans, and Calvinists, make the like construction thereof in these daies) S. Augustin oblerueth notable, that though any man would contend, that the prophet speaketh of true Eunnuchs, yet the dignitie and merit of virginity is confirmed thereby. For if there be, saith he, greater glory promised, to Eunnuchs who liue chast, whether they will or no, then to the iust married men, it must needs follow, that much rather the same is promised to voluntary Eunnuchs, who liue chast, when they might doe otherwise. Thus reasoneth this worthy Father, with great reason, and saith further in the same treatise. *Quid tergiversaris, impia cecitas &c. Why dost thou seeke shift, wicked blindnes, why dost thou promise only temporal commodity to the continent, chast saints, and seruants of God? Nomen aeternum dabo eis. I will giue them an everlasting name, &c.* And a litle after. *This everlasting name, saith he, what soeuer it is, shall not be common with many, though in the same kingdome, and in the same house, for that it signifieth a certaine proper, and excellent glory, and therefore per haps it was called, nomen, a name, because it distinguisheth them to whome it is giuen from others.*

26 Thus saith S. Augustin, wherein he teacheth twoo things out of the prophet, which make euidently against our aduersaries. The first is, that the prophet speaketh not of true Eunnuchs (as our aduersaries affirme) but of voluntarie Eunnuchs, who as our Sauour said. *Giue themselves for the kingdome of heauen.* The second is, that it is impiety, and blindnes in any to teach (as Luther, and other sectaries doe) that virgins, and others that liue continent, and chast, are to expect no other benefit, or reward thereof, but that which is temporall, and to be had in this life, seeing, that God promised by the prophet, an eternall name, which S. Augustin interpreteth, to be a certaine peculier and excellent glory, that shall not be common with many other saints, as it is manifest in the plaine words of the prophet, saying. *Dabo eis nomen melius, a filius & filiabus. I will giue them a better name, then to sonnes, and daughters, that is to say, to other children, and seruants of God, that are not voluntarie Eunnuchs.*

Therefore I cannot omit, to note also here by the way, the abundance of *Peter Martyr*, who to auoid the force of this place of the prophet, doth interpret the Eunuchs there mentioned, to be such Eunuchs, as did liue well, and iustly amongst the Iewes, whom he saith, the prophet in the person of God comforteth, for their natural infirmitie, promising to esteeme, and hould them more deare, then *sonnes or daughters*, meaning other *Israelites*, who should not keepe his law, as though the wicked *Israelites*, who did not obserue Gods law (and therefore were children of the diuel) could be called the children of God. Besides that, it is euident, that the prophet promiseth to those *Eunuchs*, of whom he speaketh, an eternall name, which whether, it be vnderstood of eternal glory in heauen, or of a temporal name, and fame in earth, it ouerthroweth the opinion of *Peter Martyr*, and our aduersaries: For if they take it for heauenlic glory, then they must acknowledge with vs, that the kingdome of heauen is due to virginitie, and continencie, which they flatly deny: and if they say, that it is to be vnderstood of temporall fame in this world, then we are to demand of them, in what true Eunuchs amongst the *Israelites*, the same hath bene fulfilled, and who they were, that were so famous, as the prophet promiseth (whereof I thinke they can shew very few examples) whereas on the other side, we can shew an infinit number of holy virgins, and voluntarie *Eunuchs*, whose names, and fame remaineth glorious in Gods church vntill this day, and will doe to the worlds end.

28. Therefore the true sence thereof is, that such as being voluntary Eunuchs, and doe with all liue well and iustly, shall haue a higher place, and greater glory in heauen, then other good men that are married, which also the Apostle himselfe teacheth, when he preferreth virginitie before mariage, saying, *that he which marieth his virgin doth well, but he which doth not marry her doth better.* And counselling the widow to remaine vnmarrid, he saith: *Beatior eris si sic permanseris, shee shalbe more happy or blessed (that is to say, saith S. Ambrose, dignior in futuro seculo, more worthy in the world to come) if shee remaine so still.* And the same is, in like manner inferred by S. Hierome, vpon our Sauours parable, concerning the good ground, whereof one part yealdeth, a hundred for one, an other threescore, and the other thirty, wherein saith he, is signified, the difference of the three states, of virginity, widowhood, and mariage, & that by the hundred for one, is vnderstood the excellent dignity, and merit of virginity, by threescore, the widowhood, and by the thirty the married state. I omit to alleadge his wordes, both because I

*Petrus mart.
in li. de cali-
bato & vo-
tis.*

I. Cor. 7.

*S. Amb. in
hac verba
Apostoli.*

*S. Hierome
pro libris cā-
tra Iovinian.
apolog. ep.
50.*

hould.

ould it needes, & for that he hath written expresse vpon the same point against Iouinian, who taught at that time, to the wonder of the world, that mariage is equal with virginity, for which opinion amongst others, hee is registred in the catalogue of heretikes by *S. Augustin* in his treatise of Heresies, who also in his booke of Retractions, calleth it, *heresim Iouinianam*, the heresie of Iouinian, and saith further of him, *Huic monstro sancta ecclesia qua ibi est fidelissime, ac fortissime resistit. The holly church which is there, that is to say at Rome, doth faithfully, and strongly resist this monster.* Finally this holy Father, wrote also his learned treatise, *de bono coniugali*, specially to confute that heresie of Iouinian.

29 And now to add, a word, or twoo more, concerning the cause why virginity is principally to be vndertaken, and the end whereto it is to be referred, the Apostle himselfe doth sufficiently declare it, when he saith, that the virgin, and vnmariied woman: *coripat quae domini sunt ut sit sancta, & corpore & spiritu: thinketh of these things, which belong to God, to the end she may be holly both in body, and soule.* Whereby we may vnderstand, that single, and chaste life, was not counselled by our Sauour, and the Apostle, only to the end that we may the more freely attend to prayer, as *Peter Martyr*, and *Melanchton* say, but also, that we may be sanctified thereby, and please almighty God: in which respect *S. Hierome* saith vpon the same wordes of the Apostle, that pure virginity is, *hostia Christi*, the sacrifice of Christ, signifying that god is worshipped, and serued thereby, and againe, *Granda fidei est &c.* It is a point of great faith, and of great vertue, to be the most pure temple of God, and to offer our selues wholly for an holocaust, or burnt sacrifice, to our lord, and to be, according to the wordes of the same apostle holly, both in body, and soule.

30 Lo then how this most learned Father, vnderstandeth by the wordes of the Apostle, that God is worshipped, and serued by virginity, as by a most acceptable, and grateful sacrifice, in which respect also the most ancient Fathers, *Tertullian*, and *S. Cyprian* doe say, that virgins do wholly dedicate, consecrate, and vnto themselves to God, and make oblation to him of their soules, and bodies, consecrating their whole nature vnto him. Which is also sufficiently testified, by the solemne manner of veiling virgins, vsed from the very apostles tyme to this day, signifying their renunciation of the world, and dedication of their virginity, to the seruice of God, as appeareth in the places before alleadged, out of *S. Cyprian*, and *Tertullian*, of whom the first, wrote a treatise of the habit, and disciplin of virgins, and the other, of veiling virgins.

31 Finally *S. Augustin* (besides the places, which I haue alleadged out of him,

S. August. retractat. lib. ca. 22.

1. Cor. 7.

S. Hieron. contra Iouin. li. 1. circa medium. Ibidem. Ante medium libri.

S. Cyprian de disciplin. a & habitu virgin. Tertull. de uelam. virgin. lib.

of him before (teacheth our Catholike doctrine in this point, expresse in his booke *de sancta virginitate*, saying, virginittie is not honoured, because it is virginittie, *sed quia deo dicata est*, but because it is dedicated to God, which though, it be kept in the flesh, yet it is kept with the religion, and deuotion of the spirit, and therefore the virginittie of the body, which pious continencie doth vow, and keepe, is also spiritual. Thus saith *s. Augustin* of virginittie, when it is vowed, and dedicated. So that it is euident, both by Scriptures, Fathers, and the very practise of the church, from the Apostles time to this, that virginal, or single life, is to be vndertaken not only for temporall respects (as *Luther* saith) or for the better commoditie of prayer (as *Peter Martyr* affirmeth) but principallie to honour God, by consecrating our selues wholly, as well body as soule, to his seruice, and for the kingdome of heauen, as our Sauour himselve expressely taught.

11. This then being most manifest, how can it be doubted, but that this Euangelical counsell of single life, and chastitie, is most requisite to the perfection of christian religion, especiallie seeing I haue proved, that it was not only counselled by our Sauour, but also recommended by his owne example, and by the example of his mother, and of his Apostles, besides the particuler reward, which God promised by his prophet *ysa* to virgins. *Nomen melius a filiis, & filiabus*. A *Esay* 56. better name, then to sonns, and daughters, as I haue signified before: wherto may be added, the testimonie, of the Euangelist *s. Iohn*, in his *Apocalypse*, where he witnesseth, that the hundreth, forty and foure thousand virgins, who followed the lambe where soeuer he went, had a particuler reward, and different glory from the rest, in that, he saith, they song a canticle, or song, which none could sing, but they, and then addeth. *Hi sunt qui cum mulieribus non sunt conuincti, virgines enim sunt*. These are they who haue not benne defiled with women, for they are virgins.

12. And although our aduersaries, seeke also to draw this saying of *s. Iohn*, to a mistikall sence, as to be vnderstood of those who had not benne poluted with Idolatrie (which is called the fornication of the greate hoore of *Babylon*) yet it is euident by the very wordes themselves, that they cannot be so vnderstood. For *s. Iohn* doth not say that they were not cōtaminated, *cum muliere*, with the woman (as he wold haue said, if he had meant the hoore of *Babylon*) but *cū mulieribus*, with women. Besides that it is manifest, that the farre greater part of the saints, were free from Idolatry, whereas those virgins, whereof *s. Iohn* speaketh, were but few in respect of al the rest, who he saith, were so many, that

Tertul. li. d. no man could number them. Lastly, *Tertulian*, *S. Hierome*, *S. Agastin*,
resurrect. ca. 27. *S. Gregory*, *S. Bede*, *S. Anselme*, *Primasius*, and *Origenius*, doe all of them
S. Hier. cont. expound that place of true virgins: and to omit what the rest of them
Holm. in f. say hereof, *S. Hierome* alleading the same place against Iovinian saith,
ne. S. Aug. de that the one hundred forty foure thousand, of whome *S. Iohn* speaketh, are
virgin. ca. 2. such of the twelue tribes of the Iewes, as shall beleue in Christ, and be
S. Greg. part. virgins with all, and further gathereth the preeminence of virginie,
3. pastor. ad. before widowhood, or mariage, out of these wordes that folow in the
29. S. Bede. *S. Anselme* same place. *Hi sunt primum Dei, et Agni: for if* virgins, saith he, be the first
Primas. fruites to God, and the lambe, then widowes, and married folkes, shall be after the
Occum. in first, that is to say, in the second, and third degree. Thus saith *S. Hierome*.
hunc locum
S. Hier. pro 34 vs, and to say, that we are those of whom *S. Paule* gaue warning, when
libris contra he said, that some should come in time, and forbid to marry, and to eat
Louinian. the meates, which God hath created to be taken with thanks giving.
Apolog. ad The ancient Fathers, shall answer both for themselves, and vs.
Parumachii
epist. 50. & *S. Christosome* foreseeing, that some would peruerslie interpret his
in Psal. 80. 35 high commendation of virginie, to be a prohibition of mariage, pre-
ad finem. venteth that causill by the way of preoccupation, saying. *Quo prohibe-*
S. Christ. *communiu &c.* How doe I forbid mariage, who doe not reprehend those
de virgini- which doe marry, and doe severely punish fornicators, and adulteries,
tata non lon- with suspension from the sacraments, and from the communion of the
ge a princi- church, where as I doe yeald perpetual praise to those that lead the ma-
pia. ried life, so that they doe it chastly, &c. He which dispraiseth mariage,
 doth wholly take away the glory of virginie, and he which commen-
 deth; and praiseth it, doth make virginie much more admirable &c.
 as *domus est coniubium &c.* Marriage is good, and therefore virginie is to
 be admired, because it is better, then that which is good, yea, and so
 much better, by how much the master of the shippe, is better then the
 sailers, and rowers, the captaine then the souldiars &c. Heaven then
 earth, and Angels then men. Thus saith *S. Christosome*.
 36 *S. Hierome*, in like sort, preventeth the like obiection against him-
 selfe, in his learned confutation of the heresie of Iovinian, saying. *Neque*
contra Iovin. *nas Marcius* & *Manichei dogma* sustinet, &c. Neither doe wee derogate
in principio. from mariage, following the opinion, or doctrin of *Marcion*, & *Ma-*
nichiana, neither doe we thinke, that all manner of carnall copulation,
 is filthy, or abominable, for we are not deceiued with with the error
 of *Tatianus*, who was the cheefe, and head of the *Encratite*, and con-
 demned not only mariage, but also the meates, which God hath crea-
 ted to be vsed. Thus saith *S. Hierome*, who also being afterwards calum-
 niated

ward by *Iovinians* friends, wrote an Apologie for himselfe, and for his booke against *Iovinian*, wherein amongst many other notable things, he saith in his owne defence. *Erubescat calumniator meus &c* Let my calumniator be ashamed to say, that I condemne the first mariages, seeing he may read in my booke, *non damno bigamos, & trigamos, & si diu quis bigamos &c*. I doe not condemne those, that haue bene twice married, and thrise married, nor if I may so say, those that haue bene eight times married: it is one thing not to condemne, and an other thing to praise, it is one thing to giue leaue, and an other to recommend a virtue &c. We reprehend *Tatianus* the head of the *Encratites*, who reiecteth matrimonie &c. It is the propertie of heretikes, to condemne marriage, and a litle after, *Ecclesia non damnat matrimonia, sed subicit*. The church doth not condemne matrimonie, but make it subiect, that is to say, it preferreth virginitie before it. Loe then, how *S. Hierome*, not only defendeth him selfe against his calumniators, but also teacheth it to be the heresie of *Tatianus*, *Marcion*, and *Manichæus*, to condemne mariage &c sheweth also, what was the doctrine of the church in his dayes, concerning matrimonie, and virginitie, to wit, the same that wee stil hold, and defend against the sectaries, who haue in these dayes reuiued the dead heresie of *Iovinian*.

37 In like manner *S. Augustin* so signifie how farre he was from condemning mariage, though he farre preferred virginitie before it, wrote his notable booke, *de bono coniugali*, of the good of marriage, and gaue it that title, as he witnesseth, because *Iovinians* friends, bragged that no man could answer him, with the praise, and commendation of mariage, but with the dispraise, and reiection of it: and therefore he giveth the due praise to christian matrimonie, commending it not only for diuers other respects, but also for the sanctitie, and holines of the sacrament, which he acknowledgeth therein, saing. *In nostrorum nuptiis plures sanctius sacramenti, quam secunditatis vtemur*. In the mariage of our women, the holines of the sacrament, is of more worth and valew, then the secunditie, or fertilitie of the wombe. And againe: *bonum nuptiarum &c*. The good of mariage, saith he, throughout all nations, and amongst all men, consisteth in the cause of generation, and the fidelitie of chastitie, but for asmuch as belongeth to the people of God, it consisteth also in the holines of the sacrament. Thus saith *S. Augustin*, in his booke *de bono coniugali*, wherein neuertheles, he farre preferreth the excellencie of virginitie before mariage, notable confuting *Iovinians* heresie, throughout all that learned treatise.

38 Finally it is also euident, that though wee Catholikes at this day,

doe with *S. Augustin*, *S. Christostome*, *S. Hierome*, and all the other Fathers, yea with the Apostle him selfe, teach virginitie to be farre more worthy in the sight of God then marriage, yet we are so farre from condemning marriage, that we honour it, much more then our aduersaries, the sectaries doe, seing that we acknowledge it, for one of the sacraments of the church; & that it giueth grace, & is also indissoluble, all which thinges pointes the sectaries, especially *Luther* & *Caluin* deny. For *Luther* teacheth, that neither any signe was instituted in matrimony by almighty God, nor promise of grace annexed thereto. And *Caluin* affirmeth, that there is no more realon of a sacrament in matrimony, then in husbandry or in the trade of the shoemaker, or the barber, so cōtemptibly do they speake of Matrimony, & what their opinion is concerning the indissolubility of it, shal appeare in the next chapter. So that it is hereby manifest, with how little reason they may object, either against the Fathers, or vs, that they or we condēne matrimony, because we preferre virginity before it.

39 Now then, to come to the conclusion of this question, and chapter, we see by al the premisses, that the holly Fathers in all ages, haue not only held, and taught, our Catholike doctrine concerning virginity, & chastitie, but also grounded the same, euen as wee doe vppon our Sauours counsell, and expresse scriptures, in which respect also, they alwayes accounted it for a most special point of christian perfection, as may further appeare by that which followeth.

40 *a S. Marcial*, one of the disciples of our Sauour, recounting three degrees, or states of christian life, excelleng one an other, to wit, marriage, widowhood, & virginity, calleth the last, *excellētem gradum, perfectum, & primum similem Angelice puritati*: an excellent, and perfect degree, and most like to the Angeli call purity, whereto faith, he, our Sauour inuited vs saying: *Nemo omnes capere verbum hoc sed qui potest capere capiat*, all men doe not take, nor ceise this word, but he that can take it, let him take it.

41 *b S. Cyprian* saith, that virgins are: *illustris pars gregis Christi*. The more worthy part of the flocke of Christ, and that no necessity, or precept doth compell to virginity, sed *perfectio in se habet*, perfectione in it selfe, but the counsel of perfection doth moue, or perswade vnto it. *c S. Iohannas* calleth virginity. *An insufficient melch, or treasure, a neuer decaying garland, the temple of God, the habitation of the holy Ghost, a precious Jewell*, the way of prophets, the glory of the *A. Nazianz*. in postles the life of Angels, and the crowne of Saints. *d S. Hierome* writing to *Heliodorus* the monke saith, that when he leaue the world, and giued himselfe for the kingdome of heauen, *quid aliud*, saith he, *quam perfectam secutus es vitam*, what else but follow the perfect life; *e S. Gregory Nazianzen* saith,

Luther li. de captiuit.

Babilon.

Caluin l. 4.

Institut. cap.

19. 34.

a Marcial.

ep. ad Tolosanos.

Matth. 19.

b S. Cyprian.

de habitu.

virg.

c de discip.

et bono pudicit.

d S. Hieron.

de natiuit.

Christi in fine.

e S. Athanas.

de virginis.

in fine.

d S. Hieron.

ep. ad Heliodor.

circum.

medium.

e S. Greg.

Nazianz. in postles.

de Heliodorus.

the monke.

saith,

that when he

leaueth the world,

and giued him

selfe for the kingdome

of heauen, quid aliud,

saith he, quam perfectam

secutus es vitam,

what else but follow

And also of the virgins life. *Nonne plane Angelicum est* &c. It is not truly an angelical thing, for one that is tyed to the bonds of the flesh, nor to live according to the flesh, but to be more higher, and more eminent, then nature is selfe, besides that he also wrote verses in the prayse of virginitie, wherein he entolled it with singuler, and rare commendation.

Furthermore, f. S. Sulpitius disciple to S. Martin, saith that, *Nihil virginitatis est comparandum*. Nothing is to be compared to virginity. g. S. Cyrill calleth it. *Angelicam coronam, & supra hominem perfectionem*. An Angelical monachisme, and a perfection more then humane. h. S. Ambrose, saith that it is no marvell, if *Angeli comparantur, quia Angelorum domino copulantur*. If virgins be compared to Angels, who are coupled, or married with the Lord of Angels. And i. S. Augustin exhorteth virgins saying. *Pergite (virgines Dei) sine sublimitate, pede humilitatis*. Proceede yee virgins of God in the way of sublimity, with the foote of humility: and in his booke, *de moribus ecclesie*, he saith. k. That the perfect christians, doe not only praise, but also undertake, *summa castitatem*, the highest kind of chastity, giuing to vnderstand, that virginity is a speciall part of christian perfection. To which purpose, I might alleadge also many other testimonies, as wel out of him, as out of all the rest of the old Fathers, if I thought it needefull, hauing sett downe these the more particularly, and in the greater number, to the end, that thou maist, good Reader, confront with them the doctrine of Ies. Luther, & his fellowes, which I shal haue occasiō, to lay open vnto thee in the next chapter, & therefore I beseech thee, to beare them in mind.

To the end it may appeare, that our aduersaries neither haue, nor according to their principles can haue, anie practise at all of the euangelical counsell of Chastity, their Mahometical doctrine (teaching an impossibilitie to liue chaste) is ample, and particularlie declared out of their owne workes, and proued to be most absurd, in respect both of reason of state, and also of experience, and common sense, yea, sufficientlie controwled, and confuted by the Painimes and Infidels. Also the bad and beastlie effects of that doctrine, are testified by the licentious liues of their chiefe masters, or teachers. Finally diuers of their frimolous obiections, and vaine causes concerning this point, are fullie answered.

CHAP. 30.

Having proued by the authoritie of the holie scriptures, and ancient Fathers, that single and chaste life, is an euangelical counsell, necessarie to the perfection of christian religion, and hauing discovered by the way, the vaine shifts and euasions of Luther, Caluin, and their fellowes, and followers in their peruerse, and faulse interpretations of the holie scriptures, concerninge

those pointes, I wil now examine how this euangelical counsell is obserued, and practised by *Lutherans* and *Caluinists*, and to this purpose I will first lay downe the doctrine of their masters, concerning single life and virginitie, whereby it will euidentlie appeare, what practise they haue, or can haue thereof, if they stand to the groundes of their profession.

2 *Luther* in a certaine sermon of his concerning matrimonie, saith that, *Crescite, & multiplicamini*, encrease and multiplie, is not a precept, but more then a precept, that we cannot hinder, nor omit it, but that it is as necessarie as to eate, drinke, stir, purge sleepe, and wake, and as it is not in mans hand, so be other then a man, so it is not in his power to be without a woman &c. And againe in a nother place, if of a married couple, saith he, the one refuse to yeald the dutie of mariage to the other (as there are manie froward, & obstinate women, which though their husbands should commit adulterie ten times, are nothing moued there with) then is the time for the husband to say, if thou wilt not, an other will; if the wife will not, lett the waiting maid come, yet so that the husband admonish his wife thereof, two or three times, yea and make others priuie of her obstinacie, to the end it may be manifest, and shee publikelie reprobued. And if shee will not then yeald, dismisse her saith hee, marie *Hester*, and put away, *Vashti*, as king *Ahasuerus* did. For the wife hath not power of her owne bodie, saith *S. Paule*, but her husband, and so one the other side, he saith of the man, therefore when anie of the parties denieth to yeald the dutie of mariage to the other, it dissolueth the matrimonie. Thus saith he, who teacheth also, that if the husband bee impotent, the wife may either marie an other, or els with his consent lie secretlie with his brother, or some other man.

3 Behold then how *Luther* maketh no bones, to teach adulterie to be lawful, vpon pretence of necessitie, to satisfie a mans lust. But lett vs here some more of his good doctrine. As no man saith he, can liue without meate, or drinke, so no man can abstaine from a woman &c. The cause is, that wee are conceived in a woman, and nourished there, and borne of a woman, fedd, and bred by a woman, and therevpon it followeth, that wee cannot bee by anie meanes seperated from women. Also in the same booke he saith thus, *S. Hierome* writeth manie things, of the temptations of the flesh, ah a small matter, a woman in a mans house, may remedie the disease, *Eustochium*, might easelie haue helped, or relued *Hierome* in that case. Thus saith he, and could anie shamelesse ribald, speake more shamefullie of Gods seruants, and holie Saints? And againe in an other place, he saith. As God did seuerelie commende

Idem in colloquii germanicis de matrimonio.

thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not commit fornication, or adultery, so in the same manner, and much more it is commaunded, thou shalt marie a wife, thou shalt take a husband.

Finallie in an epistle to *Volfgangus Reisembuchs*, he teacheth that a single man, who meaneth to liue chaste, doth vndertake an impossibilitie, and fighteth with God. That to liue chaste, is no more in our hand, then to doe miracles, that he which meaneth to liue continent, must lay a way the name of a man, and make himselfe an Angel, or a spirit, for that God doth not graunt it to mā, by anie meanes. Thus saith he, and much more to the same purpose, his hart, being so full of filthie lust, that hee belcheth it forth euerie where most beastlie as you see.

Caluin, though he be not altogether so extrauagant in his manner of speech, yet is absurd in effect, saying that these wordes of *S. Paul. Bonū est* *Caluin. in* *omni mulierem non tangere*, it is good for a man not touch a woman, are like as if a man should say, it were good for a man not to eate, nor to drinke, if it could be, but because it cannot be without a miracle, therefore let euerie man eate and drinke. Thus saith *Caluin*, inferringe a necessitie for al men to marrie, because no man can liue chaste, but by miracle.

Also vpon our Saviours wordes. *Non omnes capiunt uerbum istud*, he teacheth that al men ought necessarily to marie, or that otherwise they are impious, and wicked, except onlie to those whome God hath revealed, that they are able to liue continet, and chaste. And further hee affirmeth in his *Institutiones*, that it is not our part, to haue hope or confidence to obtaine at Gods handes such a special gift, as continency, or chastitie is,

In like manner *Huldericum Zuinglium* saith, that we must looke to the institution of God, and marrie in good time, except wee be certaine, that God hath other wayes determined of vs. And *Conradus Pellicanus*, doth, that no chastitie possible to man, is greater then that of marriage, neither is more profitable euen to holie men, except they know certainly, that they haue a special grace, and vocation of God, and hee saith further, that there is a manifest law, and institution of God against single life, ordaining that men and women ought to marie.

Finallie *Bucer* also teacheth the verie same, and addeth that those, which transgresse or neglect Gods law, and ordinance of marriage, to liue a single life, full of danger, shal be greivously punished for their licentious, and arrogancie, and that no man ought to demaund, or request of God the gift of continencie, except he surelie know, that God will giue it him. Whereby it appeareth, that these masters, and reformers

Idem praefatio in Oeconomia Melchiorij.

To. 4.

Germania.

fo. 463.

Luther. ep.

ad Volfgang.

Reisemb.

buchs.

Caluin. in

comment.

huius loci.

Idem. com.

in. 19. Matth.

Idem. li. 4. in

Statut. cap.

23. 55. 27.

Zuing. in 1.

s. Matth.

Conrad. Pel-

licanus. cap. 1.

Mat. b.

Bucer. in ca.

1. Matth.

Bucer. in ca.

1. Matth.

masters

mers of the world (for such they would seeme to be) doe not onlie impugn continencie, which our Saviour, and his Apostles counseled, and practised, but also seeke to deprive themselves, & al there followers, of the meanes to obtaine it, Teaching that it ought not to be so much as craued and requested of almighty god. All which absurd doctrine, they ground vpon Mahometers beastly principle, to wit, that it is impossible to liue chaste, as may appeare in the Fouretenth chapter, where I treated of *Mahomet*, and his *Alcoran*.

Chap. 14. nu.

9 But now let vs consider a litle, what must needs follow of this their *Mahometical* doctrine. Yf therefore it be no lesse necessarie for euery man to haue the company of a woman, then to eate and drinke, nor more possible for him to containe, then to doe miracles, and againe if it be presumption in any man, to hope that God wil giue him the gift of continencie, & much more to demaund it, then it must needs follow, first, that fornication, in those which are iustly hindred from mariage (as any man may be at least for some time) is no sinne, seing it is vnpossible for him to be continent. As put the case, that a batcheler, or a widower, being desirous to marry to auoid fornication, can find none that will marry him, in respect either of his pouerty, or, of some notable deformitie, or of his bad condicions, what shall this man doe? He cannot by their doctrine containe, neither can he, or ought he, to hope for the grace or gift of continency at gods hands, must not he then of force commit at least fornication, if not some greater sinne of the flesh? And therefore, seeing it is in the opinion of these men, impossible for him to containe, it were absurditie for them to thinke, that it were any more sinne, then to eate, drinke, or sleepe, which no man can continually forbear without miracle.

10 Furthermore, put the case, that a man doe vse the only remedie for fornication, which these men assigne, to wit, that he is married, and that his wife haue some long sicknes, or lieth in childbed, or that he himselfe hath necessarie occasion to be from home for some time, what remedie hath he? For according to their opinion, he cannot liue continent, and therefore must perforce commit adulterie. Besides, what a wonderfull gappe is opened to ielousies, and suspicions betwixt man and wife, to their continual torment, and to the breeding of endles brawles, and iarres, and consequentie to the dissolution of mariages, and of whole families? For he that is perswaded in his conscience (as by this doctrine euery *Lutheran*, and *Caluinist* must be) that no man, or woman can liue chaste, how can he forbear to suspect his wife of incontinencie, if he be sick, or

neuer so little from her, whereby he shall also grow to suspect bastardy in his children, and what inconuenience is like to follow thereof, to the whole familie, any man may iudge.

11 Moreouer, how reprocchfull is this doctrine to all the vnmarried women, that professe the same, seeing it followeth thereof, that there cannot be an honest woman amongst them, if she can possiblie haue any meanes, or oportunitie to satisfie her lust? Yea and for what els doth it serue but, as I may say, for bellowes to blow the fire of concupiscence, and to kindle in mans corrupt nature, an inextinguible flame of lust? For he that is perswaded, that he cannot possiblie suppress his concupiscence, must needs thinke it vaine and labour lost, to strue against it, and by that meanes, he must needs resolue to lose the bridle to lust, and giue himselfe wholly vnto it; which if it were general in all men, and women (as it should be if this religion were generalie receiued) it could not but worke most brutish, and beastly effects in common welthe, as shall partly appeare after a while, by the fruits thereof in the professors of it, whereof I shall haue occasion to say some what hereafter.

12 But what will you say, if the necessitie of mariage, which these men imagin and teach as a deuine precept, driueth them to allow not only adulterie, but also *polygamy*, or hauing of many wiues at once, which is the worst kind of adulterie? whereto, not only their doctrine, but also their practise, tenderth. First therefore I will shew, how they allow adulterie.

13 This may appeare partly by the diuorce, which as I haue signified already, *Luther* ordaineth in case the wife be obstinate, and will not tender the duty of mariage, and partly by the decrees of the *Geneuian*, *Canon*, *German* and *German* churches, wherein it is determined, that if a woman depart from her husband, either for wickedenes of life, or for dislike of him, that then her husband may cause dilligent inquirie to be made after her, and demande of the minister letters of prouision, and cause her to be proclaimed in the church three sundayes, and if shee cannot be found, or appeare not within six weekes, that then her husband may take an other wife.

14 In like manner if a yong woman haue a husband, that is long absent, though it be by reason of some long sicknes, shee may cause him to be proclaimed, and cited, and if he appeare not, then shee may present her selfe vnto the minister, and demaunde a deuorce; and the minister must graunt it her, and the former husband, though he returne afterwards, and find her married, shall neuer more enioy

K k k

her.

Corpus doctrina christi.
Germanica in Repetit. confess. August. ca. de coniugio.

her. Also if a man goe a long voyage, then his wife must expect him for a yeare, liuing continent, and recommending her selfe to God in the meane time, but if he stay longer abroad, and that it be thought needfull for her, to haue the company of a husband, then shee may haue licence to marry an other. Thus is it decreed, and practised amongst Lutherans, and Calvinists, in Germany, and Geneva.

15 But here I would be glad to know by the way, how this last decree can stand, tyther with their owne doctrine, or with our Saviours. For whereas they ordained, that the wife for a yeare, shall recommend her selfe to God, and liue continent, and chaste, in case that her husband be absent, how may shee demaund continencie of God, seeing that, according to their opinion, shee neither knoweth whether he will giue it her, neither yet ought to presume it? Could shee liue so long without meat, drinke, or sleepe, which they say, is as possible as the other? And if they graunt, contrary to their former groundes, that shee may by recommending her selfe to God, containe for a yeare, may shee not also, by the same meanes liue continent, two, or three yeares, or more if neede be? For if God assisted her one yeare, had shee not more reason to hope, that he would continue his assistance still, then to seeke to dissolue a matrimonie, which by Christs owne doctrine is indissoluble? For howsoeuer they may pretend at least, some shew of scripture, for the dissolution of a true mariage, in case of fornication, by reason of our Saviours wordes in the list of *s. matthe* (to wit, *whosoever dismisseth his wife, except it be for fornication, and marrye an other, committeth adultery, &c.* which wordes neuertheles they interpret contrarie to the plaine and literal sense of other texts, in *s. Marke*, *s. Luke*, and the Apostle, and against the vniforme consent of all the ancient Fathers, and the continuall practise of the Church, as Cardinal *Belharmin*, and others do proue:) yet they haue not so much as any shew of scripture, to dissolue, contrarie to those expresse wordes of our Saviour, a ratified, and true mariage, when no cause or pretense of fornication occurreth. And yet they admit, not only a diuorce, but also a new mariage for Eight other respects, which our learned contriman *M. VVilliam Reynolds*, setteth downe particularly, in his worthy treatise intituled, *Caluinisturismus*, whereto I referre thee good Reader for breuities sake.

16 But to returne to *Luther*, what els doth he, by his doctrine, but prepare the way to Turkish *polygamy*, or pluralitie of wiues? nay will he make any scruple thinke you, to allow a man many wiues at once? No truly, and this is manifest in his owne workes, where treating

Matth. 5.

*Reginald. li.
2. ca. 10.*

of the *bigamy* of bishops, he saith, that the *Polygamy* of the *Jewes* (to whom it was lawful to haue many wiues at once) is neither commaunded to christians, nor forbidden, but least to their choice, and the same also he confirmeth els where, adding further, that as he would not introduce such a new custome, so neither would he forbid it.

Luther de bigamia. Episcop. proposit. 62. Idem in Genes. ca. 16. lenamsi.

17 Therefore it is no maruile, that one of his broode, namelie *Ochinus*, insisting vpon his groundes, directlie teacheth the pluralitie of wiues to be lawfull, inferring the same vpon *s. Pauls* wordes to *Timothy*, where he ordained; that a *bisoph* should be the husband of one *wife*, wherein the Apostle meaneth (as the Catholike church both vnderstandeth and practiseth) such a one, as hath benne but once married) as all the ancient Fathers of the church, doe also vnderstand it, But *Ochinus* following the interpretation of *Luther*, *Bera*, *Caluin*, *Peter Martyr*, and the rest of the sectaries, (who expound it to be meant by such, as haue but one wife at once,) argueth, that seeing *s. Paule* forbade many wiues at once to Bishops, and Deacons, he did consequentlie allow them to all other men. *Pauli mens haec est*, saith he, *omnibus plures uxores habere liceat, ut episcopis singulas, ne multitudo uxorum, et populi salute procuranda auocaret.* The meaning of *Paule* is, that it may be lawfull for christians, to haue many wiues (at once) and to bishops, only one, least the multitude of wiues, may withdraw them from procuring the saluation of the people.

1. Tim. 3.

Ochin. Dialogo. li. 2. dialo. 21. pag. 200. & 204. vide Caluino Turcis. li. 2. c. 10.

18 Thus saith he, and yet a litle after, he alloweth also to bishops, more wiues then one at once, and teacheth that they are only forbidden to haue many wiues, as kings were prohibited in ould time, to haue many horses, (not because they might not haue more then one, but least hauing a great number, they might put more confidence in them, then in God:) euen so also, saith *Ochinus*, the prohibition to Bishops of many wiues, is to be vnderstood, *de immodica uxorum multitudine*, of an immoderat multitude of wiues.

Vbi supra pag. 204. & 205.

19 Behould then how these men vso the holly scriptures, wresting them to serue their turne, for the maintenance of their sensualitie, and lust, whereby also you may see, how dangerous a thing it is to leaue the common sense of scriptures, giuen by the church (which is the pillar of truth) to follow any mans priuat, and particuler interpretation, by which meanes all the heresies, that haue hitherto benne in Gods church, haue bene bred, and maintained, and by the same meanes haue sprong so many sects from *Luther*, as we see at this day, every one of them building vpon his groundes, and foundations,

what he thought good, and interpreting the holy scriptures by this example, according to their owne fancies, whereby the *Anabaptists* fell first to the plurality of wiues, and after to a communitie of women, whereto *Luthers* doctrine of the necessitie of copulation, and his libertie in the interpretation of the scriptures, opened the gate, as euidentlie appeareth, in the historie of the first *Anabaptists*, in *Munster*, whereof I omit to recount the particulars for breuities sake.

20 And this shall suffice concerning the doctrine of *Lutherans*, and *Caluinists*, touching mariage, and single life, wherebie it may easely be imagined, what practise they haue of our Sauours counsel of virginity, and continencie, seeing it is euident, that the seede of this doctrine, being sowed in the hearts of men, and watered with the daily dew of our bad inclination, and ripened at length with the heat of concupiscence, can produce no other fruit, but corruption of manners, dissolute life, fornication, adulterie, all enormitie, and extremitie of vice. Wherebie it may easelie be iudged that the enemy of mankind, hauing alreadie ouerthrowne christian religion in the east parts of the world, by the sensual, and carnal doctrine of *Mahomet*, hath also attempted now in these latter times, to worke the like effect in the west parts, by the like sensualitie of *Luther*, *Caluin*, *Breke*, and such others, who hauing prostituted themselves, both soule, and body, to all lust, and carnalitie were the fittest instruments that he could find, to helpe him to desflower, as I may say, the virginal purity of the Catholike faith, instilling heresie into the mindes of men, together with the plausible, and pleasing doctrine, of all sensual libertie.

21 Therefore we may see, how true is that which I insinuated in the first part of this Treatise, and promised to shew more amply here, to wit, that the law of the flesh (which I proued there to be far more potent, then ciuill, and politickall law) hath not only her protectors, and aduocates, but also her preachers, and doctors, and a religion of her owne, as appeareth euidentlie in this doctrine, of these sectaries, and shall farther appeare by their vicious liues, whereof I am now to treat.

22 For if any mando doubt, whether their liues were correspondent to their doctrine, he may be sufficientlie resolued, by reading partly what *Luther*, and some others of them write of themselves, and partly what one of them writeth of an other. *Luther* signifieth, that in the beginning of his gospelling, (before his sacrilegious, and incestuous mariage, with *Katherin Bore* the Nunne) he was almost mad with the

*Luther in
in colloquio
mensalibus.
uide Calui-
notarum li.
Reginaldi li.
2. co. 11.*

hear,
ment
head
then
semach
he w
heaven
geb,
in faith
deligh
in, as
21. A
that he
that fo
And E
with h
which
and he
suaded
stance,
mans
24. T
learned
faith h
was pu
who w
mes, t
some li
discipl
shut.
wont
mans
Ealesta
Berne,
pon p
lisse w
not de
who b
ned w
towne
best

heart, and vehemencie of lust, and the loue of women. And in his comment vpon the wordes of *Salomon*, where he praiseth a good matron, he addeth this marginal note, *nothing is more lovely, and sweete vpon earth, then the loue of a woman*, and this he saith he learned of his hostesse at *Stemack*, and knew it to be true by his owne experience. Besides that he writeth, that matrimonie is most worthy to be called, a *spirituall*, heavenly, and deuine state, and that the nature thereof is such, as it mouerh, vrgeth, and inciteth a man to the highest, and most spirituall worke, that is to say, in faith. whereby it appeareth that he was so drunke with the filthie delights, and pleasures of the flesh, that he placed all his felicitie therein, as the *Mahometans* doe.

23 As for *Caluin*, *Conradus Schlusshusius*, a *Lutheran*, testifieth of him, that he was marked with a hot Iron, at *Noyon* in *France* for *Sodomy*, and that for shame thereof he sold his benefice, and went into *Germany*. And *Hieronymus Bolfec*, who had benne a phisition at *Geneua*, and liued with him there, witnesseth also the same in the historie of his life, which he wrote afterwards being conuerted to the *Carholike* faith, and he addeth, that a gentleman called *Iacobus de Burgundia*, was persecuted by his wife to remoue from *Geneua*, to *Berne*, for the great instance, that *Caluin* made to corrupt her, and that he oft abused an other mans wife, as it was confessed by her maid.

24 These, with diuers other particulers, are also witnessed by the learned bishop *Lindan*, vpon the common fame thereof. *Non desunt*, saith he, *plurima* &c. There want not many signes, and tokens of *Caluins* publike adulteries, with those his faire and fine shee-disciples who were wont to come vnto him, with their bibles vnder their armes, to be resolu'd of their doubts in the scriptures, hauing only some litle child in their companie of two, or three yeare ould, which disciples of his he vsed to catechize with the doores and windowes shut. And in like maner it is constantlie reported, that he was wont often towards the euening, to goe out of *Geneua*, to visit a mans wife in her husbands absence. Besides that our contriwoman *Ealesia*, was forc't to remoue with her husband, from *Geneua* to *Berne*, because he importunatelie sollicit'd her to marry him, vpon pretence that her husband was weake, and sickly, as shee herselfe was wont oft times to testifie to her friendes. Finallie, he cannot deny his incest, with a Nunne of the monasterie of *Keilmur*, who being runne out of her cloister, was at his request, maintained with a publike stipend of twoo crownes a moneth, by the towne of *Geneua*, to serue him for a chamber maid to make his

Annotation
Lutheri in
cm. proverb.
31.
Luther to 15.
comment. in
1. Cor. 7. fol.
100. & 107.

Conrad.
Schluss. Cal.
ui.
Hieron. Bol.
sec in vi. a.
Caluini.

Lindan in
sua christo-
machia vide
Stanislaum
Reschium li.
1. de Atheis-
mus euange-
li. cor. c. 9.

bed for five yeares together, vntill at length he got her with child, and when shee was foure months gonne with child, hee married her to a certaine apostaticall cannon, who liued at *Losanna*. Thus farre *Andan*, and this shall suffice concerning *Caluin*.

25 Of *Bera*, there needeth no other testimonie of his lasciuiousnes, then his owne filthy Epigrammes, which *Tilmanus Hesshus* a Lutheran, calleth *sacriligum carmen*, a sacriligious verse, or poeme, wherein saith *Tilmanus*, he long to the world, his owne abominable loue, his fornications, and filthy adulteries, and amongst the rest, there is yet there to be seene, a most beastlie Epigrame concerning a boy, caled *Audebert*, and *Candida* a taylors wife, wherein hee debateth, whether of them he should preferre before the other. And *Hieronimus Bolfse*, writeth also in his life, that the true name of *Candida*, was *Claudia*, and that in the end, *Bera* entised her away from her husband, and fled with her to *Geneua*, where hee kept her as his wife. Finally, *Conradus Schlüsselhusius*, the Lutheran aforesaid, witnesseth that *Bera*, spent his whole life in lust and lasciuiousnes, in so much, that the same authour saith, hee was transformed in *Meretricum lenam & cinedum*, which I am ashamed to explicate in English, but bee it true or false, so saith one of his brethren in the Ghospel.

26 Furthermore, *Huldericus Zuinglius*, of whome the sect of Sacramentaries called Zuinglians, take their name, confesseth plainlie of himselfe, and other ministers, in an epistle which hee wrote in their name and his owne, to the *Suyffers*, that the workes of the flesh, and heate of concupiscence, had made him and them, *infames coram ecclesijs, infamous in the sight of their church, or congregations*. And in an other epistle to the bishop of *Constancia*, whereto diuers other principall Euangelists subscribed, he affirmeth of himselfe, and them, that they had so burned with lust, that some amongst them, of forty yeares of age, had *donne manie thinges vnseemely*.

27 Also I cannot omit to say somewhat of that which *Villagagnon*, a French man, writeth of his owne experience touching the vnbridled, and exhorbitant lust of certaine euangelical ministers, and preachers, who went with him by the order of *Caluin*, *Bera*, and the magistrates of *Geneua*, to *Noua Francia* in *America*, with designement to plant the ghospel there, of whome *Villgagnon* testifieth, that as soone as they came one land, they did not onlie preach manie thinges different and repugnant one to an other, but also that some of them, who had least their wiues at *Geneua*, married againe, and that other of them, were so monstrous for their dissolute life, that euen those barbarous people

*Hieron. Bol-
fic. in vita
Bera.
Conrad. Sch-
lus. Caluini
Theologia. li.
1. fo. 92.*

*Zuinglius.
alique euan-
gelici. to. 1.
fol. 115.
Vide Calui-
notur. li. 2.
ca. 11.*

*Vbi supra.
fol. 129.
Caluinotur.
ibid.*

*Villagagnon.
contra artic.
Richer.*

after a while abhorred them, for their brutish intemperance, and their
 sodomy, in so much that one amongst the rest, rauished his owne sisters
 sonne, and when some would haue had him, and the rest punished,
 Richerus (who was cheefe minister there) excused him, and them, saying
 that consideration must be had of mans infirmitie, for that, as the
 Apostle teacheth. *Diuisiones sunt gratiarum*, there are diuisions of graces,
 and so no iustice was donne vpon them.

Thus writeth Villagagnon, who was present, and cheefe commaun-
 der in the voyage, being then a Caluinist, though afterwards he was
 conuerred to the Catholike faith, and wrote against certaine Articles
 of Richerus afore said, in which booke he testifieth this, which I haue
 here related.

Villag. contra
 articul. Ri-
 cheri. li. 1. c.
 90.

By Seeing then the doctrin of Luther, and his fellowes, wrought this
 effect in themselves, who had the verie first fruits of the Euangelicall
 spirit, and the puritie of it (if there were anie puritie in it) what may
 we thinke of the common sort of people, that followed their instru-
 ctions, and example?

The truth whereof appeareth in a German writer, called Crecanonius, Crecanonius
 who bewailing greatelie the lamentable state of Germanie saith, that de corruptis
 the sinne of the flesh, was neuer in former times so inordinate, and moribus v-
 excessiue in those partes as in this age, for now, saith he, the doctrin of trisq. epar-
 Luther (that a man can no more liue without the companie of a woman, then tis.
 without meate) is held for a deuine law, and so published euery where, that it is li. 2. c. 11.
 thought impossible for any young man or maid, to abstaine, when they beginne once
 to ripe. And hereuppon (as not onlie Crecanonius, but also, VVigandus VVigandus.
 affirmeth) it followed in Germanie, that boyes, and girles committed de bonis. Co-
 great enormities, pretending for their excuse this doctrin of Luther, and malis Ger-
 that therefore their parents were forced to marry them so yong, that man.
 there could not but grow great inconuenience thereof to their com-
 mon welth, by their vtinellie procreation.

Lo then, what is the fruite of Luther, and Caluins doctrin, whereby
 it appeareth euidentlie, that it serueth for no other purpose, as before I
 said, but to blow the coales of concupiscence, and to kindle an vn-
 quencheable flame of lust, in all those that embrace it, seeing it tea-
 reth an impossibilitie to liue continent, contrarie to the light of rea-
 son, and the common experience, not onlie of Christians, but also of
 the verie paynims, who though for the encrease of their common
 welth, they commonlie moued men to mariage, yet they held chastity
 for a great vertue, which they would not haue donne, if they had not
 thought, yea and knowne it, to be possible.

31 This

Plato. 8. de
leg.

32 This may appeare in *Plato*, who in his lawes ordaineth punishment for adultery, fornication, and the sinne against nature, prouing the equitie of his law, and the possibilitie of continency by experience, namelie of the wrestlers and champions in the games of *olimpus*, who were wont to liue most continent, during al the time of those exercises, onlie for the desire of victorie, and the loue of honour, whereupon he saith: *And shal not then other young men be able to containe themselves to the end they may gaine a greater victorie, that is to say, vt voluptate viciatius faciter viuant, that by the conquest of pleasures, they may liue happilie?* Thus reasoneth he vppon common experience, and further saith, that if by the helpe of good lawes and other meanes, there were a firme opinion & conceit bred general in the mindes of men, that fornication, adulterie, and other sinnes of the flesh, were odious to god and man, it would make men as continent from other women, as they are from their sisters and daughters, from whome al men, be they neuer so wicked, abstaine for the verie horreur that is commonlie conceived thereof. Moreover, he also perswadeth the equitie of his law, and possibilitie of continency, by the example of birds and beastes, which doe procreat with great moderation, onlie in due time and seasons, and therefore saith he. *It is a great shame that reasonable men should be worse, and more incontinent then brute beastes.* Finally he concludeth, that the furie of lust may be tempered, and chastitie preserved, by the vse of continuall labour, and travail.

Thus discourseth *Plato*, purposelie to proue that continencie is possible, contrary to the opinion of some dissolut men in his time, with whome he also confuteth *Luther* and his fellowes, yea and concludeth them to be worse then beastes.

33 But what? Had not the *Painims* also their virgins, whome they held in great estimation? We reade, that the *vestall* virgins amongst the *Romans*, were so respected and honored, that whosoever mett them in the way (yea though he were consul and supreme magistrate) gaue them place: and if a malefactor being lead to execution, did chauce to meet them, hee was freed from death, besides manie other honorable priueldges which they had by the *Roman* lawes. And whereas it was ordained that they should be buried aliue, in case they were incontinent, was it not an euident argument that the lawmaker & magistrate thought continencie to bee possible? For otherwise their law had benne vniust, neither would anie woman haue vnderaken that kind of life, if they had perswaded themselves that it was impossible, as these sectaries teach now a dayes. How manie notable virgins doe we reade

Onuphris
11. Comment.
reip. Rom. de
ciuit. Rom.

As in prophane histories, whose memorie, and fame was highly celebrated, and recommended to all posteritie? whereof many particulars may be seene, in *S. Hieroms* most excellent bookes against *Iovinian*, whose heretical opinion, concerning the equality of mariage, and virginitie he confureth, and sheweth by the way how much virginitie was prized, and honored amongst the very *Painims*. To which purpose he mentioneth *Aralanta* of *Calidonia*, *Harpalice* of *Thracia*, *Cassandria* queene of the *Volsi*, *Chalchans*, *Iphigenia*, the *Tenne Sibilla*, *Cassandria*, the virgins that serued in the temples of *Diana*, *Taurica*, and *Vesta*, who he saith, were innumerable. Also the daughters of *Phido* in *Greece*, who drowned them selues to saue their virginie, and fifty *Lacedemonian* virgins, who suffered death, rather then they would consent to be corrupted by the *Messenians*, as also *Stimphalides* an *Orchomenian*, another of *Thebes*, and seauen *Milesian* virgins, who saued their virginie with losse of their liues. Besides that diuers others whom he nameth slew themselves, because they were rauished against their wills: As the two daughters of *Scedasus*, and a *Theban* maid, who in the reuenge of the iniurie donne vnto her, first slew him, that forced her, & after slew her selfe, being loth, saith *S. Hierome*, either to liue after the losse of her virginie, or to die before shee had reuenged it. Finally he concludeth with the daughter of *Pithagoras* (who was prefect, or gouernesse of a company of virgins, and read them a lecture of chastity) to whome he also addeth siue daughters of one *Diodorus*, who were of such singuler commendation, partly for their learning, and partly for their chaste life, that the Philosopher *Philo*, master to *Carneades*, wrote a large historie of them, so that wee neede no deeper diuinitie, to confute this brutish doctrin of these late sectaries, then the experience of *Painimes* and *Infidels*.

S. Hieron.
Contra Iovinianum. li. 1.
versus finē.

34 For although it cannot be denied, but that they had some extraordinary, and speciall helpe of almighty God, as some times the wickedest men may haue, to do some moral workes (which *S. Augustin* obserueth in *Polemon*, who being a very riotous man, became very sober & temperate vpon a suddaine, by the doctrin and persuations of *Xenocrates*, with the special helpe of God, for other wise saith *S. Augustin*, it could not be:) yet it must needs be graunted, that seing God of his infinit mercy, assisted them in the preservation of their virginity, who had no intent to honour him therein, he is, and euer wilbe much more ready, to assist his faithfull seruants, that shall humbly craue his grace, to that end, with desire to honour and serue him, and to follow the example, not only of Christ himselfe, his mother, *S. Iohn Baptist*, and of all the

S. August. ep.
130. To. 2.

S. Hiero. ep.
22. ad Eu-
stochium cir-
ca medium.
Iudish. 1.
Luc. 2.

Apostles after their vocation, but also of diuers holly men in the old law, for as S. Hierome saith. *Virgo Elias, Helixem virgo, virgines filij prophetarum, Hieremia dicitur, & tu ne accipias uxorem. Elias was a virgin, Helixem was a virgin, the sonnes of the prophets were virgins, and it was said in Hieremy the prophet, and doe not thou take a wife.* Thus saith S. Hierome, whereto may be added the chaste widowhood of Iudith, and Anna the prophetesse, who as the Gospel witnesseth, hauing benne married but only seauen yeares, remained widow seruing God in the temple to fourscore, and foure yeares of her age.

35 But now if we consider the experience, that is, and euer hath benne, since our Sauours comming, of the most continent, chaste, and pure life of innumerable christiann virgins, and other religious persons of both sexes, we may wonder at the absurditie of the new ghospellers, who measuring other mens integritie, by their owne corruption, and dissolution, do impudently deny that, which infinit numbers of men, and women in the catholike church, haue for so many ages experimented, and do daily try in them selues, as appeareth by the wonderfull multitude of virgins in the primitiue church, throughout all the east partes, as I haue amply shewed already out of the Fathers, and historiographers, of the first fūe hundred yeares after Christ; whereto I will only ad heere, that S. Ambrose, speaking of the churches of *Africk, of Alexandria, and of the east* in his time, saith. *Pauciores hic homines prouident, quam illic virgines consecrantur. Fewer men appeare in these partes, then virgins are consecrated there.* Besides that, he also signifieth the great concourse of virgins to *Millan*, to be veiled there, not only out of other partes of *Italy*, but also from the furthest boundes of *Mauritania*. And what infinit numbers of holly virgins, & other religious women there haue benne euer since, and are at this day throughout all christendome, no man can be ignorant, so that the experience, euen of our owne time conuinceth, that continencie is not only possible, but also easy, with the assistance of Gods grace, for otherwise such multitudes of the weaker sex, neither would so willingly vndertake religious life, as they doe, neither could so happilie performe it. But so blind, and absurd is heresie, that it teacheth many times thinges repugnant, not only to the light of reason, but also to common sense, and experience.

S. Ambros. li.
3. de virgin.

Idem. li. i.

36 Therefore can any man with any reason imagin, that these men learned this their absurd doctrin out of the holy scriptures, as they pretend? Let vs then breecfelie examin their groundes, to see of what validitie they are. They teach out of the scripture (and that very truly) that continencie

continencie is the gift of God, for so saith, *Salomon. Non possum esse continens, nisi deus det. I cannot be continent, except God giue it.* And our Saviour in like sort, speaking thereof, saith, *Non omnes capiunt verbum istud, sed quibus datum est. All men doe not take this word, but those to whom it is giuen.* And lastly the Apostle, hauing exhorted all men to lead a single, & chaste life, like to him, added, *Sed unusquisque proprium donum habet ex deo, alium quidem sic, alium vero sic. Every one hath a proper gift of God, one in this sort, and an other in that.* Vppon which places, and such other to the like effect, they inferre, that being continencie is the gift of God, it is no more in mans power to be continent, then to be a prophet, or to doe miracles, yea, and that it were no lesse presumption to pray for the gift of continencie, then for the gift of prophesie, as I haue signified before.

con-Sap. 3.

Matth. 19.

1. Cor. 7.

Caluin. li. 4.

Instit. c. 13.

Bucer in ch.

19. Matth.

2 Num. 6. 8.

8.

57 But who seeth not the absurditie of this inference? Ys it not euident that there is great difference in Gods gifts, and that some of them may iustly be said to be in our power, & other not? For although some thinges are giuen vs by almighty God, without our cooperation, or any endeouour of ours (as the giftes of tongues, of prophesie and such like,) which therefore are no way in our power, yet to other gifts of god, is required our cooperation, and diligence, to obtaine the same, which are promised vnto vs, in case wee seeke them duly by prayer, & such other meanes, as God hath ordained, & such are the gifts, not only of continency, but also of faith, hope, and charitie, and all other vertues, which therefore may iustly be said to be in our power, because we may assuredly haue them, if wee wil vse the due meanes to obtaine them.

58 And betwixt these twoo sortes of gifts, this difference is also to be noted, that those of the first sort, (as the gift of tongues, prophesie, & such like) are not necessarie either for our saluation, or for our perfection, but only are giuen by almightie God extraordinarilie, to some particular persons, at some times, and in some places, as to his infinit wisdom seemeth most conuenient for his owne glory, whereas the other giftes of the latter sort (to wit continencie faith, & other vertues) are necessarie, either for euery mans saluation, or at least for that perfection whereto our Saviour inuited, & counsell'd euery man, in which respect he is euer ready to bestow them vppon vs, whensoever we doe duly labour for them, and humbly craue them at his handes, as he promised when he said. *Petite & accipietis, pulsate & aperietur vobis. Aske, and you shall receiue, knock and it shalbe opened vnto you.*

Matth. 7.

59 For were it not ridiculous to thinke, that our Saviour, or his

Apostles, would so seriously exhort vs to continencie (as I haue produced they did) but that god will giue it vs if wee doe humbly, and duly demaund it of him? Did they euer counsell vs to doe miracles, or to prophesie, or such other things, as God giueth without any endeavour of ours? Again are not faith, and charitie giftes of God (as I haue said) as well as continencie? *Vobis datum est*, saith the Apostle, *ut in eum credatis*. It is giuen to you, that is to say, it is Gods gift, that you beleue in him. Also, *non omnium est fides*, beleefe is not euery mans. And againe, *Nemo potest venire ad me nisi quem pater traxerit*. No man can come to me, but he that my Father drawes. And in like maner, the Apostle saith of charitie, *that, diffusa est in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis*. It is spread, or powred in to our harts by the holly Ghost which is giuen vs. Neuer thelesse, forasmuch as the obtaininge of these vertues, dependeth in part vpon our selues, we are exhorted in the scripture to beleue, and to loue God, and our neighbour, which exhortation (as I haue signified before) were vaine, if it were not in our power to performe it, with the helpe of Gods grace, which he promisseth to giue to those which demaund it.

40 Therefore it followeth not, that because continencie is Gods gift, therefore it is not in our power, for so should neither faith, nor charity, be in our power; where vpon it would also follow, that no man should iustly be damned for want of faith, or charitie, for no man can be iustly punished, because he wanteth that which he cannot by any meanes compasse, or procure. And therefore although almightie God doth punish no man because he doth not prophesie, and doe miracles (which are not in our hands, or power) yet he iustly condemneth Infidels, for want of faith, and bad Christians, for want of charitie, adulterers, and fornicators, for lacke of continencie, and for the same cause also iustly punisheth those, which breake voves of chastitie, as the Apostle testifieth of the yong widows, who he said had, *damnation, for that they breake their first faith*: and the reason is because they might haue liued chaste, if they would haue donne their due diligence, and vsed conuenient meanes to obtaine the grace, and gift of chastity at Gods handes.

41 But let vs heare what the ancient Fathers say concerning this matter, I haue shewed before, that *s. Chrysostome* expounding those very wordes of our Sauour, which these men peruert to their purpose, (to wit, *non omnes capiunt verbum istud* &c. teacheth expresselie, out of the circumstances thereof, not only that our Sauour did seriously exhort vs to continencie therein, but also that he encouraged

Philip. 1.
2. Thess. ca.
ultimo.

Ioan. 6.

Rom. 5.

1. Tim. 5.

S. Chrysost.
Tom. 2. Ho.
63. in ca. 19.
Math.

where
of the v
obiecti
why did
the, or
said, ut
in the e
giuen by
he will
and tha
gunt, fo
iunur)
ambar ,
those sha
lination.
who con
e contri
superfluo
guish the
42. Th
ctin, o
terprete
the imp
euery o
and eno
promis
such so
say, vpp
Gods g
represen
43. For
our Sa
foels o
god, if
now wi
will thos
who w
counse
44. A
worde

whethereto, by proposing vnto vs partly the worthines, and greatnes of the vertue, and partly the possibilitie of it, and then he maketh this objection against himselfe. But if *this*, saith he, be a matter of our election, why did our Saviour say in the beginning of his discourse, that all men do not take, or receive this word, but those only to whome it is giuen? Mary this he said, ut singulare certamen esse discas, non ut sorte datam necessitatem suspiceris. In the end thou maiest learne, that it is a single combat, and not a necessitie giuen by lot, (that is to say, that it is a thing, which any man may haue, if he will fight for it, and not that some men haue it, as it were by lot, and that others can not haue it:) his enim datum est qui sponte id eligant, for it is giuen to them, who choose it willingly, and therefore (our Saviour) said so to signifie vnto vs, that if wee will haue the victorie in this combat, we haue neede of helpe from aboue, which helpe is ready for all those that craue it. Thus saith he. And a litle after. Si suprema solummodo donationis est &c. If (chastity) be only the gift of God, and that those who conserue themselves in perpetual virginity, doe not seeme to conferre, we contribute any thing at all thereto, the kingdome of heauen is promised them superfluously, or without cause, neither doth (our Saviour) worthilie distinguish them from other Eunuches.

42. Thus saith *s. Chrysostome*, notable confirming our Catholike doctrine, out of our Sauours owne words, and confuting aswell the interpretation that our aduersaries make thereof, as also their doctrine of the impossibilitie of continencie, which he proueth to be possible for euery one (that will duly labour for it) because our Saviour exhorted, and encouraged vs vnto it, with promise of eternall reward, which promise, saith he, had benne superfluous, if it were only Gods gift, in such sort, that it did not also partly depend vppon our selues, that is to say, vppon our owne diligent endeouour, aswell in seeking the helpe of Gods grace, as also in vsing such mortifications, as are requisite to the repression of concupiscence.

43. For the same reason also *Tertulian*, rehersing the same wordes of our Saviour, saith. *Elige quod bonum est, si non potes, quia non vis, posse enim se uelis offendit, quia tuo arbitrio utrumque proposuit &c.* Choose that which is good, if thou canst not, because thou wilt not, for he sheweth, that thou maist if thou wilt, seeing he leaueth it to thy choice, thou must depart from him, whose will thou wilt not doe. So he: alluding to the rich man, in the gospel, who went away from our Saviour, because he wold not follow his counsel, in selling his goods and geuing the money to the poore.

44. Also *Origen* in his commentary vppon that Gospel, and the same wordes, saith. *Qui vult capere verbum &c. He which will take the word of*

Idem ho. 63.
in c. 19.
Matth.

Tertul. li. de
Monogamia
prope finem.

Matth. 19.

Origen. in
ca. 19. Matth.

S. Hieron. in our Saviour concerning chastitie, let him craue it, beleeuing him that said it, and shall receiue it, not doubting of that which was said (by him) omni qui petit accipit, euery one which asketh receiueth. Thus saith Origen.

45 And with these agreeth *S. Hierome*, who expounding the same woords saith. *Huius datum est &c. It is giuen to them, who haue craued it, who would haue it, and haue laboured to receiue it.* To conclude all the Fathers of the church, which haue occasion to treat of virginity, doe vniformelie hold, & affirme the same that these doe, amongst whom,

S. August. li. 2. de adulter. in coniugiis c. 10. 13. & 20. S. Basil. in lib. virginitate ultra medium. *S. Augustin, and S. Basil* (who were two of the most famous for learning, and holly life) doe expressly, and amply teach, that continency is so possible to all men, that euen those may, and doe obserue it, who are forced against their wills, (as many times it happeneth) to vnder- take some condicion, or state of life that requireth chastity, though they neuer determind it, or thought of it before.

46 Therefore whereas some of these Fathers before alledged, doe seeme sometimes to speake of some, that cannot liue chaste, or exhort those to chaste life, who cannot performe it, they are not to be thought to contradict themselues, and to deny that any man may haue the gift of chastitie, who will vse the due meanes to obtaine it, but it is to be vnderstood, that supposing the corruption of many mens wills to be such, that they will not vse such prayer, and mortification, as were conuenient to the obtaining of it, the Fathers vse sometimes that manner of speech, as though some men could not be continent, supposing I say, that they will not doe their endeavour thereto: as in like maner we see, that some sick man, being willed to take a potion that might cure his disease, hath such a loathing to it, that he saith, he possible cannot, and will rather be sick still, or perhaps die, then take it, though neuertheles he might take it, if he would, & cannot, because he will not, and in that case the phisitian may well say vnto him (supposing his determinat will and resolution) that seeing he cannot take medicin (which is the only meanes for his cure) there is no remedy, and in the same sort and sence, the Fathers speake some times of some that cannot liue chaste.

S. Hieron. in Apologia. pro lib. contra Iovinianum. 47 This appeareth euidentlie in *S. Hierome* who hauing said. *si autem se continere non possunt. If they cannot be continent, addeth presentlie, and will rather quench the fire of lust with fornication then with continencie, it is better for them to marry, then to be burnt.* So that *S. Hierome* explicateth sufficientlie, what he meaneth by saying, if they cannot contene, vnderstanding that they will rather commit fornication, then labour to be continent.

48 And the like also may be said of other ancient Fathers, who treating sometimes of mans continencie, may wel vse the words, *can*, or *cannot*, in the same sense, to wit, with supposition of mans will, either to labour for it, or no, for that those which will vse conuenient prayer to God, and mortification, may liue chaste, and those which will not vse those means cannot And thus much I haue thought good to note by the way, to ease our aduersaries of the labour, to seeke our such manner of speech in the Fathers, whose meaning can be no other then that which heere I haue sett downe, except they will make them most absurdlie contradict themselves.

49 Thus then thou hast seene good Reader, the different doctrine of Luther, Calvin and their followers one the one side, and of the most ancient, learned, and holie Fathers of the Church one the other side, as repugnant and opposit, as blacke and white, as light and darkenes, as error and truth, that is to say, as heresie and Catholike religion: and therefore whether of these are to be beleued and followed, I leaue it to the iudgment of anie indifferent man.

50 And what trow you doe our aduersaries answer to the vniforme consent of the Fathers against them in this point? Marie saith *Peter Martir* their testimonies are but humane; and it is against the dutie of a christian man, yea iniurious to the holie Ghost, to appeale from the scriptures of God, to the iudgment of man. But who seeth not how ridiculous is this answer? First, are the testimonies of the Fathers humane, and the other of *Peter Martir* and his followers deuine? And if the Fathers were men, as indeede they were as these other, trow you such celestial creatures, that they may attribute more to themselves then to those greate seruants of God, and saintes, whose greate learning and most holie life, al the christian world hitherto hath admired, and God himselfe hath oft times approved, by notable and euident miracles, which cannot be denied to be true, without the impudent deniall of the testimonie of all antiquitie? Whereas one the one side, those others haue no testimonie at all, for the confirmation of their doctrine, either from antiquitie, or by their owne good life, and much lesse from almightie God by miracles. For the testimonie of antiquitie, as you see condemneth them. Their loose and sensuall liues (whereof I haue partlie spoken alreadie, and will doe more hereafter) bewraierh their bad spirit. And so farr of are they, from hauing any miraculous approbation from almightie God, that they are faine for the want thereof, to denie the vndoubted experience that the worlde hath at this day, and euer hath had of miracles, as shall appeare more amply hereafter.

Petrus Martir.
lib. li. de ca-
libatu &
votis in fine.

Num. 22. 23.
24. 25. 26.
Eccl. Chap. 31.
num. 34. 35.
36. Eccl.
Chap. 28.

51 Yea but, say they we haue the scriptures, and to appeale from them to the Fathers, is iniurie to the holie Ghost. As though the Fathers had not the scriptures, aswell as they, yea and more then they? Doe not their most learned and notable commentaries (I meane of the Fathers) vpon all the old and new testament, and the confirmation of al their doctrine by the frequent, plentifull, and continuall allegation thereof, wittnesse sufficientlie their knowledge, esteeme, and reuerence of the holie scriptures? Nay which is more, in this question which now we handle, concerning the counsels of our Sauour, and particularly touching the possibilitie and dignitie of virginite, haue you not seene that the Fathers confirme their Catholike doctrine and ours, abundantlie with expresse scripture, confuting the same opinions that our aduersaries hold, partlie with the verie circumstances of the texts, that are now controuersed betwix them and vs, and partlie with the conference of one text with an other? Doe we then appeale from the Scriptures to the Fathers, or is the question betwixt vs and them, whether we or they alledge the scriptures, or rather who vnderstandeth them aright? For as we doe not denie that they cite scriptures for their opinions (as the diuel did to Christ, and the *Arrians*, and all heretikes haue euer donne, yea manie times more abundantlie then they) so they cannot deny, but that we also plentifully alledge them for our Catholike doctrine. But herein is the difference, that we vnderstand the same scriptures, not accordinge to our priuat and particular fancies (as they and al sectaries and heretikes doe) but accordinge to the sense that the greater number of the most ancient, learned and holie Fathers of the church deliuered thereof, aboue a thousand yeares agoe, before these last controuersies arose betwixt them, and vs.

52 Therefore I say, I leaue it to the iudgment of anie indifferēt and vnpassionate man, who hath care of his soule, and a desire to know and embrace the truth, whether it bee more secure for him to follow those Fathers, in their vniforme interpretation of the scriptures, then the sense that our aduersaries draw thereof, to the maintenance of the most sensual, and carnal doctrine that euer was heard of amongst men, professing the name, and faith of Christ, as sufficientlie appeareth by that which I haue alleadged before, out of their owne workes, wherein through the iudgment of God, they notable betray their owne spirits, powring forth out of the abundance of their hearts, such sensual and carnal paradoxes as you haue heard. Whereby it may easelie be iudged, that al the rest of the euangelical libertie, which they preach, proceedeth from the same ground of beastlie carnalitie, which is an inseperable companion and vndoubted

Matth. 4.
Luc. 4.

marke, of the impure spirit of heresie : as on the contrarie side purity of life and chastity, is a special badge, and an infalible signe of the spirit of God, and truth of Christian religion.

13 Therefore the prophet *Zachary*, foretelling the comming of Christ, and the speciall fruites, and effects of his grace in his elect, saith. *Quid* Zachar. 9. *et vinum bonum eius est, & quid pulchrum eius, nisi frumentum electorum, & vinum germinans virgines?* What is the good, and faire which he giueth, but the wheat of the elect, and wine which bringeth forth virgins? By which wordes *S. Hieron.* 9. ca. *Zach.* *S. Hieron.* vnderstanderth the admirable force, and effect of the blessed sacrament of the *Eucharist*, working in Christians the puritie of virginal and continent life, as a special fruit of christian religion.

14 Thus then we euidentlie see, that *Lutherans*, and *Caluinists*, neither haue, nor can haue, any practise of this euangelical counsell of contingencie, no not so much as the very *Paynims* had, amongst whome, some at least liued continent : whereas amongst these none doe, neither yet can doe, if they eyther beleue their masters doctrin, or follow their example. And the like I will also shew concerning the abnegation of our selues, which is the third Euangelical counsell, whereof I determined to treat, and because this chapter is already growne to be long, I will remit it to the next.

Of the third Euangelical counsell, to wit, perfect Obedience and abnegation of our selues, deduced out of the expresse doctrin of our Saviour, and confirmed by the testimonie of the Fathers, and examples of Gods miraculous approbation thereof, in diuers cases. Also that our aduersaries haue not so much practise thereof, as the very *paynims* had, nor so much as any disposition thereto: and this is proued by the intollerable pride of their cheefe masters, which appeareth partly in their owne workes, and partly by the testimonies of one of them against an other. Finally it is made most euident, that they are not only vnde of all true imitation of Christ, and christian perfection, but also that they are sworn enemies of it, and therefore farre from all union with God, and true felicitie.

C H A P. 31.

¶ When I spoke of the Euangelical counsell in generall, I deduced the counsell of obedience, out of those wordes of our Saviour *Si quis vult venire post me, &c. If any man will come after me, let him deny himselfe, and take up his crosse, and follow me.* In which wordes it may be noted, that our Saviour doth not commaunde, but counsell perfect obedience, and the abnegation of our selues, for that he spake conditionallie, referring it to the will of the hearer,

M m m

as I

as I haue also shewed the like before, by the exposition of the Fathers, in his counsell of voluntarie pouertie, which as *s. Christisme* noteth, he propounded with the like condition, saying. *If thou wilt be perfect, goe and sell all &c.*

2 Therefore, whereas there are two kindes of obedience, the one absolutely necessarie for our saluation (that is to say, to obey not only almightie God, but also our parents, and all lawfull magistrats, spiritual, or temporall, whereto euery man is bound by precept,) and the other, to obey such as we shall voluntarie choose to commaunde vs, for our direction in Gods seruice (whereto no man is bound, further then he list to bynd himselfe, by vow, or promise:) it appeareth that our Saviour in this place speaketh of the latter, inuiting vs to an extraordinarie obedience, for his more particuler seruice, and our greater perfection, consisting in the perfect imitation of his obedience, and abnegation of himselfe, and the cariage of his crosse.

Deut. 17.

Ierem. 35.

3 These two kinds of obedience (the one absolutelie necessarie, & the other voluntarie) may also be noted in the old testament. To the first kind may be referred the obedience, vsed in the obseruation of the commaundements, which no man could without sinne and punishment, refuse to obey. To the later kind, may be referred the voluntary obedience of the *Rechabits*, who were praised, and commended by almightie God, for abstaining from wine, and not tilling, and sowing their groundes, and dwelling only in tents, which they did to obey the commaundement of their father *Ionadab*, for the which they were also rewarded, as appeareth in the prophet, who signifieth vnto them from almightie God, that their race, and succession should not faile, *pro eo quod obedistis*, saith he, *praecepto Ionadab patris vestri &c. because you have obeyed the commaundement of your father Ionadab &c.*

4 Wherein, it is to be vnderstood, that this obedience of theirs was voluntarie, seing no man, that is already arriued to the full yeares of discretion, & able to gouerne himselfe, is bound vnder paine of sinne, to obey his parents in matters of that qualitie, especiallie after his parents death, and much lesse can a whole posteritie be bound thereto, if they doe not willinglie bind themselves, by the voluntarie acceptance of such a commaundement: And therefore it is manifest, that this perpetuall obedience of the *Rechabits*, which almightie God so highlie commended, & rewarded in them, was at the first voluntarie on their parts, & depended of their owne wills, as *Rabanus* noteth very wel, who in his comentary vpon the same place geueth to vnderstand that the childre of *Ionadab*, did more in that behalfe, then the law of God commaunded the.

*Rabanus in
ca. 35. Hiero-
mia.*

s. Fur-

Furthermore, the same difference may be obserued, concerning the two kinds of obedience, in the ould testament, which the Fathers (whom I haue before alledged) obserue betwixt the precepts, & counsells of the new: as that in the former a penaltie is proposed, & in the latter a reward promised, yet with this distinction betwixt the ould law, and the new, that the rewards of the ould law were temporall, and belonging only to this life, whereas as wel the rewards, as the punishments proper to the new law, are eternal, & pertaine to the world to come, to wit, euerlasting damnation for the breach of precepts, and eternal saluation in heauen, for the obseruation of the counsells, as appeareth euidentlie, in that which I haue alreadie discoursed concerning the two former Euangelicall counsells of *poverty*, and *chastity*, and may in like maner be inferred, touching this counsell of *obedience*, consisting in the perfect imitation of our Sauours abnegation of himselfe, being a thing so difficult, & contrarie to mans nature, that it must needes be a worke of no lesse merit, then perfection.

6. For as *s. Gregory* saith. *Minus est abnegare quod habet, valde autem multum est abnegare quod est. It is a lesse matter, or more easy to deny, and renounce that which a man hath* (that is to say his wealth, & substance) *but it is a very great matter, or of great difficultie, for a man to deny, or renounce that which he is.* Thus saith, *s. Gregory*, whereuppon it followeth, that seing the vertues of voluntarie poverty, & chastity, are so gratefull to almighty God, and meritorious, as I haue before proued them to be, it cannot be denied, but that true religious obedience, is of farre greater excellency, and merit then they: for whereas voluntarie pouertie, doth offer to God only externall, and temporall goods, and chastitie deprieth the body, only of sensuall pleasures for the loue of God, religious obedience doth sacrifice to him the internall goods of the soule, which oblation, or sacrifice must needes be so much more worthy, then the acts of the other two vertues, by how much the goods of the soule, excell the goods of the body, or of fortune.

7. And therefore, for asmuch, as our Sauour proposed and promised great rewards (as I haue proued already) to those which renounce, and abandon their substance, and depriue themselves of their bodilie pleasures for his sake, it must needes follow, that he will giue farre greater, and higher rewards, to those that renounce, abandon, and deny themselves for the loue of him.

8. For seeing that all our life in this world is nothing els but, as *Iob* *Iob. 7.* saith, *militia super terram, a warfare vpon the earth*, and that God giueth the highest crowne, to him that fighteth most valiantlie, and hath the

M m m ij

greatest

*S. Ambrosii.
de uitiis et
tra medium.*

*Greg. Hom.
32. in Eua.*

greatest victorie, it is euidēt, that no man shall haue so great a crowne, as he who by true abnegation of himselfe (which religious obedience includeth) doth fully conquer himselfe, which is the hardest and greatest conquest, that may be, whereby he doth not only subdue his sence, his appetit, and his passions, but also ouercome the pride of the world, and the malice of the diuel, and by true humilitie, triumph ouer them all, yea ouer himselfe, giuing his owne libertie and (as I may say) the scepter of his owne dominion to an other, for the pure loue of God, wherein he obtaineth not one, but many victories, and therefore the saying of the wise man, may be wel applied vnto him. *Vir obediens inquitur victoriam. The obedient man may speake of his victorie.*

Pro. 21.

Gen. 22.

9 Moreouer if the obedience of *Abraham*, in resolving to sacrifice his sonne *Isaac* vppon Gods commaundement, and the obedience also of *Isaac*, in yelding himselfe to be sacrificed, was so gratefull to almighty God, as the scripture declareth, it must needs be graunted, that true religious obedience, is much more gratefull vnto him, & that it surpasseth the obedience of them both: for whereas *Abraham* resolved to sacrifice his sonne, the true religious man doth by his obedience, sacrifice himselfe. *Isaac* only suffred himselfe to be bound by his father, but the religious man, by his vow byndeth himselfe. The obedience of *Abraham* was vppon commaundement, and therefore of necessity, and due by obligation, but religious obedience procedeth only of our Sauours counsell, and is therefore before the vow voluntarie, and cōsequentlie more acceptable then the other. The obedience both of *Abraham*, and of *Isaac*, consisted only in will, and resolution without performance of the act, but religious obedience, consisteth not only in will, and resolution, but also in action. Finally, their obedience was exercised but in one act, and only once, but the obedience of the religious man, extendeth it selfe to infinit acts, to wit, to all such lawfull acts, as his superiours shall commaund him, according to the institute of their rule, and this not for once, or twise, but during his life, imitating therein (as much as humane frailtie man permit) the continuall obedience, and resignation of our Sauour, and his perpetuall abnegation of him selfe, who throughout the whole course of his life, did voluntarie, and willinglie obey, not only his Father in heauen, his mother, and supposed father in earth, and the temporall magistrats, but also in some sort, his very enemies, that crucified him, resigning himselfe wholly into their handes, conforming his will to theirs, and deliuering himselfe vnto them, to be bound, and tied, haled, pulled, scorned, buffeted, scourged, and finallie crucified, *falsus obediens usque ad mortem, mortem*

Philipp. 2.

item crucis, being made obedient, euen to death, yea the death of the crosse. Where vpon it must needs follow, that as his voluntarie obedience and abnegation of himselfe, was of such infinit perfection, and merit, that as the Apostle saith. *God did therefore exalt him, and gaue him a name,* *Ibid.* *super omne nomen, aboue all names,* so also the exact imitation thereof, must needs be of exceeding, and singuler merit, and perfection, in his seruants.

10 Therefore, for asmuch as the oportunitie is not alwayes offred vs, to follow, and imitat his humilitie, and resignation, in giuing our selues to our enemies hands, or our liues either for him, or for our brethren as he did, it hath pleased him out of his deuine prouidence, so to dispose, that there shalbe alwayes meanes in his church, whereby we may if we will, practise the perfect abnegation of our selues, and imitat him in most excellent manner, renouncing our owne wills, & iudgements for the loue of him, and giuing our selues wholly to the will, direction, yea to the correction, & chastisement of a spirituall master, to be guided by him in the way of perfection, to the seruice, & honour of God, & good example of others, all which is most excellentlie performed in religious disciplin, the perfection whereof consisteth in the cariage of our crosse, or rather in crucifying our selues with Christ, by perfect obedience, and abnegation of our selues: for as *Cassianus* saith, *Iohan. Cassi.* the true religious man, is like one that is crucified, wherby it may be *li. 4. de inst. t. canob. c. 35.* understood, that he is so fast nailed, & bound by obedience, to the will of his superiour, representing to him the person of God, that he hath no motion, or operation of himselfe, but moueth and worketh, only according to his superiours commaundement.

11 Therefore *Ioannes Climacus*, giueth certaine notable definitions of *Ioan. Cli-* religious obedience saying, that it is, a perfect abnegation of our selues, shewed *macus gra-* by the ministry of the body, or els the mortification of the body, in a liuing soule: *li. 4. de inst. t. di. 4. de obedi-* namely a motion without examination, or discussion, a willing and voluntary *di. 4. de obedi-* death, a life void of curiositie, a secure danger, an immediat excuse before God, a safe nauigation, and a iourney made sleeping.

12 Finally after much more to the same purpose, he concludeth that he which is truly obedient, will neuer whiles he liueth beleue himselfe, or trust his owne iudgement in any thing whatsoever, though it seeme neuer so good vnto him. Thus teacheth he, and with great reason: For the true religious obedience, and abnegation of our selues, which our Sauour counselled; requireth not only conformity of will, to the will of our superiour, but also resignation of iudgement to his iudgement, when the euidence of a knowne truth, dot not conuince

the vnderstanding, and force it to iudge otherwile, in which case it is neuertheles requisite, that the will obey, and presentlie yeald to the execution of the commaundement, when it is free from sinne.

13 And to this conformitie and resignation, euerie religious man is bound, for els his obedience, and abnegation of himselfe is not perfect, and sincere, seeing that a vow of true religious obedience, is as

Greg 35. Moral. Cap. 10.
E. in Ezechiel. ho. 20.

S. Gregory calleth it, an holocaust or burnt sacrifice, wherein a man doth offer, and as it were immolat himselfe wholie to God in the fire of charitie, in which respect he must deny, and resigne himselfe, and all that is in him, without reseruatiō: for otherwise his resignation is not entire, but like to the oblation of *Ananias*, and *saphira*, who hauing promised all their goods to almightie God, gaue him but a part thereof: or rather like to the offrings of those wicked *Iewes*, who gaue the worst to God, and kept the best to themselves, which God detested, and worthilie reprehended by the prophet *Malachias*. And the like I say, doth that religious man, who hauing promised his whole soule to God, giueth him but an inferiour part thereof (to wit his will) reseruing to himselfe the cheefe, and best part, which is his reason, and vnderstanding. Therefore I conclude, that this resignation of iudgement, is not only most necessarie to the perfect abnegation of our selues, which Christ counselled, but also most gratefull vnto him, both because it is (as I haue said) the best, and principall part in man, and also in respect of the difficultie that man hath, to captiuat, and submit his reason, and iudgement, in all things to the iudgement of an other.

S. Basill. in monast. instit. lib. 23.

14 But now let vs see, what the ancient Fathers teach concerning religious obedience, and the practise of it. *S. Basill* amply discourseth thereof in his monasticall institutions, and teacheth it by the example of the Apostles, who though our Sauour said vnto them, that he sent them like sheepe amongst wolues, yet went most willinglie exposing themselves to all dangers, contumelies, crosses, and death it selfe, and the same obedience, saith *S. Basill*, ought the monk to yeald to his superiour: *Siquidem discipulos*, saith he, *Christus in hoc elegit &c.* For Christ chose his disciples to this end, that they following this institute, or kind of life, might remaine for a paterne to the ensuing posterity. Thus saith *S. Basill*, affirming also, that the superiour of religious men, representeth the person of Christ, and that they ought to be so resigned to his will, that they doe not so much as examine what he commaundeth them, so that it be not a sinne, and that they should be vnto him, as sheepe to their sheapeard, and the tooke to the worke-

man, v
saied i
15 S.
rably
sing hi
his sup
conclu
w super
phasoe
iudge of
u ammi
16 Al
in the t
or prim
nne is r
and that
though
heec.
17 In
ours in
proude
clerike o
achers in
S. S. 16
some t
ment o
with th
mother
they had
19 Th
ence, v
imitat
S. Ephr
confaine
death, a
followin
saith h
20 A
ligious
same r

man, who is to use it, and that otherwise they cannot serue God, and be saved in their profession.

*Vide S. Basil.
ubi supra.*

15 *S. Hieron* in like sort, writing to *Rusticus* a monke, describeth notably the institutions and customes of the Monkes in his time, aduising him amongst manie other things, to liue in exact obedience to his superiour, for his diet, sleepe and apparel, yea and bodilie labour, concluding. *Prapositum monasterij timeas, ut dominum &c. Feare the praefect, S. Hieron. ad u. superiour of the monasterie as thy lord, loue him as thy father, and beleue that whatsoeuer he commaunders thee, is good for thee, without taking vpon thee to iudge of his ordinance, or will, it being thy part to obey, and to performe that which is commaunded thee. S. Thus saith Hieron.*

16 Also *S. Senerus Sulpicius*, treating of the monkes of the east parts, in the time of *S. Martin* (whose disciple he was) saith. *Precipua ibi virtus, & prima est obedientia &c. The cheefe and first vertue there, is obedience, and S. Sulpit. in dialogo. 1. de* *mon* is receiued into the monasterie vpon other condition, but first to passe his trial, *virtus. mon.* and that he refuse not to execute whatsoeuer is commaunded him by the Abbot, *nacho. 4. orientaliu. c. 12.* though it seeme neuer so difficult, or base, and unworthy to bee suffred. So saith hee.

17 In like manner *S. Augustin* saith of the monkes, and their superiours in the same age. *Hi patres, saith he, nulla superbia &c. These Fathers doe provide for those whom they call their children, without all pride, with great authority on their part in commaunding, and with great will and promptitude of the others in obeying.*

S. Aug. de morib. eccl. l. 1. ca. 31.

18 *S. Iohn Damascen*, in his historie of *Barlaam* and *Iosaphat*, speaking of some that lead a religious life, saith that they liued vnder the government or commaund of one praefect, & did quite cut of their owne wills, with the sword of obedience, in such sort, that they esteemed themselves, whether then slaues, bought for money, not liuing to themselves, but to him, to whom they had submitted themselves for the loue of Christ.

S. Iohn. Damascen. in hist. Barlaam.

19 Thus doe the ancient and holie Fathers treat of religious obedience, vndertaken and performed for the loue of our Sauour Christ, & in imitation of his perfect abnegation of himselfe: In which respect, *S. Ephrem* saith. *Beatus qui vera &c. Happy is he who is endewed with true & S. Ephrem. de virtut. &* *constant obedience, for hee is the imitator of our best master, who was obedient to death, and therefore he is trulie happy, that is trulie obedient, who imitating and following our Lord, is also made his coheire, or partaker of his inheritance. Thus saith hee.*

de virtut. & vit. js. ca. de obediens.

20 And now to shew by euident examples, how acceptable this religious and monasticall obedience is to almighty God, I will relate some two, or three histories, of Gods most miraculous approbation thereof,

thereof, recounted by most holie and learned men, about a thousand yeares agoe.

*S. Severus.
Sulp. Dial. 1.
de. virtutib.
monacho. o-
vaint. ca. 13.*

21 *S. Severus Sulpitius*, who florished about the yeare of our Lord four hundredeth, witnesseth, that one who had resolved to be religious, came to an Abbot of a monasterie in *Egypt*, desiring to be receiued there. The Abbot after manie difficulties proposed, asked him whether hee was determined to be obedient, in whatsoeuer should bee commaunded him: And when he promised to obey in al things without exception, the Abbot sticke downe in the ground a dry wand or rodd, which he had in his hand, & commaunded him to water the same euerie day, vntill it should grow, the yong nouice. vndertooke it, fetching water euerie day from the riuer *Nilus*, which was almost two miles distant from the monasterie, and continued his labour two yeares, without hope of anie other fruit, or effect thereof, then the reward of his obedience at Gods handes, when neuertheles the third yeare it pleased God, that the dry sticke tooke roote, and within a while grew to bee a little tree, which *S. Severus* saith, he himselfe had seene in the courte of the monasterie, where it remaineth saith he, as it were for a testimonie of the merit of obedience, and of the force of faith.

Idem ibid.

22 The same holie Father, recounteth also an other no lesse strange to the same purpose, which happned in the same monasterie, and vnder the same Abbot, as that when an other craued to be receiued for a nouice, and promised with extraordinarie confidence, to refuse nothing that should be enioyned him, the Abbot suspecting that his franke offer rather proceeded of presumption then humilitie, commaunded him to enter into a hoat furnace, or oven, which then was heating to bake bread, whereat the nouice repined nothing at all, but entred into it presentlie, and as *S. Severus* saith. *Superata natura est, fugit incendium etc.* Nature was overcome, the fire fled him, and hee instead of being burned, was refreshed in the midst of the furnace, with a heauenlie dew: and whereas (saith *S. Severus*, he was put to trial, being taken to be weake, he was found to be perfect, the verie first day: *merito felix, merito gloriosus, probatus obedientia, worthily happy, & worthylie glorius, being proued by obedience.*

*S. Greg. Dial.
li. 2. cap. 7.*

23 Heere to I will add one other out of *S. Gregorie* the great, as that *Maurus*, beeing a monke vnder *S. Benedict*, and commaunded by him to goe to succour *Placidus* (who was then a child, and fallen into a riuer, & caried by the streame a bow-shot from the shore) was so confident vpon his superiours commaundement, that without respect of danger, hee ranne to the riuer, and walked firmelie vpon it, and drew out *Placidus* without being himselfe wetshod, which (saith *S. Gregorie*) *S. Benedict* did

whole attribute to the great merit of Maurus his obedience.

14. I might, add hereto, if I thought it needefull, what *Ioannes Cassianus* *Ioan. Cassi.* testifieth, of a most famous Abbot called *Iohn*, who for his greate obedience, was rewarded by almightie God with the spirit of prophesy. As *li. 4. de instit. renunt. Dorotheus. doctrina. vi. de Cocciun. li. 4. de vita monastica.* also what *Dorotheus* writeth vpon his owne knowledge, of a religious man, whome he saw sudainelie, and miraculouſlie transported ouer a torrent, or furious streame, which he would needs venter to swimme over, out of an obedient desire, he had to be at home, at the time appointed him by his superiour, which was related by *Dorotheus*, a thousand & a hundred years agoe, to shew saith he, *tantam esse obedientiam, & abnegationem, ut a morte quoque hominem liberare possit.* That the force of obedience, and of a resigned will is such, that it may also deliuer a man from death.

15. By these and diuers examples, which most graue authours doe witness, we may learne how acceptable to almighty God is true religious obedience, and the abnegation of our selues, and no meruel, seeing the same proceedeth from a most pure and feruent loue of God, and a profound humilitie, whereby we doe trulie imitate and follow our Sauours humilitie, obedience and abnegation (as much as is possible for men to doe) and also sacrifice our selues whole to him, offering and yielding our soules, renouncing our owne wills, vnderstanding, and iudgment, for the pure loue of him: And therefore *S. Gregory* saith, *longe S. Greg. in l. altius meriti est &c.* It is a matter of farr greater merit, to subiect our owne wills alwayes to an other mans will, then to wait our bodies with fasting, or secretlie to sacrifice our selues by compunction &c. And hee which hath learned perfectlie to fulfill the will of his master, excelleth, and is preferred in the kingdome of heauen, before those that fast, and weepe for their sinnes. *Reg. c. 15. li. 6.*

16. Thus saith *S. Gregory*, not vnlike that, which *Samuel* the propheth said to king *Saule*. *Melior est obedientia, quam victima.* Obedience is better then sacrifice: where vpon I conclud, that the Roman Catholikes, practising this counsel of our Sauour in monasticall life, doe imitate his obedience, humilitie and resignation, in as excellent sort, as mans frailtie, and imperfection doth permit, and doe performe therein a notable point of christian perfection, which cannot be imagined to consist in anie other thinge, then in the perfect imitation of the most excellent, and perfect vertues of Christ. *I. Reg. 15.*

17. Let vs now consider, what exercise, or practise *Lutherans*, or *Caluists* haue of this euangelical counsel, and how they imitate Christ in the perfect abnegation of themselves, and wherein they may, but so much as pretend, the obedience, or resignation of their will, iudgment, and vnderstanding, in all which it will appeare, that the verie Panims,

and Infidels, partlie matched them, and partlie excelled them.

28 Well then, they will say perhaps, that they are as obedient and resigned as is conuenient, in that they obey their magistrats, spirituall and temporal, and that therein, they exercise the obedience of the will: as also that they practise the obedience of their vnderstanding, in captiuating the same, to the faith of Christ, and that therein they abnegate, and denie themselves. Whereto I answer, first, that this is farr from the sense of our Sauours wordes, and the perfection that hee required in his disciples, seeing that hee spoke not of matters of faith or beleefe, but of the imitation of him, speaking expresse of those which would follow his actions, & course of life, saying. *If anie man wil come after mee, let him denie himselfe.* And then to shew whereto this abnegatio of our selues should tend, he added, *let him take upp his crosse and follow me.* that is to say, let him denie himselfe, as I did in my passion, mortifying, and as it were, crucifying his owne wil, and affections in such sort, that hee haue no more vse, or command of them, then he should haue of his owne body, if he were crucified and nailed fast to a crosse, as I noted before out of *Iohannes Cassianus*, who applieth these wordes of our Sauour, most properly and aptly, to monasticall obedience.

Matt. 16.

Num. 10.

Ioh. Cassi.

l. 4. de instit.

Canob. c. 35.

1. Pet. 2.

29 And this also *S. Peter* doth verie wel insinuat, when he saith. *Christus passus est pro nobis &c. Christ suffred for vs, so leaue you an example to follow his footstepes*, that is to say, to imitate his profound humilitie, obedience, abnegation of himselfe, and mortification, which vertues doe most excellentlie, & eminentlie appeare in al the course of his life & passion, and therefore are to bee exactlie followed, of such as pretend to arriue to the highest perfection of christian religion. Of which kind of obedience, and perfect resignation, consisting in action, there is no exercise at all amongst *Lutherans*, and *Caluinists*, as euerie man seeth, and knoweth.

30 For as for their obedience to their magistrats, what great perfection of christian religion, may we imagin to bee therein, seeing that euerie pagan, and infidel, may, and doth performe it, as wel as we? And if they will pretend to captiuat their vnderstanding to the faith of Christ, and so in some sort to denie their owne iudgment, and consequentlie to obserue his counsel, in the abnegation of themselves, it will easilie appeare, that it is farre otherwise. For were there euer anie, professing the name of Christ, who lesse renounced their owne iudgments in matters of faith then they? This euidentlie appeareth, not onlie in some important points of christian religion, whereto the obedience, and

resignation

renunciation of the vnderstanding is, most requisite (as namely in the matter of the holly *Eucharist*, and in all kind of miraculous workes) but also in the interpretation of the holy scriptures, which euery one of them vnderstandeth, according to his owne particuler iudgement, and fancy, where vpon haue growne about two hundred, and seventy sects, since *Luthers* tyme, whereas from *Christs* time to his, there cannot be reckoned about a hundred eighty one, so that there haue risen more sects in these last 100. yeares, then there arose in a thousand five hundred yeares before. Besides that, so different haue bene their interpretations of the scripture, that they haue made amongst them, fourescore and foure seuerall expositions, of these few wordes of our Sauour. *Hoc est corpus meum*. This is my body: yea, and *Oecolampadius* a sacramentary, notwithstanding amongst the *Lutherans* only, seauenty seauen mutations, and changes in their exposition of scriptures, and their other phantasies, as he steareth them.

Therefore they are so farr, from submitting their iudgement, and vnderstanding to faith, that they doe subiect all authoritie, humane and deuine (I meane of Fathers, Councels, Scriptures, and the Church) and consequentlie all the Christian faith, to their owne iudgements. For though they talke of nothing but of scripture, and continually appeale thereto, yet for as much as they presume, to make themselues the only iudges of the true sence thereof, they reduce in conclusion, the resolution of all questions and controuersies, and the scriptures themselues, to their priuat iudgement. I meane not the iudgement of them all in generall (as the resolution of the whole *Lutheran*, or *Caluisticall* congregation) but the fancy of euery one of them in particular: for that euery cobbler, & tinker amongst them, presumeth to haue the spirit of God in such plenty, and so at his commaunde, that he taketh vpon him to vnderstand, and interpret the holly scriptures at his pleasure; where vpon it followeth, that they of all other men, can least pretend with any shew, or colour of reason, to renounce their owne iudgements, yea much lesse then many Infidells haue donne.

For we read of the schollers of *Pithagoras*, that they so much esteemed and reuerenced the opinion, and iudgement of their master, that his word stood for a law, and was held for an oracle, and an infallible truth, in so much that it sufficed for the decisions of all questions, and the resolution of the greatest doubts amongst them, to say only, *ipse dixit*. *Pithagoras* said it: whereas these sectaries are, *nullius in verba* additiur, men that cannot endure to follow any master, or teacher, and therefore though they all come out of one schoole, yet they are

Vide Stanislaus Refschium, in catur. Euang. sectarum.

Vide Claudiu de saintes de veritate Eucharis. repetitio. ne l.c. 10. Matt. 26. Oecolamp. in Equa respons. ad prafas. Lutheri.

Cicero. li. 1. de natura deorum. Horat. ep. 1. ad Mecanatem.

so deuided amongst themselves, & subdeuided into many seuerall sects, (as I haue signified before) and those also of euery sect, so addit euery one to his owne opinion, that they hold and condemne each other for heretikes, railing one vpon another, in most shamefull and spirefull manner, as it is most euident in the writings, not only of the *Caluinists* against the *Lutherans*, and againe of these against them, but also of the

Puritani
Angli in se-
cunda ad-
monitione
ad parlamē-
tum. Vide
Stanislaum
Reschiū in
Ministroma-
chia.

Puritanes in England, against the *protestants* there, whom they charge with intollerable errors, manifest defection from Christ, impious contempt, and prophanation of the sacraments, and call the bishops, reliques of the seede of Antichrist, and sivorne enemies of the church of Christ: though neuertheless they all pretend alike, an assurance, and infallibilitie of their doctrine, grounded as they all say, vpon the scriptures, and inspiration of the holy Ghost. But by this their difference, and dissention, it is more cleare then the sunne, that they haue not the spirit of God, but that they falsly baptize, their owne phantasticall conceits, and priuat iudgements, with the name of Gods spirit: wherebie also it euidentlie appeareth, that they doe not captiuate their iudgements and vnderstanding to faith, but measure all their faith by their owne conceits, and iudgement, calling it the spirit of God. Wherevpon I conclude, that they haue not amongst them, in any sort, that true obedience, and abnegation, which our Sauour counselled; but rather that they are such as S. Peter describeth. *Qui dominationem contemnunt, audaces sibi placentes, sectas non metuant introducere, men which despise to be gouerned, vnderstanded, audacious, standing in their owne conceits, and feare not to introduce, or bring in new sects.*

2. Pet. 2.

33 But perhaps they will say, that it suffiseth for the abnegation which Christ requireth in a christian man, to performe it only in preparation of will, and readines to doe it when occasion shall require. (as it is also to be said, concerning our Sauours counsel, of perfect patience in suffering iniuries, and of the hate of our owne liues: whereto I answer, that although this preparation of mind and will may suffise for the saluation of euery particular man (if he bind himselfe to no more) yet it suffiseth not, to the perfection of the church of Christ; and of christian religion, whereto it is requisit that there be some continual and publike practise thereof amongst christians, as I will declare further after a while: and in the meane time, I wish it to be considered, that there is great reason to thinke, that they haue not so much as any true preparation of will, to the perfect abnegation of themselves, which I say for diuers respects. First, because they haue no exercise or practise thereof at all amongst them, whereby

it may

it may well be thought, that they haue no sufficient disposition thereto: whereas amongst Catholikes, very many doe practise it, and performe it notable in religious life, by whose example also, other catholikes are moued to dispose, and prepare their wills, and mindes, to the performance of it, when occasion shall require. Secondlie, it cannot be otherwise thought, but that they, who hould, and teach, that the commaundements of God are vnpossible to be kept, doe thinke it much more impossible, to obserue the counsell, and specially this of perfect abnegation, which is the most difficult, in which respect, it may be well presumed, that they doe thinke it but labour lost, to dispose, and prepare their mindes, to accomplish it when occasion shalbe offered, for no man is so simple, to dispose himselfe to doe a thing, which he thinkes impossible.

34 Lastly, it seemeth that they are farre from that profound humility, which is the ground of all true obedience, and resignation, as it may sufficiently appeare in their cheefe Apostles, *Luther*, *Caluin*, and other their ringleaders, whereof wee neede no other testimonie, then their owne writings, wherein they accuse each other of intollerable pride, presumption, and contumacie: and against *Luther* a better witness cannot be desired, then his owne bookes, as namelie that which he wrote against king *Henry the Eight of England*, wherein he affirmed, that he himselfe was so good, and holly a man, *coram mundo*, euen in the sight of the world, that all the Popes, Cardinals, Princes, Bishops, and Monkes, were unworthie, *calceamenti corrigiam soluere*, to vntye the string of his shoe, and that he cared not, for a thousand *Cyprians*, or a thousand *Augustins*. And in his booke intituled, against all the false ecclesiasticall order of bishops, he saith thus. *En appello me ecclesiasten Dei gratia* &c. Behould I call my selfe Ecclesiastes, or preacher by the grace of God, I haue adorned my selfe with a title, whom you (he speaketh to all Bishoppes) doe with whole waime-loads of reproches call an heretike: And I take the title of Ecclesiastes vpon me, with great contempt of the diuel, and you all.

35 Thus saith he, and addeth, that he might also call himselfe an Evangelist, and that he doubteth not, but Christ would allow it as he is sure, that he holdeth him for his Ecclesiastes: And further he saith, that he signifieth plainelie to the Bishoppes, by that writing of his, that from thence forth he would not doe them so much honour, or beare them so much respect, as to vouch safe to submit himselfe, or his doctrine, to the iudgement cyther of them, or of any Angel in heauen. And in the prologue of the same booke he saith. *Doctrinā meam ego nolo iudicari* &c. I will not haue

Luther. in resp. ad d. n. log. Syluestri priorat. Mc cap. 4. ep. ad Rom. editione 1. Calvin. li. 2. Infit. c. 7. vide Cocciū in The- sauro de In- fit. li. 3. m. 2.

Luther contra regē Anglia.

Idem li. ad- uersus falsos nominat. Ec- clesiast. statū Papae. Et E- piscoporum.

ibid.

Apud Surii in comment. an. 1522.

my doctrine to be iudged by any mā, or by al the Angels, for seeing that I am assured of it, I will be iudge, not onlie of you (he meaneth the pope and the bishops) but also of the angels &c. Thus worthe he.

Vide Thesa-
ur. Coccij. li. 36
8. de Sig. eccl.
de Luthera-
norum &c.
Corruptelis.
Surius. an.
1530.

And being once aduertised from a frind of his, that his aduersaries tooke great aduantage against his German translation of the new testamēt, for that he had added the worde, *sola*, in the third chapter of the epistle of S. Paule to the Romans, making him say, *sola fide iustificari*, to be iustified by onlie faith, whereas the Apostle hath not the word onlie: he wrote in answer thereof, that if he had knowne, that al the Papists put together, could haue translated onlie one chapter of the deuine scripture aright in the German tongue, hee would haue craued their aduise in his translation of the new testament: and againe a litle after, he saith.

Coccos.
ubi supra.

Si Papista tuus &c. If thy Papist will still wangle about the worde *sola*. I answer him presentlie, that Doctōr Martin Luther will haue it so, and that a papist and an asse is al one. *Sic volo, sic iubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas &c.* So I wil, and so I commaund, my will or pleasure standeth for reason, for we will not be disciples or scholars, but masters, and iudges of the Papists, Luther will haue it so, and saith that he is a Doctōr aboue al the Doctōrs in the whole papaltrie. Thus hee, who addeth further for the conclusion of the whole, that he was sorrie he had not added two other words, to wit, *omnibus & omniū, to operibus legis*, that *scilicet* text might haue bene, *sine omnibus operibus omnium legum*. Without al workes of al lawes.

Idem ibid. 2.
1531.

37 Furthermore writing in his vulgar tongue, a gainst a decree made by the Emperour Charles, and al the princes of the Empire, at *Augusta*, he calleth them al traytors, wicked and vaine knaues, and compareth them to wine, and addeth further, concerning his owne doctrine of iustifying faith. *Dico ego Doctōr Martinus Lutherus. Domini nostri Iesu Christi indignus Euangelista &c.* I Doctōr Martin Luther, the unworthy Euangelist of our Lord Iesus Christ doe say, that the Emperour of the Romans, the Emperour of the Turkes, the Emperour of Tartary, the Emperour of Persia, the Pope, all Cardinals, Bishops, Priests, Monks, Nunnes, Kinges, Princes, Lords, yea all the world, with all the diuels thereof, ought to suffer this article (to wit, onlie faith without all good workes doth iustifie before God) to stand firme, and inuiolat, and that they shall furthermore haue the fier of Hell vppon their heads, and no thanks at all. *Hic esto meus Doctōr Lutheri instinctus, a spiritu Sancto, verumque, ac sanctum Euangelium.* Let this be for the instinct, which I Doctōr Luther haue from the holie Ghost, and for the true and holie ghostell.

Stanisla.
Ref. h. in mi-
nistromach.
ex Iohanne.
Spangenberg.

38 Thus bewraied hee his most insolent, and luciferian pride, which was also sufficientlie noted and taxed, by those that sprong from him.

and professed his doctrine, as the Lutherans of the vniuersity of *Wittenberg*, who beginning to discent from him in tenn or eleauen points of doctrine, gaue him amongst many other opprobrious epithets, the name of *Philauton*, one that attributeth much to himselfe, and stood highlie in his owne conceit: and called him also, *Philonicum* and *Eristicum*, one that would by scoulding, defend al his owne sayings, and doings whatsoever, and *Doctorem Hyperbolicum*, an *Hyperbolicall Doctor*, that vsed to make a camel of a gnat, and boasted of thousands, when he had skant five: *Polipragmaticum*, one that intruded himselfe into all mens busines: and finally to omit the rest, *ingeny ostentatore*, one that sought to make a vaine ostentation, and shew of his owne witt.

39 Thus say his owne disciples of *Wittenberg*, who knew him best, for that he liued for the most part amongst them, & lieth buried there. In like manner *Conradus Gesnerus* (who was also of his brood) saith, that hee was a man, so vehement and impatient, that hee could not indure anie man, which did not agree with him in all thinges. And further he beseecheth God to graunt, that he (I meane *Luther*) did not in the end, hurt his church theca. as much with his contention and impudeng, as he had furthered it in the beginning. And the *Tigurin* ministers wrote of him thus. *Lutherus sua querit, pertinax est, & insolentia nimia effertur. Luther seeketh his owne commoditie, and is obstinat and ouer insolent.*

Conrad. Gesner. in vniuersa. bibliotheca.

Tiguri. ministr. in resp. ad li. inscript.

contra Zuin- gium.

4 Thus is *Luther* censured for his pride by the *Tigurin* ministers, where- to all the sacramentaries and *Zuinglians* doe willinglie subscribe, who terme him, a presumptuous and obstinat fellow, a new pope, and cosen german to *Antichrist*: in cuius moribus say they *superbia factus, & intollerabilis prope ambicio deprehendatur: in whose manners may be discovered, pride, arrogancy, and almost an intollerable ambition: and to conclud concerning Luther, Conradus* Apf, saith of him, that God did take from him the true spirit, for his pride, and gaue him in steede thereof, an angrie, proud, and lying spirit,

apud Stanisla. Resch. in ministr. machia. In charta. quadam. Zuingli. an. edit. an. 1527.

Stanisla. Reschius. in ministr. machia. ex. Edero.

41 I omit manie other testimonies of sectaries concerning *Luther*, for pride, to add two or three touching *Caluin*: of whome his master *Bucer* (a man of no small reputation amongst the sectaries, especially in England in King Edwards time) affirmeth that he was transformed into an idol, and that hee would by his good will, bee honored throughout all France with sacrifice: In so much that those, saith he, who were called in times past *Idololatra*, might be called *Caluinolatra*, that is to say, worshippers of *Caluin*. And *Theomorus* a *Caluinist*, amongst other notable vices, which hee laboureth to excuse in *Caluin*, though they were objected against him, by men of his owne sect (reckneth, ambition and

bid. ex Sainctio. & Ex dera.

and desire of tyrannie, bloody crueltie, implacabilitie, immoderat choller, and anger &c.

Hesb. in 42 Also *Heshusius* a Lutheran, chargeth him with the like, and with
defensione contempt and disdain of others, besides diuers other peccadillos, which
sua. I omit, be cause I speake speciallie of his pride and presumption.

43 So that we neede not to make any doubt, of the truth of that
which *Hierome Bolfec* (his disciple in *Geneua* for some yeares, though
after a Catholike) wrote of him out of his owne knowledge, to wit,
that many times in his sermons, he would breake forth into these wor-
des. *I am a prophet, I haue the spirit of God, and if I erre, it is thou o God, that*
Hieron. Bol- *for the sinne of this people dost cast me into errour, and deceiue me, I cannot erre,*
sec in vita and such like: and the same authour also witnesseth, that he was so
Caluini. vaine glorious, that he would sometimes sett forth letters, and like trea-
tises in print, vnder fained names, wherein he published his owne praises, his
worthines, and great merits towards the church.

Idem.
Ibid.

44 Lo then, what good disposition and preparation of mind, those
men had to that profound humilitie, obedience, mortification, and ab-
negation of themselves, which our Sauour counselled. Wherevpon
Matth. 10. I inferre, that seeing as our Sauour said: *Discipulus non est super magis-*
trum. The disciple is not aboue his master, it were against all reason to thin-
ke, that their disciples, I meane those, that professe their doctrine,
should more profit in humilitie theretie, than they themselves, who
had the first fruits of the euangelical spirit.

45 And to the end, that the matter may not depend altogether vpon
my coniecture, I wish thee, good Reader to consider what their fol-
lowers write, one of an other, concerning this point of their pride, I
meane not the pride of particuler men amongst them, but of their

Ioan. Calui- whole sects. *Caluin* obiectioneth against *Vestphalum*, and all his fellow Lu-
nus in ulti- *therans*, that they were puffed up with a diabolical pride, and that they had m-
ma admoni- respect to the iudgement of God, or his Angels, and therefore, he calleth
tione ad loa- them Cyclopes, Gyants, and phrentick barkers. *Ochinus* in his Dialogues, cal-
chim vvest- leth *Caluin* with all his *Geneuian*, and *Tigurin* ministers. *Sectam terrenu-*
phalum. rum *deorum sine paparum.* A sect of earthly Gods, or popes, meaning that

Ochinus out of an intollerable pride, they tooke vpon them to be popes, or ra-
Dial. contra ther to be Gods. And in like maner *Castilio*, tearmeth the *Caluinists* su-
sectam terre- perbos feroces, inflatos; proud, fierce, and sweld or puffed up with pride: and besides
deorum. many other vices (which I omit) he chargeth them with Tyranny, and
Checonicius obstinacy, which are the inseperable companions, or rather the daugh-
apud Stanis- ters of the highest pride.
la. Reschiu.
ministpro-
mach.

46 I let passe for breuities sake, many other such like testimonies,

which oft occurre in their writings, and in euillies of one against another, for by this, which I haue said, it sufficientlie appeareth, that Lutherans and Calvinists, persisting in the doctrine, and spirit of their evangelical masters, can haue no due disposition to perfect obedience, resignation, and contempt of the world, and of themselves, which our Saviour counselled, and required in his followers, and is with all endeavour sought, and practised by Catholikes, in monastical disciplin.

42. Seeing then it appeareth euidentlie, that they haue no vse or practise at all, either of perfect abnegation of themselves, or of the euangelicall counsells, preached, and practised by our Saviour, & his Apostles (as I haue clearelie proued before:) it must needs follow, that they haue not the perfection of christian religion, which cannot consist in any thing els, but in the perfect imitation of our Saviour Christ, and his Apostles, and therefore *S. Paule* said to the *Corinthians*. *Imitatores mei*

Chap. 28. 29
& 30.

1. Cor. 4.

sicut ego Christi. Be you followers of me, as I am of Christ.

43. And *S. Peter* said to Christ, in the name of all the Apostles, *secuti*

Mat. 19.

sumus te, wee haue followed thee, not meaning thereby, that they had gotten vpp, & downe the country after him, but that they had obeyed him, and imitated, or followed the example of his pouerty, chastitie, obedience, and mortification. Besides that also, an infinit number of christians in the Apostles time, imitated our Saviour, and them, in the perfect exercise of the same virtues, in monastical and religious life, as I haue shewed amply before. In which respect, *S. Dionysius*, *S. Basil*, and *S. Gregory Nazianzen*, call the monastical profession. *Vitam perfectissimam. The most perfect life.* And *S. Christosome*, tearmeth it. *Perfectionis culmen, virtutisque fastigium. The height of perfection, and toppe of vertue.* *S. Hierome* saith to *Heliodorus* the monke. *Perfectum te fore pollicitus es &c.* Thou hast promised to become perfect.

S. Dionysius
Ecclesiast.

Hierar. c. 6.
par. 2.

S. Basil. de
monast. constit. c. 19.

S. Greg. Nazianz. orat. de obitu S.

Basil. S. Ioan. Christos. li. 3. aduersus virum perat. vita monast.

S. Hieron. ep. ad Heliodorum.

Euseb. li. 1. de monast.

Euang. ca. 8.

44. Furthermore *Eusebius* declareth notable, the difference betwixt the perfection of religious life, and the laudable, & good life of other christians, in these wordes. In *Ecclesia Dei duo modi viuendi instituti sunt &c.* Two manners of life, are instituted in the church of God. The one exceeding our nature, and the common course of men, not requiring marriage, children, substance, or wealth, & wholly addicted to the worship and seruice of God, for the vnmeasurable loue of heavenly things. The other kind of life, is more remisse, and humane, being occupied with the care of familie, with marriage, and with the procreation of children, prescribing also rules, for those which make iust warre, and not neglecting possessions, and wealth, and merchandize, so far as the respect of religion may permit, and this is the second degree

of piety. Thus saith *Eusebius* of these two kinds of life, attributing (as here you haue seene) the perfection of christian religion, to the former, consisting in the exercise of Christs counsells.

*D. Ber. de
vita solita-
ria ad fra-
tres de mon-
te Dei.*

50 To conclude *S. Bernard*, writing to certain religious men, whom he calleth *fratres de monte Dei*, saith thus. *Altissima est professio vestra* &c. Your profession is most high, or excellent, it passeth the heavens, it is like to the purity of Angels, for you haue not only vowed all hollynes, but also all perfection of holynes, yea and the very end of all consummation, or perfection &c. It belongeth to other men to serue God, but it is your part to adhere vnto him, or to be vnited with him: other men ought to beleeue in God, to loue him, to reuerence, and worshipping him, but you ought to tast him, to vnderstand him, to know him, and to enioy him. Thus saith *S. Bernard*, of religious perfection.

51 Seeing then, this is the doctrine of all the ancient Fathers, grounded vpon the holly scriptures, and most conforme to reason it selfe, it were absurd to say, that any religion professing Christ, should be a true, and perfect religion, that should not haue this christian perfection. For although no man is bound, to the obseruation of the Euangelicall counsells, except he bind himselfe, and that therefore the christian perfection which consisteth therein, is not of necessitie required in euery member, or part of Christs church: yet it is so necessary for the whole, that it cannot be perfect without it, as wee see also in other societies, that many things are requisit to the perfection of the whole, which are not necessarie in euery part. Yt is conuenient for the perfection of an vniuersitie, that there be deuines therein, yet neither is any man bound to professe diuinitie, except he list himselfe, neither is it necessarie that euery man should be a deuine. Also it is requisit, that in a perfect common welth, there should be all trades, and occupations, and yet it is not necessarie, that euery man should professe some trade, neither is any man bound to it, further then he thinketh good to bynd himselfe.

52 Also in the church it selfe, wee see, that it is most necessarie to the perfection thereof, that there be priests therein, and yet no man is bound to take the order of priesthood (if he doe not bind himselfe) neither is it necessarie that euery man should be a priest. Euen so also, though it be not requisit to the perfection of the church of Christ, and of christian religion, that euery man keepe the Euangelicall counsells, yet it is necessary that some doe obserue them. For seeing that the perfection of christian religion, must needs consist in the perfect imitation of Christ, (as I haue said) and that he did not only practise the ver-

met, of poverty, chastity, and abnegation of himselfe; throughout the whole course of his life, but did also counsell and inuite vs to imitate him therein, it were absurd to thinke, that there shall not be alwaies some in his church, who shall make publike profession to follow his example, in as high a degree of perfection, as may stand with humane infirmities: for whereto tended all his actions, his continuall mortifications, his austeritie of life, his humilitie, pouertie, and obedience, but to giue vs an example, which we might imitate? The least dropp of his most precious blood, sufficed for our redemption, which also he might haue shed without so much paine, ignominie, and contempt, as he suffered in his passion, and without such pouerty, humilitie, and mortification, as he practised throughout the course of his life, but only that he would thereby, giue vs example, and encourage vs to follow him, in the exercise of those vertues. So that it cannot otherwaie be imagined, but that his meaning was, to haue alwayes in his church some publike state, and profession of life, wherein his most excellent vertues, should be imitated and exercised for his glory, and the example of the weaker sort of men. For as it was necessarie, that there should be a most liuely paterne, and example of christian perfection, in his church in his owne time, not only in himselfe, but also in his Apostles, and other his disciples: so also it is conuenient, that there be the like, continuallie in his church, to the worldes end, to serue as it were for a marke, whereat all sorts of christian men may shoote.

Therefore as almighty God, out of his ordinarie prouidence, alwaies stirreth vpp some in all common wealths, to professe all kind of trades, necessarie for the publike good thereof, and euer moueth some in his church to be priests, though he bind no man thereto: so also out of the same prouidence, he hath alwaies moued infinit numbers of both sexes, to imitate him in the practise of his counsells in religious life, for his greater glory, shewing therein the wonderfull force, and effects of his grace, and bounty, and imparting thereby to his church, such other graces, and benefits, as I haue signified before, when I delineated the causes, and conueniencie of the multiplicities, and varietie of religions. Chap. 26.

Therefore I conclude, that seeing Lutherans and Calvinists, haue not within the whole latitude of their congregations, and religion, any exercise at all of the Euangelicall counsells, preached and practised by our Saviour, by his Apostles, and by the christians, as well in the primitive church, as in all ensuing ages, euen vntill this day, it followeth

of necessitie, that they haue neither perfection, nor truth of christian religion.

55 But what may we thinke of their spirit, seeing they are not only void themselues of this perfection, but are also such professed enemies of it, that they seeke to hinder it in all others. Yea to supplant, and exterminat it out of the christian world? As may appeare, by the implacable hatred, and malice, they beare to all religious persons, whose life and profession, consisteth in nothing els, but in the exercise of the euangelicall counsels, against whom they proclaime open warr, wherein they doe notable symbolize, with the *Arrians*, *Donatists*, and other famous, or rather infamous, heretikes of former ages.

Circa an.
373.
Ruffinus li.
2. c. 3.
Socrat. li. 2.
ca. 17.

56 For we read in the ecclesiasticall histories, that *Lucius* an *Arrian* bishop, turned saith *Ruffinus*, the *Armes* of his fury against monasteries, and made warr with aboue three thousand religious men, that were dispersed throughout the desert, whither he sent troopes of armed men, vnder coronels and captaines, as though they had benne to fight with some barbarous enemies, and when they came there, they found a new kind of warre, for their enemies did but offer their neckes to the sword, and say nothing els, but as *Christ* said to *Iudas*. *Amice, ad quid venisti?* Friend, to what end art thou come. Thus farre *Ruffinus*, and the same is also testified by *Socrates*.

Socrat. li. 2.
c. 17.
An. 370.
Hieron. in
chroni.
An. 38.
Optat. li. 2.
contra *Do-*
nat.

57 Wee read in like manner in *S. Hierome*, that the wicked *Arrian* Emperour *Valens*, did so hate all monkes, and religious persons, that he made a law, that they should either be souldiars, or els be beaten to death with clubbs.

An. 390.
Hieron. con-
tra *Vigilant.*
An. 400.
S. Aug. contra
Petilian. li. 3.
ca. 4.
S. Dama-
scen. de he-
res.
An. 700.
Theoſteri. in
orat. funeb.
in *S. Nicetā.*
An. 890.
Constitutio
Theophi.
Imperator.

57 The *Donatists* also, as *Optatus Milenitanus* witnesseth, did vse to vnuceil holly virgins, and nunnes, therbie to vndoe their former profession. And *S. Hierome* writeth of *Vigilantius*, that he diswaded men from monasticall life. And *S. Augustin* affirmeth, that *Petilianus* the heretike (against whome he wrote) did raile vppon Monkes, and inueigh bitterlie against monasteries, reprehending also, *S. Augustin* himselfe, because he had instituted an order of religion. *S. Iohn Damascen*, maketh mention of certaine heretikes, called *Lampetiani*, who taught that monkes might liue as they list, both for their diet, apparel, and all other thinges.

58 The wicked, and hereticall Emperour *Constantinus Copronymus*, labored for nothing more, then to extinguish all monasticall orders. And the Emperour *Theophilus*, who was also a Tyrannicall heretike, and a magician, profaned monasteries, and religious houses, and forbade Monkes to come into townes, or citties; and would not suffer them,

to live any where in peace, and rest.

59 And how well the spirit of *Martin Luther*, and *Iohn Calvin*, agreeeth with all these former heretiks, it may appeare by their owne writings. *Luther* saith. *Cupio eradica- & abolita esse uniuersa monasteria &c.* I wish that all monasteries were rooted out, extinguished and abolished, and I would to God that they were destroyed from heauen, with fire, and brimstone, like *Sodome*, and *Ghomorrah*, so that there might be no memorie at all left of them. And *Caluin* calleth monasticall vovves, the netts of *Sathan*, and monkes, hooded sophisters, & saith that they haue giuen themselves wholly to the deuil. So that to imitate the life of our Sauiour, that is to say, his poverty, chastity, mortification and abnegation of himselfe, is in the opinion of these men, to giue a mans selfe wholly to the deuil, and deserueth no lesse, then fire, and brimstone from heauen: and therefore wee see also, that their followers doe destroy all monasteries, and seeke to extirpate, monasticall life, wherefoeuer they commaund, or haue power to doe it.

60 And although they pretend commonly, that the euil life of religious men, is the cause of their hatred towards them, it is euident by the doctrin of *Luther*, *Caluin*, and their followers (which I haue declared) that it is the perfection of religious life, which they cannot brooke, because it is flat contrarie, aswell to their loose liues, as to the principles of their doctrin.

61 And as for the euil life of some religious men, wee mislike, and lament it no lesse, and more then they, yea and wee say with *S. Augustin*, that as there is none better then the good religious, so there are none worse then the bad, whereof *Luther* himselfe, and the other Apollatas his companions, may serue for examples. Wherein also it may be noted for an infallible truth, that the worst and most dissolute men of all others in religion, are those that become sectaries, leauing the straight rule of monasticall disciplin, and religious mortification, to the end they may amongst the sectaries, giue free scope, and libertie to the flesh, without controule, as shall be declared more particularly hereafter.

62 Neuertheles, it is no reason for the offence of some, to punish or destroy all, nor to take away the good vse of any thing, because some doe abuse it, seeing there is nothing so holly on earth, but it is sometimes misused, neither is there any company, or congregation of men so vertuous, but some amongst them, may serue for an example of humane infirmities, as wee see by experience in the very colledge of the Apostles, and therefore whosoever is so vnaduised, and vncharitable, as to make more reflection vppon the bad, then vppon the good it is

An. 1120.
*Luther de
votis mona-
sticis.*

*Ioan. Caluin
li. 4. instit. c.
13.*

*S. August. de
opere mona-
chor. ca. 28.*

Chap. 36.

no marueile though he be scandalized: whereas, if he were so carefull to note the vertues of the best, to follow their example, as to obserue the vices of the worst, to haue matter to carpe at, he should not only be greatlie edified, but might also make himselfe within a while, an example and paterne of vertue.

63 But such is the mercifull prouidence of almightie God, in the gouernment of his church, that besides the ordinarie endeouour vsed by his pastors, to reforme such religions, as decline from their former integritie, he also inspireth many religious men, to reduce, and restore their owne decayed orders, to their primitiue perfection, and stirreth vp many others, to beginne, and institute new rules, to supply the decay of theould, thereby to continue alwaise in his church, the true, and perfect imitation of our Sauours life, and deuine vertues, as I haue sufficiently declared before, and common experience sheweth to be true. Therefore I conclude, that seeing *Lutherans, Calvinists,* and other sectaries of our time, are professed enemies of christian perfection (consisting in the imitation of Christ by the obseruation of his counsels) they haue neither the perfection, nor truth, of christian religion, nor consequently that vnion with God, from whence proceedeth the true felicitie of man, and common welth, which also wilbe yet more manifest in the next chapter, wherein I will examin, what externall signes they haue of internall vnion with God.

Where as it is shewed, that the Roman Catholikes, haue all the externall signs that may be, of Gods externall vnion with them, (to wit, ecstases, rapt, and reuelations, the spirit of prophesie, visions, and apparitions of our Saviour, his Angels and Saintes, and the operation of manifestest miracles:) it is here examined, what our aduersaries can pretend to haue had, or to haue in this kind: and it is proued, that they haue had nothing els, but certaine counterfeit miracles, which haue miscaried vnder their hands, illusions of wicked spirits, idle and phantastickall dreames, horrible visions, and apparitions of deuils, and fained reuelations. Lastly, their obiections against our miracles, are confuted, and they concluded to be wilfully blind.

CHAP. 32.



Aviing shewed already in the twenty seauenth chapter, that almightie God hath approued the vse and practise of religious disciplin, and euidentlie testified his internal vnion with the professors thereof, by the externall, and ma-

most signes of revelations, visions, apparitions, raptures, and the gifts of miracles, in all ages, and times, euen vntill this day, I will now briefly examine, what the sectaries can pretend to haue in this kind, to proue the perfection of their religion, and their vnion with God.

Therefore, whereas the deuine fauours aforesaid, are speciall effects of the contemplation of God, and of his vnion with man, I may boldly affirme, that the sectaries, our aduersaries, neither are, nor can be partakers thereof, being vtterly void of the meanes to obtaine them at Gods hands, to wit, of true humilitie, mortification, and abnegation of them selues, whereof they haue no practise at all, nor so much as any true disposition thereto (as I haue proued in the last chapter :) Besides that, they haue neither vse nor knowledge (for ought that appeareth in their liues, or in any of their workes) of one speciall meanes, wherebie our contemplatiues arrive to a perfect vnion with God, I meane mentall prayer, and frequent meditations of the life, and passion of our Sauour, to the end to imitate his deuine vertues: which exercise doth not only breede in a contemplatiue soule, contrition, humilitie, and true mortification, but also kindle in it such flames of deuine loue, that it remaineth ingouled, and absorpt many times, in the abundant delectation thereof, and is thereby disposed to receiue those heauenlie visitations and fauours, whereof I haue hitherto treated.

For if we consider the notable effects, that the serious, and frequent meditation of our Sauours life, and death, must needs worke in any true christian man, it cannot be denied, but that it is a most excellent meanes to raise, and eleuat him to a most perfect vnion with God. For first it fortifieth, and feedeth our faith, it nourisheth, and increaseth our hope, it kindleth, and enflameth our charitie, it breedeth a shame, and hatred of sinne, it ministreth examples of all vertue, it comforteth the soule in affliction, it strenghtneth, and encourageth it in infirmities, it sheweth the high way to perfection, it armet it against temptation, and finally it serueth (as I haue said els where) for a ladder, to mount immediatelie to the contemplation of our Sauours deuinitie, seeing that the ineffable perfections of his diuine nature (as his iustice, wisdom, bounty, liberalitie, and longanimity) were printed, and represented in his humanitie, as in a most liuely image, or cleare glasse, and expressed, no lesse in his actions, then in his doctrine, throughout the whole course of his life, and death. In which respect he may welbe said to be *the booke*, that the prophet *Ezechiel*

Ezechiel. 2. chiefl say written *within*, and *without*, which whosoever doth diligently read and study, and eate it with the prophet (that is to say inwardlie receiue the substance and doctrin of it, printing in his heart the internall vertues of our Sauours humanitie) he shall find it to be as sweete as honny, as the prophet did.

4 Therefore the greatest contemplatiues, who haue benne most vnit-
ted with God; and receiued the greatest fauours of him, haue not only
vsed to meditate continuallie vpon the life and passion of our Sa-
uiour, but also to prescribe the vie, and practise thereof to others, as
we see by experience in the Apostle, who shewing whereon his cogi-
tations were most fixed, saith. *Abst mihi gloriari &c. God forbid that I*
Gal. 6. *should glory in anything els, but in the Crosse of our Lord Iesus Christ.* And
Hebr. 12. writing to the *Hebrewes*, he taught them and vs, the continuall medi-
tation thereof, and aduised vs to accompanie him therein, beholding,
saith he, *Iesus the auctor and consummator of faith*, who though ioy was pro-
posed vnto him, sustained, or bore his crosse, contemning confusion, or shame.
And addeth further. *Recogitate eum &c. Thinke againe, and againe* (or se-
riousslie meditate) *on him, who suffered such contradiction against himselfe,* as
the hands of sinners. Thus tarre the Apostle, teaching notable and ex-
presselie as you see, the frequent, or rather continual meditation of our
Sauours life, and passion. And *S. Peter* in like maner. *Christo*, saith he,
passio in carne, &c. vos eadem cogitatione, armamini. Christ hauing suffred in his
flesh, be yee also armed with the same cogitation, that is to say, arme yoursel-
ues with the continuall cogitation, or meditation of Christs passion.

And therefore *S. Ephram* a very ancient, and holly Father (of whome I
haue sometimes spoken before) counselleth euery man diligentlie to
ponder, and waigh euery action of our Sauour, to accompanie him in
cogitation, throughout the course of his life, to behould with the eyes
of faith, the beauty & comelines of his holly face, to follow him from
place to place, to see and note his miraculous workes, to contemplate
all the persecutions, and contumelies that he suffred, to admire his hu-
militie, and patience, to attend vpon him to his passion, and to assist
him vpon the crosse, like a faithfull seruant to adore, and glorifie him
for his infinit bounty, and finallie this holly Father, hauing mentioned
more particulars of his life, death, burial, and resurrection, saith in con-
clusion. *Consider all these things prudently, perfectly, and faithfully, for except*
thou behould them all, with the eyes of thy faith, thou canst not be eleuated in
spirit from earth to heauen.

5 Thus teacheth he, who speaking also els where particularly of

his passion, saith. *Venite cuncti Ecclesia filij &c.* Come all the children of the church, and let vs meditate vpon all the passions and sufferings of our Lord with tears and sobles, and in our meditation let vs tremble. *&c.* *Distillens tibi frater lacrima &c.* Let teares deare brother, distill from thee by the meditation of our Lords passion, for such teares are sweete, as flow from thence, and the soule which doth continually ruminare vpon the same, is illuminated from aboue, and therefore let thy cogitation be alwaies fixed thereon. Thus saith he.

6. *s. Bernard* also expounding these wordes of the Canticles. *Fasciculus mirrha dilectus meus mihi &c.* My beloued is to me as a posie of mirrhe, and shal remaine betwixt my pappes, applieth the same notable to the consideration of our Sauours bitter passiō, signified by the bitternes of the mirrhe, whereof he aduisech euerie man to make a nosegay or posy, to sticke it in his breast, and there to weare it continually, retaining alwaies in memory all those bitter thinges which hee suffered for vs, and pondering them with continuall meditation.

7. Thus saith *s. Bernard*, and then declaring his owne practise thereof, *ibid.* hee affirmeth, that from the time of his first conuersion, he had euer an especiall care to carie in his breast, this posie gathered of all the paines, and sorrowes of our Saniour, and after a perticular declaration thereof (which for breuities sake I omit) he concludeth thus. *Hac meditare &c.* I should it for true wisdom to meditate vpon these thinges, and in them haue I placed the perfection of my iustice, or righteousness, the plenitude of knowledge, the riches of saluation, and the copie and plentie of al merit, out of these I draw sometimes the houlsome drinke of sorrow, and some times againe, the sweete vntreatment of consolation, these doe erect and comfort mee in aduersitie, these doe repress and moderate mee in prosperitie, and leade mee safelie as it were, in the kings high way, betwixt the weale and woe of this present life, these doe reconcile vnto me, the iudge of the world, whiles they represent him vnto me, not onlie meeke, humble, & placable, but also imitable, or to be followed (though he be dreadfull to all pauer, & principallie, and terrible to the kings of the earth) and therefore I haue had these oft in my mouth, alwaies in my hart, and familiar in my stile, finallie this is my highest philosophy to know Iesus, and him crucified.

8. These are the wordes of this holy Father, shewing sufficiently his continual practise of the meditation of our Sauours passiō, whereby he arriued to the hight of cōtemplation. And the like may be said of *s. Francis*, who in reward of his profoūd, & affectionat meditations of our Sauours passiō, had the similitud of his most glorious wouds miraculously printed in his handes, feete and side, as I haue signified elsewhere, so that hee might iustlie say with the Apostle. *Stigmata Domini mei Iesu Christi, in corpore meo porto.* I beare the marks, or prints of my Sauour Iesus in my bodie.

Blosius. mo-
nile spirit. ca.

2.
Bozius de
fig. eccl. to. 1.
fig. 37. ca. 12.

body. And we read also the like of *S. Katerin of Siena*, and of *S. Elizabeth of spalber*, and of a holie woman called *Lucia of Narni*, in the time of pope *Alexander the sixt*, whereby it hath pleased God to shew how gratefull vnto him is the meditation of his passion, and how willinglie hee vniteth himselfe with those, that daylie, and dulie frequent the exercise thereof.

Cap. 21. in
fine.

9 But now let vs consider, what vse or practise our aduersaries haue or can haue, of this speciall point of contemplatiue disciplin, and high way to perfection. And first to speake of their apostles (to wit *Luther*, *Caluin*, *Bera*, and other their euangelical progenitours) it is euident, that in all their writings, and workes; there appeareth not so much as one worde of anie method, manner, or rules of meditation, either of our Sauours life, or of his passion and death, and much lesse of the exercise of contemplation: whereas the bookes of our Catholikes, concerning meditations of all sorts, and perticularlie of the life, and passion of Christ, are so manie, not onlie in Latine, but also in the vulgar tongue of euerie Catholike countrie, that (as I signified before touching bookes of the practise of contemplation) no one man can presume to haue heard of them all, and much lesse to haue seene them all: whereby it appeareth, that the practise of such meditations, and contemplation, is familiar and vsual amongst Catholikes, and vnknewen, or at least not vsed, amongst Lutherans and Caluinists.

1. Cor. 2.

2. Cor. 6.

10 Furthermore, it may easilie bee judged, by the loose liues of their said masters, and teachers (whereof I haue spoken amplie before) that they neuersd (and much lesse deliuered to their disciples) any such notable meanes, and way to mortification, as is the due, and serious meditation of our Sauours passion. For if they had dulie practised the same, they could not possible haue benne so carnal, and sensual as they were, no more then it is possible for a carnal, and sensual man to vnderstand, and tast those things which belonge to the spirit of God. For the continuall vse of pious meditations, and the gracc of contemplation, can no more stand with carnalitie and licentiousnes, then light, with darknes, or Christ with Belial, the owne being the fruite, and gift of the holie Ghost, and the other the workes of the flesh and the diuel.

S. Bernard.
tract. de di-
ligendo. Deo.

11 Therefore *S. Bernard* speaking of the loue, which our Sauour shewed towards vs in his passion, saith that the continual consideration thereof: staierh and sustainerh the soule of man, ne inclinetur in carnalia, & secularia desideria, that it bee not inclined, and swayed to carnall, and secular desires.

12 But what neede I stand vppon coniectures in this matter, seeing

wee haue a verie autentical testimonie of Luther himselfe, concerning his owne meditations, whereby we may also take a skantling of the humour of his disciples and followers, who persisting in his doctrine, cannot bee thought to haue anie other, and especially a better spirit, then their master. He then saith of himself thus. *Ego Martinus Lutherus, vix ullam consolationem ex morte, & resurrectione Christi capere possum, ex bonis autem a deo acceptis, ut edere panem, & bibere ceruissam, aprime possum.* I Martin Luther, can hardlye receiue anie consolation of the death and resurrection of Christ, but I can take verie great pleasure in the goods, that I haue receiued of God, as in eating bread, and drinking beere.

Luther. in
colloq. latinis
c. de chr. 8. a.
nis jo. 1.

13 Thus saith this spirituall doctor, discovering notable his spirit, in so much that if a horse, or a mule, or a blacke lacke, or a barrel of beere could speake, they would shew as much good spirit as he: whereto if I add, what he saith he learned of his hostesse in Isenack, and knew also by his owne experience to bee true (as I haue noted before) to wit that, *nuhing is more louelie and sweete vppon earth, then the loue of a woman*, and further what he writeth of the delights of matrimonie, as that it is most *worthy to be called a spirituall, heauenlie; and a deuine state, and that it moueth, vrgeth, and inclineth men to the highest, and most spirituall worke*, if wee add I say, these things to his bread, and his beere, which was no doubt dooble, and not single, wee may easely perceiue, whereon he vied most to meditate, and wee shal maruaile nothinge at al, that hee could receiue no comfort of the meditation of Christs death, and resurrection, seeing that as S. Bernard saith. *Quomodo ignis & aqua &c. As fire and water cannot bee together, so carnal and spirituall delights, cannot bee coupled in one soule.*

Chap. 30. nu
22.
Annotatio.
Lutheri. in
ca. 31. prouer.
Luther. to. 5.
comment. in
1. Cor. 7. fo.
100. & 107.

14 Whereby wee may also iudge, what communication Luther, and such others could haue with the spirit of Christ, especially seeing that S. Bernard also saith, that *ubi Christus suae, aut passionis gratiam, aut resurrectionis gloriam sedula inspicit cogitatione versari, ibi profecto adest libens*; that is to say, Christ doth diligentlie and willinglie assist in a soule, which doth diligentlie meditate vppon the grace of his passion, or the glorie of his resurrection. So that I leaue it to the iudgment of the prudent Reader, whether it was likelie that the spirit of Christ assisted in the soule of Luther, so posselt with the drunken delight of dooble beere and carnal pleasures, that the meditation of his passion and resurrection, could (as he saith) skantlie giue him anie consolation.

S. Bernar.
tract. de
diligendo.
Deo.

15 And therefore I conclude concerning him, that it is not possible that he could haue anie heauenlie visions, or deuine fauours, though

Surinus in
comment.
An. 1483.

well he might be sometimes alienated from his senses, whē the double beate was good, and strong. yea, and be otherwaise also rauished in spirit (or rather by a spirit) when he was other whiles oppressed with the wicked spirit that posselt him: as it fell out once before he leaft his monastery, where being at masse, and the gospel being read of casting out the dumme deuill, he fell downe vppon the ground, crying out. *Non sum, non sum. I am not, I am not.* And what passed afterwards betwixt him, and his deuill, I shall haue further occasion to declare heereafter.

16 And in the meane time (to ad somewhat more concerning all other sectaries, originallie deriued frō him) it is manifest, that although they create, and speake much of the merits, and passion of Christ, and seeme highly to esteeme the same, yet they make no such vse thereof for contemplation, as may produce in them those admirable, & deuine effects, whereof I treat heere. And this, I say, is manifest, for that their opinion, and doctrine concerning the passion of Christ, is such, that it doth wholly exclude true mortification, and the perfect imitation of Christ, which is the speciall effect, that the due meditation of his passiō, ought to worke in a contemplatiue man, as the Apostle signified plainely, when hauing said (as I noted before) *absit mihi gloriari &c. God forbid that I should glory in any thing, but in the crosse of Christ*, he added (to shew the true and proper effect that should follow thereof) *per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est, & ego mundo.* By whom the world is crucified, or dead to me, and I to the world.

L. Pet. 4.

17 And S. Peter, hauing counselled vs to arme our selues, with the meditation of Christs passion, (as I haue also declared before) addeth immediately (to shew the end, and effect thereof) *Quia qui passus est in carne, desit a peccatis.* For he which hath suffred in his flesh, hath ceased from sinne: as who would say, arme your selues with the cogitation, or meditation of Christs suffering, to the end, that yow may also suffer, and be crucified with him, by the mortification, or chastisement of the flesh, for he which suffreth in his flesh) that is to say, whose flesh, or sensualitie is mortified by suffering) ceaseth from sinne. To which purpose S. Leo saith. *Per voluntarias afflictiones, caro concupiscentis moritur &c.* By voluntary afflictions, the flesh dieth to concupisence, & the spirit or soule, is renewed with vertues. Thus he.

S. Leo sermo.
de ieiunio
decimi mensis.

18 Loe then to what end, we ought to meditate vppon the passion of Christ, to wit, to suffer voluntarie in our flesh by the example of Christ, that is to say, to chastise our bodies, thereby to mortifie our passions, & affections, to the end we may cease from sinne, To which doctrine, holly

Ephram.
serm. de passione.
Domini prope finem.

Ephram the ancient, and great contemplatiue, saith thus. *Beatus homo, qui prope finem* happy is the man, that hath alwaies before his eyes, our heavenly Lord, and his pas-

him, crucifying himselfe to the world, withall his concupiscences, and other earthly things, whereby he becommeth the imitator, or follower of his Lord: and this is true prudence. This is the care, and affection of a good seruant to his master, to endeavour alwayes, to imitate, and follow him in his good workes. Thus saith he, giuing to vnderstand that we ought to meditate vpon our Sauours passion, to the end we may imitate, and follow him as our Lord, and master, drawing from him documents, and examples, of humilitie, obedience, pouertie, patience, contempt of the world, mortification, and abnegation of our selues, *that suffering with him*, as *S. Paule* saith, *we may* 1. Corin. 4
reigne with him. And therefore the same blessed Apostle being, as he himselfe testifieth, *imitator Christi, a follower of Christ*, did chastise his owne body, as he witnesseth, and bring it to seruitude, and all the holily seruants of God, and great contemplatiues, of whome I haue spoken before, in like sort, followed the same example of our Sauour, suffering with him (as *S. Peter* aduised) in their flesh by voluntarie, and bodily penance, by fasting, watching, long prayer, haire cloth, disciplines, and such like, thereby to crucify, and mortify their flesh, withall the concupiscences thereof, and hereto specially tended all their meditations, of the passion of Christ, whereby they obtained so great fauours of God, as I haue declared before.

19 But doe our aduersaries trow you, ayme at any such marke? Do they euer so much as thinke of our Sauours life, and passion, to the end to chastise their bodies, and to suffer in their flesh? No truly, for their meditation thereof can be no other, according to their owne doctrine, but to perswade themselues, that he so suffered, and satisfied for them, that their sufferings, chastisements, and mortifications of their bodies, should be superfluous, and vaine, in so much that they assure themselves of their saluation, if they doe but only apply his merits to themselves, by a liuelie, or a sauing faith, as they call it, or rather to say truly, by a vaine presumption, or a rechelesse, and false securitie, whereby the wickedst man amongst them houlderth himselfe, as sure to be saued (yea, and to be as great a Saint) with all his wickednes, as *S. Iohn Baptist, S. Paule, or S. Mary Magdalen*, withall their penance and mortification. Wherein, what fruit they draw for the imitation of Christ, out of the consideration of his passion, it may easely be iudged, and I will make it most euident heereafter, when I shall treat of their iustifying faith, in which respect, I haue thought good only to touch the same thus breefelie in this place, and therefore will conclude, that seeing our aduersaries haue no vse at all of the meanes, whereby all the great contemplatiues of Gods church,

haue arriued to a perfect vnion with him (I meane the serious, and deuout meditation vppon the life, and passion of Christ, with true mortification of the flesh, by penance, and carriage of the crosse:) it cannot be expected, that they should haue the effects thereof, to wit, Ecstasies, or rapt, deuine reuelations, the gift of miracles, and other celestiall fauours.

20 And yet this wilbe more euident, if we consider the same more particulerlie, as what our aduersaries may challenge to themselves in euery one of these kinds. And first for rapt, I shall not neede to trouble my reader, to examine whether they haue had any or no, seeing, that none of them euer so much as pretended to haue any, for ought that I haue read, or heard, so that I may proceede, to treat of the other effects of our christian contemplation.

21 Therefore (to say some what touching their miracles, reuelations, and visions) it is to be vnderstood, that though in conclusion, they are faine for want of such, to deny the continuance of them in the church of God vntill this time, yet it is sufficientlie knowne, that some of their principall pastors, and doctors, haue sometimes attempted to doe things, which might seeme miraculous, and haue pretended to haue reuelations, and visions, for the confirmation of their doctrine: whereby it is euident inough, that they knew in their owne consciences, that the power of doing miracles, remaineth still in the church of God, though they had not the grace, or the good happ to doe any. I will therefore first, lay downe some what concerning their miracles, visions, and reuelations, and after examine what they can say against ours.

Freder. Staphil. in absolut. res. p. 1.

Surius. an. 1546.

22 *Fredericus Staphilus*, who was sometime one of *Luthers* disciples, writeth, that *Luther* attempted once, to cast a deuil, out of a woman, brought vnto him from *Misia* for that purpose, and that as he exorcised her, in the reuestry of the church (after his owne fashion (saith he) and not after the manner of the Catholike church) he tooke such a fright, that he sought meanes to runne out of the doore, and finding it shut so fast by the deuil (as it seemed) that it could not be opened, either within, or without, he cried out for helpe, and at length some of his friends abroad, cast in a hatchet at the window, wherewith *Fredericus Staphilus* (being then present with him, as he writeth and the yongest, and strongest in the company) hewed downe the doore, but it was pitifull to see, in what case the poore man was all the while, who (as the same author testifieth) was noe lesse distempered in his belly, then in his mind, and went wringing, and wrigling vpp, and downe

lik

likewew, saith he, that is great with lambe, and ready to yeane.

Also *Cochlaus* witnesseth of him, that he went about once to re-
 one *William Nesen*, who was drowned in the riuer *Albis*, and
 that he lost both his labour, & his credit therein. Neuertheles though
 he could himselfe doe no miracles whiles he liued, yet it pleased God
 to shew a miraculous, or at least a strange euent vpon his body, after
 his death. For whereas he died in the midst of winter, to wit the
seuenteenth of Februarie, and in a very cold climat, where dead bod-
 ies doe not so soone putrifie, as in hotter regions, yea, and that his
 body was also enclosed and shut vp very close in tinne, it cast forth not
 with standing such a horrible stinke, that no man was able to endure
 it, in so much that those who assisted the conuoy thereof, from *Istlebiu*
 where he died, to the vniuersitie of *Wittenberg*, were foor to depart and
 leaue it by the way. By occasiō whereof I cannot forbear to put thee
 in mind (good reader) of what I declared before in the 27. chapter, of
 the bodies of the blessed *a F. Xauierus* in the *East Indie*, and *b mother*
Teresa in *spaine*, whose liues, and deaths, are yet fresh in memorie, and
 their bodies knowne to haue remained vncorrupt, some yeares after
 their decease, breathing forth most sweete, & fragrant odours, as they
 still doe for ought is yet knowne to the contrarie, which I say, I wish
 should be noted with the difference of the euents, to the end we may
 the better distinguish betwixt the different merits of the holly, chaste,
 and religious life of the twoo latter, and the Apostacie of the former
 from religion, and from his vow of chastitie. And thus much concer-
 ning *Luther*.

14 As for *Caluin*, it is testified by *Hierome Bolsec*, *Surius*, and diuers gra-
 ce authours, that to gett credit, and reputation to him selfe, and his
 gospell, he procured a poore man in *Geneua* called *Brule*, with the
 consent of his wife, to faine himselfe dead, to the end, that *Caluin*
 might seeme to raise him to life, but when the matter came to execu-
 tion, and *Caluin* in presence of the people, after solemne prayer, called
 often vpon him to rise, he was found to be starke dead, where with
 his wife was so afflicted, that shee cried out vpon *Caluin*, and detected
 all the cosenage: neuertheles he procured to stopp her mouth with
 rewards, and in his next sermon to the people, laid the fault on their
 want of faith, that he could not raise the dead man. The like is also re-
 lated by *Lindanus* and others, of a minister in the confines of *Polonia*,
 and *Hungary*, who made the like couenant with one called *Mathew*
 to faine him selfe dead, in the yeare of our Lord, a thousand five hun-
 dredth, fifty eight, & so it fell out, that he was found dead in dede, when

it was

*Cochla. in
 actis Lutheri.
 Surius ubi
 supra.*

*An. 1546.
 Historiola
 de morte Lu-
 theri annex.
 libro cochlae
 de vita eius.*

a Num. 37.

b Num. 42.

*Surius an.
 1538.
 Linda. in
 Dubitatio.
 Felician.
 Ninguard.
 li. contra An-
 mam Burg.*

Alan. cop. 6.
Dialog.
Bil. ar. li. 4.
cap. 14. de
notis ecclē.
Tertullian.
in lib de pre-
script.

it was expected he should arise, at the call, and commaundement of the minister: so that we may truly say of these men, as *Tertullian* saide of certaine heretikes in his time, who counterfeited in like maner the miracles of the Apostles. *Illi*, saith he, *de mortuis suscitabant, isti de vivis mortuos faciunt.* The Apostles raised dead men to life, and these men make live men dead.

25 And if it be true, which I have credible heard, there have passed in England, some such cozening deuises amongst our ministers to grace their ghospell, with some shew of miracles, though not of reuiuing dead men, yet in seeming to expell deuils out of some, whome they procured to faine themselues to be posselt, but because I wil affirme no more of such matters, but what I know my selfe to be true, or find written, and testified by graue authors, I leaue it to my reader, to informe himselfe of the truth of what was discovered in *Eondō*, some Eight, or nine yeares agoe, to haue benne practised in that kind by certaine puritan ministers, whereof (I haue credibly heard) there was a relation printed with publike approbation, and some also imprisoned for the same. And the like opinion of cozenage, and deceit, was also conceiued many yeares before, concerning exorcismes vsed by *M. Foxe*, vpon a woman in *Lothbury* in *London*, who was thought to be posselt with a wicked spirit, which I also leaue to the enquire of the reader, and will only vpon this occasion, declare what I know my selfe to be true concerning him, and his talent in casting out deuils.

26 Yt fell out, whiles I once lay in *London*, that a gentleman of the middle temple was possessed with a deuil, or at least was presumed so to be, and *M. Foxe* was brought by his friendes to cure him, & after some dayes, and many written relations (which went about *London* of the conferences betwixt *M. Foxe* and *Satan*) it was crediblie reported, that the Gentleman was fully deliuered, and *M. Fox* was generallie held for a very holy, & apostolicall man. But within a few dayes after, it being my chaunce to passe by the Gentlemans lodging, I met a protestant of his acquaintance & mirr comming from him, who told me that he was worse troubled then euer he had benne before. I asked him why they did not send againe for *M. Fox*, and he answered, that they had sent for him, & that he could not come, because he was troubled himselfe, meaning with the deuil. The next day, being in the companie of some honourable personages, who were perswaded that the gentleman was dispossessed, I told them what I vnderstood thereof the day before, & namely that *M. Fox* was also himselfe so troubled with the deuil, that it might be well said vnto him. *Medice cura te ipsum. Physician heale thy selfe.*

where

where
ple of
rumour
realou
M. Fox
some ti
of the
their fl
M. Fox
may ap
cised hi
that he
nor hea
of doin
paire w
to haue
17. An
rememb
fore of
of both
and app
& faints
pretend
ferences
18. Lur
which
he was i
nion. A
that had
on a bu
he was r
by that
ghospel
fore how
he prof
of man
well to
19. And
to reiect
drame

where with a principall man in the companie, a great friend, and disciple of master Fox, was much offended, saying that it was but some false rumour giuen out by the Papists. And when I affirmed, that he was a zealous protestant who tould it to me, he replied, that no man knew *M. Fox* better then he, and that the truth was, that the goodman would some times so deepe lie consider of his sinnes, that he would dispaire of the mercy of God, whereat diuers in the companie laughed in their sleeues, and all that I replied was, that it seemed therebie, that *M. Fox* had litle grace, and thus ended our conference. But herebie it may appeare, what an exorcist *M. Foxe* was, who needed to be exorcised himselfe, and had so litle faith, and confidence in Gods mercy, that he some times dispaired thereof, which I thinke was neuer read, nor heard of in any man, that had the grace of casting out deuils, or of doing miracles, except in *Iudas*, who neuertheles vsed not to dispaire whiles he had the gift of miracles, though *M. Foxe* was thought to haue a speciall gift to doe both. Thus much for their miracles.

27. And now to come to their reuelations, and visions, thou maist remember, good Reader, how many examples I haue laid downe before of the great fauours of almighty God, donne to religious persons of both sexes, by the spirit of prophesie, diuers sorts of reuelations, and apparitions of our Sauour himselfe, of his mother, of his Angels, & saints: whereas all that the *Lutherans*, *Caluinists*, & other sectaries can pretend to haue had in that kind, are no other but familiaritie, and conferences with deuils, idle dreames, manifest illusions, or fained lies.

28. *Luther* is not ashamed himselfe, to lay downe large disputations, which he had with the deuill, about the masse, and to confesse, that he was in the end ouercome by him, and forced to change his opinion. And further, to signifie the great familiaritie, and friendship, that had benne betwixt them many yeares, he saith that they had *ed- To. 6. Ger. tenensi. fo. 28. & To. 7. VVitemberg fo. 443. Surius Comment. an. 1517.* a bushell of salt together: so that it needeth not to be doubted, but he was not only obsest, but also really possessed by him, as appeareth by that which I recounted before, of his falling downe, when the golpell of the expulsion of the dumbe deuill was read. And therefore how sound, and holefome doctrin for christians his may be, which he professeth to haue learned of the Father of lies, and capitall enemy of mankind, euery man that tendreth his owne saluation, hath reason well to consider.

29. And the like good ground also had *Hildericus Zuinglius* (as it seemeth) to reiect the masse, who writeth himselfe, that he was admonished in a dreame to do it, but saith, that he can not tel whether he that perswaded him

him thereto, *was black, or white.* And as wel might he haue said, or rather much better, that he knew not whether he was a good spirit, or a bad, or els whether it was not some vaine fancy, or friuolous dreame of his idle braine.

30 And no lesse idle was a reuelation which *M. Foxe* pretendeth to haue had concerning the exposition, and computation of the two, and forty moneths, mentioned in the *Apocalips*, whereof he glorieth not a litle, as hauing found out a notable secret. I will giue it thee good Reader, in his owne wordes, to the end thou maist the better discern his foolery, which was notablie discovered by the worthy and learned autour of the *VVarneword*, in his second part of his excellent treatise, of the three Conuersions of England, where he setteth downe at large master *Foxe* his wordes, which are these that follow.

*F. Ro. Pars.
li. of the 3.
conuer. p. 2.
c. 8.*

31 Because the matter, saith he, being of no small importance, greatly appertaineth vnto the publike vtilitie of the church, and least any should misdoubt me herein to follow any priuat interpretation of my owne, I thought good to communicate to the Reader, that which hath benne imparted to me, in the opening of these mysticall numbers, in the foresaid booke of reuelation contained, by occasion as followeth &c.

32 As I was in hand with these histories &c. Being vexed, & turmoiled in spirit about the reckoning of these numbers, & yeares, it so happened vppon a sunday in the morning, lying in my bed, & musing about these numbers, that suddenly it was answered to my mind, as with a maiesty thus, in wardlie saying within me. *Thou foole, count these moneths by sabaoths, as the weekes of Daniel, are counted by sabaoths.* The Lord I take to witnesse, thus it was, where vppon being thus admonished, I began to reckon the forty twoo moneths by sabaoths, first of months, and that would not serue, and then by sabbaoths of yeares, and then I beganne to feele some probable vnderstanding, yet not satisfied therewith, effones I repaired to certaine merchants of my acquaintance, of whome one is departed, a true, and faithfull seruant of the Lord, the other two yet liue, and are witnessse hereof, to whome the number of these foresaid moneths being propounded, and examined by sabaoths of yeares, the whole somme was found to surmount to *twoo hundred Ninety foure yeares*, containing the full, and iust time of the foresaid persecutions, neither more nor lesse &c.

33 Thus farre *M. Foxe*, wherein thou art to vnderstand, good Reader, that all his drift is to proue, that the diuel hauing benne tried, vpp a thousand yeares (as is mentioned in the *Apocalipse*) was loosed at the

same

same time, that pope *Bonifacius* the Eight be ganne to reigne, which was in the yeare of our lord, as he saith a thousand two hundred, ninety foure, at what time he imagineth, that *Antichrist* beganne, because Pope *Bonifacius* made the sixt booke of the Decretalls, and confirmed the orders of Friars, geuing them great priuiledges. And to the end this his deuise may haue the more probabilitie, he seeketh to apply the ouerplus of a thousand yeares, from Christs time vntill Pope *Bonifacius* (which were two hundred ninty foure yeares) to the two hundred and forty monethes mencioned in the *Apocalipse*, and to that purpose, inuentereth his fond reuelation, counting the said moneths by sabaoths of yeares, allowing *seauen* yeares to euery moneth, by which account, he, and his merchants, found the number of two hundred Ninety foure yeares, which saith he, was the full, and iust time of their persecution, neither more, nor lesse.

34 But this is euidentlie false, for the yeare of our Lord two hundred Ninety foure, fell vpon the *Eleauenth* yeare of the Emperour *Dioclesian*, who raigned twentie yeares, and besides his former persecutions, raised one of the greatest, that euer was in the *Nineteenth* yeare of his raigne, which was the yeare of our Lord, three hundred and two, that is to say, Eight yeares after the time, that the persecution should haue ceased, according to *M. Foxes* dreame: And after *Dioclesian*, and *Maximian* who raigned with him, succeeded *Galerius*, and *Constantinus*, vnder whome also the persecution continued some yeares, with great violence in the East partes. And after them againe, the church was persecuted vnder *Maximinus*, and *Maxentius*, vntill *Constantin* the great ouerthrew *Maxentius*, and receiued the christian faith which was (as *Eusebius* reckoneth) in the yeare of our Lord three hundred Eighteene, though Cardinal *Baronius* assigneth it to the yeare three hundred and twelue, neither did it then cease generallie, but was continued in the East parts vnder *Licinius*, for Eight, or Nine yeares after.

35 So that though wee make the most fauourable reckoning that may be, to iustifie *M. Foxes* reuelation, his count of moneths by sabaoths of yeares, falleth at least Eighteene yeares; short of the time that *Constantine* receiued the faith, and ceased the persecution only in the west partes, which were then subiect vnto him, whereas it also continued longer (as I haue said) vnder *Licinius* in the East. wherebie his reuelation appeareth to haue proceeded, either from a false, or lying spirit, or from his owne fantastickall braine, intoxicat

with heresie yoined with ignorance, of the true Chronologie of times, wherein no man can suppose that the holly Ghost (if it had bene his reuelation) could haue erred one minute of an hower, and so doth *M. Foxe* desire it should be also vnderstood of his computation, which he saith contained, *the full, and iust time of the persecution, neither more nor lesse.*

36 But what should I say of this vanitie in his præposterous application of the twoo, and forty moneths mentioned in the *Apocalipse*, to the first twoo hundredth Ninetie foure yeares of persecution after Christ, which as the Authour of the *warneword* signifieth, all the Ancient Fathers vnderstand to make the three yeares and a halfe, wherein *Antichrist* shall raigne, and persecute the church in the end of the world, before the generall iudgement, which also other places of the holly scriptures, as well in the *Apocalipse*, as in *Daniell* doe confirme, seeing the time of *Antichrists* raigne, is reckoned in the *Apocalipse*, as well by a thousand twoo hundredth sixty-dayes, as by Forty twoo moneths, both which accounts make iust three yeares, and a halfe, signified in like manner both in *Daniel*, and also in an other place of the *Apocalipse*, by *tempus, tempora, & dimidium temporis, a time, times, and halfe a time.* And therefore I conclude concerning *M. Foxe*, with the authour of the *warnewords* censure vppon this reuelation, who saith, no lesse pleasantlie, then truly, that he findeth nothing so true, or credible therein, as those wordes of the spirit to *M. Foxe*, *thou foole*, for that he is therbie sentenced to be a foole by reuelation, that is to say, a notable, and autenticall foole, and for such a one he hath registred himselfe. And thus much for their reuelations.

37 I will only add hereto a famous vision, or apparition, which, *Andreas Carolostadius* (one of Luthers first disciples) had in *Basilea*. This *Carolstadius*, being *Archdeacon* of *Wirttemberg*, and hauing embraced *Luthers* doctrin, was driuen thence by him after a while, vppon priuat quarrels betwixt them (worthy to be vnderstood, if I had time to relate them) and was so persecuted by him, that he was forced to flee to the *Sacramentaries* in *Basilea*, who receiued him willingly because he was an enemy of *Luther*, though in the matter of the sacrament he dissented from them. And one day as he was preaching, there came a huge tall man into the church, and stood hard by one of the magistrats, though he was seene of none but of *Carolostadius* himselfe, and departing thence after a while, he went to

Carolostadius

Apoc. II.

Dan. II.

Apoc. II.

Carol
as th
he th
three
ded, a
re (no
stood
him,
me,
and d
rould
in thi
pon d
all th
the ch
38 T
vision
like o
lunge
ue not
him to
clean
mes, a
discou
39
our m
monli
were
they s
time o
the gi
the Ap
are vtr
attem
pell di
theat
Secon
which
nor fo
ban

Carlostadius his house, where he found his sonne, whom he tooke vp as though he would haue cast him against the ground, but in the end he sett him downe againe, and bad him tell his Father, that he within three dayes would come for him. *Carlostadius* after his sermon was ended, and before he came home to his owne house, asked the magistrate (neere to whome he saw the huge greate man) who he was that stood by him at the sermon, describing him vnto him, but he told him, that he saw none such, and vnderstanding when he came home, what had passed there, he tooke such a fright, that he fell sicke, and died within three dayes, as the diuell (for so he was) had foretould. And thus it pleased God to shew his iudgement notoriousslie in this manner, rather vpon him, as it may be presumed, then vpon diuers others of his companions, for that he was the first priest of all the sectaries, that presumed to marry: which he did publikelie in the church of *Vittenberg*, with great solemnitie.

¶ This shall suffice concerning the rapt, miracles, reuelations, and visions of *Lutherans* and *Caluinists*, for other then these, and such of like qualitie, I haue not read, nor heard of, neither doe they challenge any other to them selues: so that it is most cleare, that they haue not those externall signes of Gods vnion, which it hath pleased him to shew in his seruants, in all ages, and times, but rather the cleane contrarie, to wit, familiaritie with wicked spirits, idle dreames, and other manifest illusions, or els foolish fictions of their owne, discouering both their vanitie, and their impietie.

¶ Yetteth now to examine, what exceptions they take against our miracles, and what reason they haue to doe it. First they say commonlie, that miracles are ceased in the church of God, and that they were necessarie only for the conuersion of Infidels, and to proue it, they shew, that some kind of miracles, which were ordinarie in the time of the Apostles, ceased many hundreth yeares agoe, as namely the gift of tongues, and some other whereof we read in the acts of the Apostles. Whereto I answer. First that if it be true, that miracles are vtterlie ceased in the church, why haue their owne cheefe doctors, attempted diuers times to doe miracles, as to raise dead men, and to expell diuels? Is it not manifest thereby, that they themselues beleueed, that the power of doing miracles doth still continue in the church? Secondlie I say, that it litle importeth, that some of the miracles which were done in the Apostles time, are either now ceased or els are not so ordinarie, as then they were, for no man houldeth that a mi-

Epist. Basilicenum de morte Carolstadij. vide Alanum Copum dialogo 6. c. 32.

Stanisla. Rel. schius in Evangelic. sectar. centur. parag. Carolstadiani.

racle once donne, must be alwayes donne: besides that, it was necessarie then for the conuersion of Infidels, that miracles should be more frequent, then now at this time amongst the faithfull, though neuertheles it is now also conuenient, for the glorie of God, and confirmation of the weake in faith, yea, and for the conuersion, or confusion of heretikes, and secret Atheists amongst christians, that there be some times notorious miracles in the church of God: which also may be confirmed by the experience of Gods prouidence in that behalfe, whereby miracles haue benne donne in all ages, and christian countries, euer since our Sauours time, as I haue shewed already, aswell in the a first part of this treatise, by examples of miraculous victories, as also in the b twenty seuenth chapter of this second part, where amongst other externall signes, of Gods internall vniion with religious men, I haue exemplified the same by their operation of miracles in euerie age, euen vntill these our dayes, and the like may be seene in Cardinall Bellarmin, Baronius, and diuers others.

40 Yea but say they, those miracles were either fained, or wrought by the meanes of the diuell, as the Magicians of Pharao, and diuers other amongst the Gentills, did many things which seemed very miraculous to delude the people, and Antichrist also shall doe the like.

41 To this I say first, that the sectaries of our times, ascribing our miracles to the deceits of the diuell, imitate therein the Scribes, Pharisees, Painims, and ould Heretikes: for the Scribes, and Pharisees said, that Christ did cast out deuils in the power of *Belzebub*, the Painims attributed the miracles donne by the Martyres, to Negromancie. And the *Arrians*, *Eunomians*, and *Vigilantians*, said the like of the Catholikes, as testifie *S. Ambrose*, *S. Hierome*, and *Victor* in his historie.

42 Secondly I say, that it were no lesse then meere madnes to imagine, that the miracles testified by most graue historiographers, and most leaped, and holly Fathers, haue beene all fained, for so should wee derogate from all humane credit, which whosoeuer should doe, he were not worthise to liue amongst men. For can any thing that relieth vpon the credit of men be counted true, if those things shall be esteemed false, which the Saints of God (who haue benne the lights of the church in their ages) haue written, and reported vpon their owne sight, and knowledge?

a Chap. 15.
per totum.
b Chap. 27.
per totum.

Matth. 12.
D. Ambros.
12 ser. 55. de
Ger. & Pro.
Hieron. contra
Vigilant.
Victor li. 2.
de Persecut.
Vandal.

And to omit manie others, what shal wee say of *S. Augustin*, who partlie for the confusion of the Painimes in his time, and partlie for the instruction of weake christians, recounteth verie particularlie, a greate number of euident miracles, wrought at *Millan*, *Carthage*, *Hippo*, *S. Aug. de ciuitat. dei. li. 22. ca. 8.* and other places adioyning, which he either saw himselfe, or certainly knew to be true: as the recouerie of a blind mans sight, at the bodie of *S. Gernas* and *Protase* in *Millan*, whiles he was there, which holie bodies, hauing benne long ynknowne, were discouered as hee saith, to *S. Ambrose* by deuine reuelation. And *S. Ambrose* himselfe also maketh mention, not onlie of that miracle donne vpon the blind man, but also of diuers others, wrought by the merits of those twoo hollie Martires. *Idem. li. 9. confes. ca. 7. S. Ambros. li. 7. Epistolarum. epist. 2.*

But to returne to *S. Augustin*, he saith, that this miracle was donne whiles the emperour was at *Milan*. *Immensa populo teste, et concurrente ad uis. Dei li. 22. c. 8.* *orgia Martirum.* A number of people being wittnesse thereof, and flocking to the Martires! And shal wee say, that *S. Augustin* fained this, or the rest that he relateth of sundrie diseases (and amongst them some most strange, and incurable by phisick) miraculousslie cured, diuers dead men, women and children reuiued, and possessed persons deliuered, partlie by holie men, and partlie at the memories, and monuments of Saints, and particularlie of *S. Stephen* the *Proto Martyr*, of which miracles some were most admirable, and donne in *S. Augustins* owne presence, in so much, that he saith, he caused them to be published in little bookes, or pamphlets, for the glorie of God. And such were the numbers of miracles donne at the same time, onlie at *Hippo*, where hee was Bishop, that within twoo yeares space, they arriued almost to the number of seauentie, registred in bookes (though manie were not written, whereof he saith, he was most assured) & in some other citties not farr from thence, he saith the number incomparablie exceeded the other, and in conclusion, hauing recounted verie particularly, a most miraculouse cure, done at the memorie of *S. Stephen* vpon a man and a woman (brother and sister, who through their mothers malediction, were strooken by almightie God, with a most strange and terrible trembling of al their bodies) he sheweth the excessiue ioy of the people, saying thus. *They exulted and reioysed to the praise of God without wordes, with such a confused sound and noise, that our eares could scarce indure it, and what else was in their hartes, but the faith of Christ; for the which the bloud of Stephen was shed.* *Idem.*

Thus saith *S. Augustin*, signifyng not onlie the multitude of euident miracles wrought in his time, but also the notable effect thereof, in the confirmation of the Christian faith, to the greate glorie of God, honour

honour of his Saints, and comfort of al his faithfull seruants. And shall we then say, that *s. Augustin* fained all this, and that he had so little care of his conscience, to lie wittinglie, or of his reputation to giue the Painimes, and enemies of christian religion (against whome he wrote) so great an aduantage, as to bee able to conuince him of manifest lies, in case he had forged, either al, or anie parte of those things which he affirmed? This is so incredible, that noe men of iudgemente can imagine it.

46 And it is no lesse incredible and absurd, to thinke that al the miracles, either of those times, or of these latter ages, were donne by the diuel, seeing that verie manie of them did surpasse the powie of the diuel, or of the Angels them selues, who can doe nothing aboute nature, without Gods special assistance, and therefore cannot giue fight to one that is borne blinde, or life to the dead, which not onlie Christ and his Apostles did, but also manie religious persons mencioned before, who amongst other miracles which they wrought, reuiued the dead, as *s. a Martin*, *s. b Benedict*, *s. c Dominick*, and lastlie Father *d Xavier* in our age, and manie other in former times, whome I haue not mencioned, so that it cannot with anie probabilitie bee said, either that all miracles are fained, or that they haue benne all donne by the diuel.

47 Therefore forasmuch as a true miracle, can haue no other authour but god himselve, it is euident that god hath by miracles confirmed, not onlie the Roman Catholike religion in generall, but also monasticall or religious life in particular, seeing that Roman Catholikes, being withall religious men, haue in al ages wrought manie true miracles, testified by so manie graue authours, that it were impudencie to denie it. As now to speake, for examples sake, of some of these latter ages, who can be so shameles to denie, the testimonie of that most famous, learned, and holie *s. Bernard* of matters de facto, donne in his owne time, and by his owne familiar frindes, as that which hee writeth of *s. Malachias*, an Irish man, who was first a religious man, and after made bishop, and the Pops Legat in Ireland. *Quo antiquorum genere miracularum? &c.* VVhat kind of ancient miracles (saith *s. Bernard*) was there wherein *Malachias* did not excell? He wanted not the spirit of prophesie, or reuelations, or power to punish wicked men, or the grace of healing and curing diseases, or of changinge the mindes of men, or of reuiuing the dead. Thus saith *s. Bernard*, after hee had related manie particular miracles in those kindes, donne by *s. Malachias*.

48 And speaking after wardes of his death (which was at *Clarendale*, where *s. Bernard* was then Abbot) he declareth that when the bodie

Chap. 27.

nu. 15 19. 30.

Co 37.

a *S. Sulpit.*

Seuer. in vi.

ta *S. Marti-*

ni.

b *S. Greg. in*

vita *S. Be-*

nedicti.

c *S. Antonin*

bist. tit. 23 c.

4. paragr. 7.

parte. 3.

d *Horatius.*

Turselinus.

in vita *B.*

Frauncisci

Xauer. li. 2.

ca. 7.

S. Ber. in vi-

ta *Malachias.*

chia.

of *S. Malachias* was brought in to the church to be buried, a boy, who was there by chance, and had his arme, and hand withered, and drye, that it serued to no vse, was cured by touching the hand of the holly man, with the cooperation of *S. Bernard* himselfe, who saith *Idem ibid.* thus. *Et apprehensam aridam manum &c. I taking hould, of the withered, and dry hand, applied it to the hand of the Bishop, which reuiued it, and gaue it life. For there liued still the grace, and gift of healing in him, though he was dead, and his hand was to the dead hand, as Helzeus the prophet was to the dead man, in so much, that the boy, who was come thither with his hand lame, hanging unprofitable by his side, carried it home found.*

49 Thus saith *S. Bernard*, of a matter wherein he himselfe was an actor. And of what authoritie his testimonie may be, throughout the christian world, it may be iudged, by the reuerend respect which the very enemies of Catholike religion doe beare him, seeing, that *Luther* *Luther de* and *Melanchton* speaking of him, call him Saint, and *Caluin* tearmeth *abroganda* him, *pium scriptorem*, a pious, or godly writter, and truly whosoever *missa.* readeth his workes, cannot but acknowledge that he was illuminated, and inspired by the holly Ghost. Besides that it appeareth, by all *Melanch.* the histories that write of him, or of the time wherein he liued, that *Apolog. art.* for his holly life, and very frequent miracles, he was held himselfe for *Caluin. in* a miracle: and amongst others, *Gotfridus* a graue authour who liued *institut. ca.* with him, testifieth, that in the Diocesse of *Constans*, he cured in one *Gotfridus. li.* day, *tenne* persons that were lame handed, a *Elenen* blynd, and *4. de vita* *Bernar. c. 4.* *Lyrene* lame legged. Can it therefore be imagined, by any man of sense, and iudgement, that the miracles done by such holly men, were wrought by the diuell? For who shewed themselues throughout all the course of their liues, greater enemies of the diuell, then *S. Bernard*, *S. Malachias*, and such others, as they? How many soules converted they to God, and freed from the diuels power, by their preaching, inducing men from sinfull life to repentaunce, and from vice to all vertue? How many deuills expelled they from possessed persons, whereof *S. Bernard* relateth diuers notable examples, of *S. Malachias*, as others also recount the like of *S. Bernard*? In respect whereof they, and their miracles may be defended, and cleared from this calumniation, as our Sauiour defended, and cleared himselfe, and his miracles from the like, when he said, that if he did cast out diuels by the power of *Belzebub* (as the *Iewes* charged him to doe) it must needs follow, that the deuils kingdome was deuided in it selfe, and

R r r that

S. Bernar. in
vita Mala-
chia Guliel.
Abbas in vi-
ta S. Bern.
li. 2. 3. & 4.
Matth. 12.

that the deuill was become his owne enemy.

50 This wilbe euident in the miracles of these holly men, if wee consider what the deuill could gaine by helping them to delude the people there with, for though it should be true, which our aduersaries say (to witt, that the Catholikes of those dayes, taught, together with the faith of Christ, diuers superstitions, neuertheles) they cannot with any reason deny, but that men were saued in that christian religion, especiallie in that time, when no other was knowne. For what soeuer our aduersaries, may thinke of the saluation of Catholikes, now, when the light of the ghospell (as they say) shineth, yet at that time, when their candle was vnder the bushell, and no other christian religion taught, and preached, nor other church of Christ seene, or knowne in the world, but the Roman Catholike church, they cannot be so absurd to say, that such holly men, yea, and all others professing the Catholike faith were damned, but must needs confesse, that those who professed the faith of Christ, in the manner that then it was taught, and liued well with all, were saued by the merits of Christs passion.

51 Therefore, I say, that seeing by those miracles of *s. Malachias*, *s. Bernard*, and such other as they, the faith of Christ was confirmed and established, and infinit numbers of men, moued to follow their doctrine, and example, in pennance, mortification, hate of sinne, and vice, and in the exercise of all vertue, to the saluation of their soules: it must needs follow, that the diuell could gaine nothing by furthering such miracles, but that he lost excedinglie thereby, aduancing the glory of Christ, and of christian religion, and helping to saue mens soules, whose perdition, and damnation he desireth. So that if the diuell helped *s. Malachias*, *s. Bernard*, and such other religious men to doe miracles, it seemeth that he played booty with his enemies against himselfe.

52 Besides that, diuers of those miracles were such, that they surpassed the deuils power (as I haue already signified) and could not be donne by any, but by almightie God. *Qui facit mirabilia magna solus.* *Psalm.* only doth great meruailes, or miracles, that is to say, thinges aboue nature, and therefore the miracles which *Antichrist* shall doe, shalbe such only, as the deuill can worke, by naturall meanes, or by deception of the sight, and so they shall not be true miracles, though they shall seeme miraculous, to the common sort of people. In which respect the

Psalm. 71.

2. *Thessal. 2.* Apostle calleth them, *Mendacia*, that is to say, miracles in apparence and

not in deede.

¶ And here in I wish it to be noted, that one, and the selfe same effect, may be wrought both miraculouſlie, and naturalie, and therefore may be in one man a miracle, and none in an other. As for example, some disease which is naturallie curable by medicin, may be cured without medicin, by deuine power giuen by almightie God to his saintes, either in heauen or on earth, who when they cure diseases, by prayer, or benediction without medicin, they doe a miracle, though the same might be neuer so easilie cured otherwaſe: whereas the deuil working the same effect by some natural, though secret, & hidden meanes, doth no miracle, and this is the difference betwixt many miracles done by Gods seruantes, and the like strange effects wrought by the deuil.

54 But heere I would be glad to knowe, at what time true miracles ceased, and diabolicall illusions beganne in the church? For they neither can, or doe deny, that Christ gaue the Apostles and other his disciples, power to doe miracles, and it is also euident in the scripture, that he promised the same to those that should beleue in him, saying, *Signa autem eos qui crediderint, hac sequentur &c.* These signes shall follow them, which shall beleue in me, they shall speake strange tongues, they shall take away serpentes, and if they drinke any deadly, or poisonous thinge, it shall not hurte them, they shall lay their handes vpon the sick, and they shall recouer. Thus said our Sauour, giuing to vnderstand, not that euery christiā should haue this grace or gift of miracles (for in the very Apostles time, there were infinit numbers of christians conuerted by them, which had it not) but that it should remaine in his church amongst the faithfull, & be exercised by some, from time to time, for his glory, and the edification of his seruantes, whereof wee haue scene continuall experience, euen vntill this day. And therefore, seeing our aduersaries say, that our miracles are illusions of the diuell, it is reason, that they tell vs, at what time the true miracles ceased, and if they cannot assigne vs the yeare of our Lord, let them assigne vs the age, and we will conuince them, with the experience of most manifest miracles donne afterwards, witnessed by the graueſt authours, and hollyest men of the time wherein they liued, yea, and we will shew them now in these last ages, as wonderfull miracles, as any in former times.

¶ For what could be more stupendious, and more free from all suspicion, either of humane fraud, or of Diabolicall illusion, then a

R r r ij miracle

Mar. 16.

miracle donne at the tombe of *s. Vincent Ferrer*, a *Dominican frier*, who died in the yeare of our Lord, a thousand foure hundreth and Eighteent.
 56 The story breessie is thus. A woman falling mad, and desiring greatelie to eate mans flesh, required some of her husband, and being denied it, killed a child of her owne, not past twoo yeares old, and deuiding him in to two partes, boiled the one halfe, which her husband, comming in shortly after, tooke out of the pott, and carried both the parts to *s. Vincents* tombe (who died latelie before, and was then famous for dayly miracles) and it pleased God for the merits of his seruant, to restore the child to life, and integritie of body, as it is testified by diuers graue men, and amongst others, by the most learned, and holly bishopp of *Florence*, *Saint Antoninus*, whose many notable workes, are witnessses of his learninge, piety, and great iudgement, besides that his holly life, and miracles were such, that he was canonized for a Saint.

s. Antoninus histor.
par. 3. tit. 23.
c. 8. paragr.
 9.

57 This worthy bishop, speaking in his historie of *s. Vincent* (who liued in the same age) affirmeth of this miracle, that it was so famous in *Britany*, where it was donne, that the people flocked from farre, and neere, to see the child, and all of them saw, saith he, a mark, or scarre, remaining in the body of the child in manner of a threed: and he addeth further, that he himselfe had scene, the autenticall testimonies of notaries, witnessing that *Eight and thirty* dead men, had benne reuiued after the death of *s. Vincent* in diuers parts, by his merits, and intercession, and that the said testimonies were taken by commission, giuen by the Popes *Nicolas the fifth*, and *Calixtus the third*, to enquire of his life, and miracles. And lastly that the Pope *Calixtus*, after due examination of the whole proceffe, by Cardinals, and Bishops, canonized him for a Saint, with the consent, and approbation of all the court of *Rome*, which I haue thought good to note here, to the end it may appeare, that Neither *s. Antoninus* reported these things vppon slender ground, nor that any man can with reason reiect his testimonie.

Ed. m. l. bid.

58 But what neede we alleadge miracles of former ages, seeing that the age wherein we lyue, hath abounded with notable examples in diuers partes of christendome, as in *Rome*, *Loreto*, and *Luca* in *Italy*, *Mondeney* in *Sauoy*. And to omit many other more ancient, at *Munich* in *Bauier*, at the body of *s. Benno*, not past twoo yeares agoe. At what time also it pleased our Sauour to glorifie his owne name, in the blessed virgin *Mary* his Mother, by many admirable miracles donne at her image.

imag
 diuer
 and
 with
 perat
 with
 the h
 heroc
 Lady
 59 T
 his cu
 know
 befor
 can be
 it to t
 of na
 read t
 other
 Cham
 prefix
 ning n
 matte
 60 T
 racle,
 place
 time t
 berna
 thes o
 with
 fausse
 the sa
 and al
 reas t
 being
 suppo
 ring w
 of oth
 it: And
 Bauern

image, at *Montague*, neere to *Sichen* in *Brabant*, and there (amongst diuers other cures of incurable, and inueterate diseases) to reforme, and rectifie the shape of a most mishapen, and deformed crippe, borne with his knees so fast ioyned to his breast, that they could not be separated, and his legges fastened to his theighs, and they to his belly with one skinne, whereby he was faine to goe vpon his handes with the helpe of two litle stilts, vntill he was 23. yearesould, at what time hereceiued his perfect shape, by the miraculous helpe of our blessed Lady.

59 The truth whereof, and of many wonderfull circumstances in his cure, hath benne so autenticallie proued, and the man himselfe so knowne, to many thousandes of people in the lowe countries, both before the miracle, and since, that no man that hath not a brazen face, can be so impudent to deny it, or can with any shew of reason ascribe it to the deuill, whose workes cannot exceede the power, and limits of nature, as this did, which any man must needs confesse, that shall read the story thereof, written aswell in Latin by *Iustus Lipsius*, as by *Iustus B.* others in *French*, and translated out of French into English, by *M. psius in Di-* Chambers a learned, and vertuous priest of our nation, who hath also prefixed thereto a learned epistle, and preface of his owne concerning miracles, in which respect, I may be the breefer touching that matter.

60 Neuerthelesse I cannot omit, to say some what of a famous miracle, donne the last yeare in the Diocesse of *Bisanon* in *Burgundy*, at a place called *Fauerney*, in the feast of *Pentecost*, or *whitsontide*, at what time the blessed Sacrament, being sett forth in a reliquarie within a tabernacle, vpon a table of wood which was couered with alter clothes of linnen, and enuironed with silke curtaines, vnder a canopie, with many candels, and lights burning about it, it chaunced that some blasse of a candell, falling vpon the linnen clothes in the night, sett the same on fire, in such sort, that the tabernacle, and the table it selfe, and all the furniture about it was burned, and consumed to ashes, whereas the blessed Sacrament, with the reliquarie wherein it was placed, being safe, and vntouched, stood still suspended in the aire without any support, & so remained al *whitsontide*, and the munday following, during which time, not only al the people of *Fauerney*, but also thousandes of others, moued with the fame of the miracle, repaired thither to see it. And vpon the Tuesday, following, the curat of a parish not farre frō *Fauerney*, being there, and saying Masse at the high altuer of the same

church, it pleased God, that at the time of the eleuation of the Masse, the reliquarie, which hanged in the aire, with the blessed sacrament in it, descended of it selfe, by litle and litle downe to a table, which was sett vnder it decetlie couered, and there placed it selfe vpon a corporall, which was also spread vpon the same table: and this was donne in the presence and sight, of a great multitude of people, as is witnessed by a publike testimonie of Monseigneur de Langus, Archbishop of Besançon, and prince of the Empire, vpon autenticall information taken of the whole matter, exactlie and maturelie descuffed (as he signifieth) in his Archipiscopall consistorie, with the assistance, and aduise of a great number of Deuines, Canonists, and Ciuilians, and the interuention of his sollicitour, and attorney generall, all which I say appeareth by his testimoniall letters, printed in *Besançon*, and dated the 10. of *Iuly*, of the last yeare, *a thousand sixe hundredeth and eyght*.

61 And if common fame may warrant the relation of matters not yet published in print, I may add also diuers notable miracles, hapned in our contry of late yeares whereof the fame hath benne, and is very publike, euen in forraine countries, as to omitt others, that the body of *Sr. Gerard Braybrooke* knight, buried twoo hundreth yeares agoe, was found the last yeare in *S. Faythes* Church in London, with the flowers very oderiferous, which were cast in to the graue with him together with a *Breue* of *Pope Bonifacius* the Ninth. And because the curious Reader may desire perhaps to see the forme, and contents of the said *Breue*, which was so miraculouſlie preſerued, I haue thought good to lay downe the cōpy of it here, which is as followeth.

62 Bonifacius Episcopus servus servorum Dei, Dilecto filio nobili viro Gerardo Braibrooke iuniori Militi, & Dilectâ in Christo filia nobili Mulieri Elizabethæ eius uxori Lincoln. Diocesis salutem, & Apostolicam benedictionem. Provenit ex vestra devotionis affectu, quo nos & Romanam Ecclesiam reueremus, ut petitiones vestras, illas præstetim, quæ animarum vestrarum salutem respiciunt, ad executionis gratiam admittamus. Hinc est quod nos vestris supplicationibus inclinati, ut confessor quem quilibet vestrum duxerit eligendum, omnium peccatorum vestrorum, de quibus corde contriti, & confessi fueritis, sine tantum in mortis articulo, plenam remissionem vobis in sinceritate fidei, in unitate sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, ac obedientia, & devotione nostra, vel successorum nostrorum Romanorum Pontificum Canonice intrinsecus persistens, auctoritate Apostolica concedere valeat, devotioni vestræ tenore præsentium indulgemus. Sic tamen, quod idem Confessor, de his de quibus fuerit alteri satisfactus

Maïj an.
1608.

mandata, eam vobis per vos, si superuixeritis, vel per heredes vestros, si tunc
transieritis faciendam, iniungat quam vos, vel illi facere teneamini, ut pre-
stet. Et ne (quod absit) propter huiusmodi gratiam, reddamini procliuiores ad il-
licita in posterum committenda, volumus, quod si ex confidentia remissionis hu-
iusmodi aliqua forte committeretis, illa predicta remissio vobis nullatenus suffragetur.
Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostram concessionis, & volun-
tatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare pra-
sumserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, & B. Petri, & Pauli Apostolorum eius,
se noverit incursurum. D. Roma apud Sanctum Petrum, nono Iunij. Pontificatus
nostri. Anno Secundo.

64 Thus farre are the wordes of the Breue. The effect was, that Pope
Innocent, gaue to Sir Gerard Braibroke the younger, and the Lady Eliza-
beth his wife, licence to make choise of a ghostlie father, who might at
the hour of their deathes, giue them plenary indulgence of their sinnes,
vpon foure conditions. The first was, that they should be contrite in
heart, and confessed. The second, that they should remaine in the vnion
of the Roman Church, and in the obedience of the lawfull Bishopp
therof. The third, that their ghostly father should enioyn them to make
full satisfaction, either by themselues, or by their heires, to all such as
they should haue anie way defrauded, or wronged, and that they, or
their heires should performe it. The fourth was, that they should not
presume in hope of this pardon, to commit anie vnlawfull act, in the
meane time, for in so doing, the said graunt of pardon, should bee vter-
ly void, and of no effect.

65 This is the effect of the Breue, whereby it hath pleased almightie
God, partly to conuince a common calumnation of our aduerfaries
(who are wont to say, that Catholikes are licenced to sinne by the
Popes pardons, whereof the contrarie is euident in this Breue: (and partly
to approue, not onlie our Catholike religion in generall, but also
the Popes authoritie in perticular (namelie in the matter of indulgen-
ces) seeing it is euident by this miracle, that Sir Gerard Braibroke, beinge
a catholike, and vsing the benifit of the popes indulgences, at the hour
of his death, was so acceptable to almightie God, that it hath pleased
his deuine Maiestie, to giue such a publike testimonie thereof, as heere
hath bene declared.

66 It beeing most manifest, that almightie God hath continued the
powre and grace of miracles in the Roman Church, from the Apostles
time, euen vntill this day, and that these miracles haue benne so testi-
fied, that there can be no doubt thereof, and manie of them so farr sur-
passinge all naturall meanes, that they could proccede from no other
author.

author but almightie God, it followeth that the same Catholike Roman Church, is the true church of Christ, seeing it hath alwaies had, and hath still, such an vndoubted testimonie of Gods assistance, and his approbation of the doctrine taught therein. And for asmuch, as those that haue excelled in this gift, and grace of miracles, haue bene for the most parte religious men, professing the obseruation of the euangelicall counsels, it also followeth, that religious and monastical life, is most gratefull to almightie God, & that the true professors thereof are vni-
ted with him. And againe, seeing that one the other side, al the sectaries of our time are profess'd enemies, aswell of the Catholike Roman church, as of our religious life, and noway participant of the grace of miracles, it is euident, that they are noe lesse voyde of all vnion with almightie God, then of the perfection, and truth of Christian religion.

Magdebur.
c. 1. l. 1. c.
10.

66 But heere our aduersaries will say, that wee doe them wronge to exact miracles of them, seeing there were diuers greate prophets in the old testament, which did no miracles, and namelie *S. Iohn Baptist*, though he was (as the *Magdebergenses* say) held by the Pharisees for an heretick. Whereto I answer, that neither the ould prophets which did no miracles, nor *S. Iohn Baptist*, taught anie thinge contrarie to the common doctrine, and much lesse deuided themselues schismatically from the pastors of the church at that time, as the sectaries now doe, and therefore the Pharisees being demaunded by our Sauour, what they thought of *S. Iohns* Baptisme, did not disallow it, and *Iosephus* testifieth, that *S. Iohn Baptist* was a verie good man and highlie esteemed of the Iewes for his great vertue: whereby it appeareth sufficientlie, that the *Magdebergenses* abuse their readers shamefullie, when they affirme that he was held by the Priests and Pharises for an hereticke.

*Ioseph. li. 18.
de antiq. c. 7.
Magdebur.
ubi supra.*

67 Besides that it is altogether needelesse, that hee should confirme his preaching by miracles, seeing his speciall commission was no other but to preach Christ who was then liuing, & confirmed both *S. Iohns* preaching, and his owne by infinit miracles. So that the example of *S. Iohn Baptist*, and some of the other prophets of the ould law, cannot excuse our aduersaries from our iust demaund of their miracles, seeinge they teach a new doctrine, without anie commission from the pastors of the church: for as the Apostle saith. *Quomodo predicabunt, nisi mittantur?* How shall they preach, except they bee sent? Et nemo sumit sibi honorem &c. And no man taketh honour vpon him in Gods Church, except hee bee caled of God, as *Aron* was.

*Thom. II.
b. 5.*

68 Therefore there are two kindes of missions, and vocations, the

ordinarie by the authoritie of lawfull superiours, and the other extraordinary from God immediatlie, it is reason, that whosoever is sent to preach, either by the one, or by the other, he shew his commission, or els no man is bound to beleue him: those that are sent to preach by their lawfull and ordinarie superiours, haue their warrant from them, which they are alwaies able to shew, as euery preacher, and minister in England, can shew his authoritie to preach, and teach from his bishop, but those that are sent immediatlie from God, must either proue their commission by miracle, or els they are not to bee beleued. When God commaunded *Moyse*, to take the gouernment of the children of *Israel*, and to deliuer them out of the hands of *Pharao*, *Moyse* answered. *Non credent mihi, neque audient vocem meam &c.* They will not beleue me, nor heare my voyce, but will say, God hath not appeared vnto thee. Wherevpon God gaue him powre to multiplie miracle vpon miracle. *Vt credant, saith he, quod apparuerit tibi Dominus* To the end they may beleue, that God hath appeared vnto thee.

Exod. 4.

69 Also when our Sauiour came to preach the new law, hee proued his commission from his Father, by continual miracles, not withstanding that the Scriptures of the old testament, gaue sufficient testimonie of him, in so much that he said himselfe. *Si opera non fecissem in eis &c.* If I had not donne workes amongst them, which no man els hath donne, they should not haue faide, that is to say, they should not offend, in refusing to receiue my doctrine. And in like manner, when he sent his disciples to preach, he gaue them power withal, to heale the diseased, to raise the dead, to cleanse lepers, & to cast out deuils, and they preached euery where, saith the scripture, *Domino cooperante, & sermonem confirmante sequentibus signis.* Our Lorde workinge with them, and confirminge their speech with signes, or miracles, which followed the same.

Ioan. 15.

Matth. 10.

Mar. ultimo.

70 Herevpon *S. Augustin*, teacheth that miracles were necessarie for the conuersion of the world. And *Melancthon* himselfe (who was one of *Luthers* dearest dearlinges) affirmeth, that when there is great darknes, and obscuritie in the world, God doth call and send new teachers, or preachers, and add also miracles thereto, to the end, that their mission may be certainly knowne.

D. Aug. li. 22

de ciuit. c. 8.

Philip. Mel-

lan. in ca. 3.

Matth.

71 For this cause I say, we iustlie exact miracles of our aduersaries, because they pretend their vocation from God himselfe immediatlie, not hauinge anie mission from the superiours of the Church, againste whome they haue rebelled, teachinge a new doctrine contrarie to theirs, and to that which hath benne generally receiued. And where- as they pretende to haue scripture for their warrant, and that

Sff

there-

therefore they neede no miracles, they are to vnderstand, that in this their case of extraordinarie vocation, and mission which they pretend, it suffiseth not to alledge scriptures (for soe doe all hereticks, as well as they) except they also shew by extraordinarie meanes (that is to say by miracles) that they haue the true sence thereof: and this may appeare by the proceedings of our Sauour himselve, and his Apostles, for although the scriptures of the old testament, gaue ample testimonie of him, and that both he himselve, and his Apostles alledged them abundantlie to the Iewes, according to their true sence, yet neuertheles because they deriued not their authoritie of preaching, from the ordinarie pastors, and gouernours, established by the law of Moses, they confirmed their doctrine, and proued their mission by miracles, shewing euidentlie therebie, that their sence, and vnderstanding of the scriptures was true, which otherwaile might still haue benne in controuersie, betwixt the Iewes and them.

Ioan Sleidan
hyst. lib.
viii. Mar-
tin. Cromer.
li. i. colli-
quio.

72 Therefore Luther had reason when (as Sleidan reporteth) he wrote to the senate of *Muthusum* (concerning a new preacher amongst them called *Muncerus*) requesting them to examine him, who gaue him commission to preach, and if, saith Luther, he say, that God gaue it him, let him be urged to proue it by some euident miracle, which if he cannot doe, then let him be reiected: for God alwayes useth to shew his will by miracles, when he will haue the ordinary custome, and course of doctrine changed. This iudgement gaue Luther himselve, against *Muncerus*, who being one of his owne brood (though then declined from him) and teaching other nouelties, alledged scripture no doubt, as plentifully as Luther himselve, which neuertheles Luther would not allow, except *Muncerus* could eyther shew an ordinarie vocation, or proue his extraordinarie, and secret commission, by miracles.

73 In like manner, I say to Luther, and all his progenie, with farre more reason, that seeing the Catholike Roman church, is deriued from Christ himselve, and his Apostles, by a continuall succession of Bishops, without any interruption (which cannot be denied) and that they cannot shew, at what time the succession of Christs doctrine, ceased in the said succession of Bishops, we iustlie require of them, that if they will teach vs a new doctrine out of the scriptures, they eyther shew their commission from the superiours of the church, or els proue it by miracle, whereby we may know that they vnderstand the scriptures aright, for otherwise wee shall alwayes haue more reason to beleue our pastors, then them.

74 For seeing that our pastors, are successfullie descended from the Apostles,

Apost
scrip
also
Saiou
well-ga
for E
which
theref
protes
Saiou
needes
plante
to be
cession
this d
visible
contra
abstur
75 T
succes
of the
extrao
to ha
those
come in
windo
76 N
way v
seazed
manif
ble, an
as tho
which
holly
ceiue
the m
surd,
mirac
to im
tuly

Apostles, as I haue said, and haue had hitherto the possession of the scriptures, and conserued the same, wee are to presume, that they haue also had, and conserued the true sence thereof, especiallie seing our Saviour promised to his church, his assistance *to the worldes end, and that Mat. 16. hell gates shall not preuaile against it, yea, and commaundeth vs, to hold Ibid. for Ethnicks, and publicans, all those, that will not heare, and obey it. In Mat. 18. 1. Timoth. 3.* which respect, S. Paule also calleth it, *the pillar and stay of truth.* And therefore, forasmuch as an inuisible church (such I meane as the protestants imagin) cannot be heard, and obeyed, according to our Saviours commaundement, his promise of continuall assistance, must needes be vnderstood of the visible church, that he, and his Apostles planted, from which we directlie deriue ours, prouing it inuincibly, to be the same church, not only because we haue had a continual succession, both of bishops, and doctrin, from the Apostles euen vntill this day, but also because otherwise it must needes follow, that the visible church of Christ hath failed, and lost his spirit and assistance, contrarie to his promise, which were blasphemous to say, and most absurd to imagine.

76 Therefore I conclude, that seeing our aduersaries, haue neither succession from the Apostles, nor lawfull mission from the superiours of the church, neither yet doe by miracle proue, or confirme their extraordinarie vocation, and sence of scriptures (which they pretend to haue from the holly Ghost) we haue iust cause, to hould them for those, of whom Christ forewarned vs, when he said, *that some should Ioan. 10. come in to the fould, not by the dore, which is the ordinarie way, but by the window, to kill, and destroy the flock.*

76 Now then good Reader, I am to request thee seriously to ponder, & way with thy selfe, what a blindnes, or rather senceles stupiditie, hath seized those men, which see not the cleare summe shyne of Gods glory, manifest in all former ages, yea, and in these our dayes, by most notable, and euident miracles, but doe reiect them as diabollicall illusions. as though our Saviour Christ, not with standing the bitter passion, which he suffered for his spouse the church, and the promise of his holly Spirit, and assistance, had suffered the same to be abused, and deceived by the deuil, for so many hundreth yeares together, euen vnder the maske, and pretence of his owne name, and faith, which is so absurd, and ridiculous to thinke, that when they laugh, and iest at our miracles (which they doe because they cannot tell with reason how to impugne them) they make themselues ridiculous, or rather to say truly, worthy of pity, and compassion, in that boasting so much

of faith, as they doe, they shew themselues neuertheles more incredulous, and faithlesse, then infinit numbers of Pagans, and Infidels, who by the like miracles, haue benne conuerted to the christian faith.

77 For what argument is there so potent to persuaide, or so manifest to conuince in matter of religion, as a true miracle, surpassing the power of all creatures, which must needes be an vndoubted testimony, of a deuine operation for the confirmation of truth, and therefore it hath alwayes accompanied true religion, as wee may perceiue by the miracles, aswell in the ould testament, as the new. In which respect, also *S. Augustin* alleadgeth the authoritie of miracles in the Catholike church, for the confutation not only of Painimes, but also of all Heretikes, saying that the Catholike church hath euer preuail-

*S. Aug. To-
6. de utilita-
te credendi
li. 17.*

*S. Ambros.
Ser. in festo*

SS. Gerna-

*siij & Prota-
siij.*

Joan. 9.

led, hereticis miraculorum maiestate damnatis, heretikes being condemned by the maiestie of miracles. And *S. Ambrose* also vrgeth notable, the glory of miracles against the *Arrians*, so that we may say to our aduersaries, as our Sauour said to the *Pharisees*, who being taxed by him of willfull blindnes, after his manifest miracle donne vppon the man that was borne blind, asked him. *Numquid & nos caeci sumus?* What, and are we also blind? whereto he answered. *Si caeci essetis &c.* If you were blind in deede, you should not haue sinne, but because you see, wee see, therefore your sinne remaineth. Wherein our Sauour gaue them to vnderstand, that if their blindnes had proceeded of meere ignorance, it had benne the more excusable, but forasmuch as it proceeded of willful obstinacie, flowing from an ouerweening of their owne knowledge, and wit, therefore their sinne could not be excused: and so I say, we may iustly say to our aduersaries, who presume so much of their owne knowledge, and are so bent to the defence of their conceits, and fancies; that they willfully shut their eyes, against the bright sunne beames of Gods most miraculous workes, donne in confirmation of the catholike Roman religion, whereby their willfull blindnes, and consequentlie their sinne is inexcusable, and they shew themselues, to be of those. *Qui vident, & caeci fiunt.* Which see, and become blind, as our Sauour said of the pharisees: our Lord open their eyes, with the light of his grace.

Joan. 9.

For

In the final conclusion of the question, concerning the Euangelicall Counsells, and religious life, the matter of religious vowes is debated, and defended against our aduersaries. Also, that the continencie of clergy men, is beneficiall to the common wealth, and that certaine wicked, Emperours who haue sought by lawes to restraine, & to prohibir monasticall life, haue bene seuerelie punished by almighty God for the same. Finallie a breefe recapitulation is made of all the premisses, concerning the true imitation of Christ, and our aduersaries are thereby conuincid, to be utterly widd, aswell of all Christian perfection, as of the true felicitie of man, and common welth.

CHAP. 33.

THough I haue sufficientlie proued our Catholike doctrine, and confuted the opinions of our aduersaries, and answered diuers of their obiections, concerning our practise of the euangelicall Counsells in monasticall disciplin, yet for the more abundant manifestation of the truth, I thinke good before I fully conclude the discourse of this matter, to cleare some other doubts, and scruples, which perhaps may seeme to some, to be of more moment then they are, and to require particuler satisfaction.

One speciall reason, why the sectaries of these dayes, reiect the manner of our imitation of Christ, and obseruation of his counsells, is, because we doe bind our selues thereto by vow, which they hold to be superfluous and superstitious, for such reasons as shalbe declared, in the discourse and discussion of this question, when I shall haue first confirmed, and established the truth of our Catholike doctrine, concerning the same, and the practise of our church, out of the Scriptures, and Fathers, which I will doe with what breuitie I may, because I haue hast to treat of some other matters.

It cannot be with any reason denied, bur that a good worke donne by obligation of vow, is more gratefull to God, then if it were donne at libertie. First, because it proceedeth of greater vertue, that is to say, of greater charitie, and loue to God, and of greater liberalitie. For he that doth offer to God, not only his worke, but also his liberty with all, sheweth himselfe farre more louing, and liberal towards him, then he that offereth the same worke, & reserueth his libertie to himselfe. As in like sort the seruant, who out of loue, and good wil to his master, doth bind himselfe voluntarilie to his seruice, doth deserue more fauour, & loue at his masters hands, then he that doth the like seruise with

Luther de
captiuit. Ba-
bilon. de vi-
ta cōgual.
Iean Caluin
li. 4. instit.
c. 13.
Philip. Me-
lancthon. dispu-
tat. 16. de
incontinentia.

S. Anselmus out obligation, and may leaue it when he will. And therefore *S. Anselmus* saith very well. *Plus donat, qui arbores cum fructibus, quam qui solos fructus donat.* He which giueth the tree with the fruit (that is to say himselfe, with his worke) giueth more, then he which giueth the fruit alone.

4 Secondlie, an act donne by vowe, is made therebie an act of religion, in which respect, it is more gratefull to God, then if it were only, an other vertuous good worke, and not religious with all. As for example, a man that liueth continentlie, doth an act of temperance, but he that is continent by obligation of vow, doth an act not only of temperance, but also of religion, because he doth it purposefully for the honour, and seruice of God, as *S. Augustin* teacheth, who speaking of vowed virginities, saith that it is not honoured, because it is virginities, sed quia deo dicata est, but because it is dedicated to God, and kept in the flesh, religione & deuotione spiritus, with the religion, and deuotion of the spirit. I haue cited the place before, vpon an other occasion, and therefore forbear to repeat the whole heere.

5 Furthermore, the conueniencie of voves may appeare, by that they doe greatlie incite, and vrge a man to Gods seruice, by reason of the obligation that groweth thereof, which wee may well vnderstand, if wee consider mans frailty, and mutabilitie in his good purposes, when he hath no obligation to performe them: and therefore wee see, that counsellors of princes, magistrats, souldiars, and such others, not with standing their good will, and purpose to serue their princees faithfully, are further moued, and incited thereto by obligation of oaths. Here vpon *S. Augustin* saith to *Amentarius*. Let it not repent thee to haue vowed, but rather be gladd, that it is not now lawfull for thee, to doe that which thou mightst haue donne before with thy owne detriment &c. And againe afterwards. *Felix necessitas quae ad meliora compellit.* Happy is the necessity, which compelleth a man to be better.

6 Lastlie, the holly Ghost doth in the psalmes, and diuers other places of the scripture, exhort vs to vowe, saying. *Ponete, & reddite domino deo vestro.* Vow, and render, or pay it, to your Lord God. Whereto the holly Ghost would not aduise vs, if it were better to worke with our vow, as our aduersaries teach it to be.

7 Heereto I add, that the vse of voves, is most manifest in the old testament, as the voves of a *Iacob*, b *Iephthe*, c *Anna* mother to *Sa-muel*, d *Dauid*, and of all the people of *Israel*, when they were to fight with the *Cananeans*, & in diuers places of the booke of *Exodus*, *Leuiticus*, *Deuteronomy*, & *Joshua*. As also the obligation of voves, is no lesse euident in *g Deuteronomy*, when

S. Anselmus
li. de simili-
tudinibus
c. 84.

S. August. de
sancta vir-
ginitate. 8.

B. Aug. ep.
45. in circa
finem.

Psalm. 75.
a *Genes. 28.*
b *Iudig. 11.*
c 1. *Reg. 1.*
d *Psalm. 21.*
e *Num. 21.*
f *Num. ca.*
6. 15. & 30.
g *Deut. 23.*

where *Moses* said. *Cum vetum voueris Domino Deo &c.* Where thou shalt haue
 vowed a vow to thy Lord God, bee not slack to performe it, for thy
 Lord wil require it at thy hands, and if thou delay it, it shal be imputed
 unto thee for a sinne, if thou wilt not promise at al, thou shalt be with-
 out sinne, but that which is once past out of thy mouth, thou shalt
 obserue and performe, as thou hast promised to thy Lord God, and spo-
 ken of thy owne will, and out of thy owne mouth. Thus saith *Moses*
 in *Deuteronomy*, and the like also we read in the booke of *Numbers*, in the *Num. 30.*
Psalmist, and in *Ecclesiastes*, which I omit, to lay downe, as needles, for that *Psalm. 75.*
 our aduersaries denie not, either the vse, or obligation of vowes in the *Eccles. 5.*
 old law.

The question then betwixt vs and them, beeing not so much, whe-
 ther vowes are lawfull, & obligatorie in the new law (which al of them
 except *Peter Martire* doe graunt) as what manner of thinges may law-
 fullie be vowed, I wil for breuities sake, leaue generalities, and examin
 whether the euangelical counsellis may be vowed to god or no, and to
 that purpose, I will treat particularlie of one of them, to wit of Chasti-
 tie, whereby the question wil be sufficientlie discusled, concerning the
 other two, the reason being alike in al three.

Therefore, to the end I may be the briefer, I omit the example of
 the blessed virgin *Maries* vow of chastitie, signified insufficientlie by her
 owne wordes, to the Angell. *Quomodo fiet istud, quoniam virum non cognosco?* *Luca 1.*

How can this be, seeing that I know not anie man? That is to say, seing it is not
 lawfull for me to know anie man, by reason of my vow of continency,
 as *S. Gregory Nissen*, *S. Augustin*, *S. Bede*, *Rupertus*, & *S. Bernard* doe teach ex-
 pressely. I omit also the arguments that may be made for our Catholike
 doctrine, vpon the wordes of our Sauour, concerning three kindes of
 Eunuchs, where it is plaine inough, by the verie name of Eunuch, and
 the manner of our Sauours speech, that he included a vow of chastity,
 seing that no man can properlie be called an Eunuch, who may chose
 whether he will be continent or no, but he onlie which cannot but be
 continent by reason of his naturall impotencie, and therefore in like
 manner the voluntarie Eunuch, must needes be such a one, as hath of
 his owne free will depriued himselfe of the power of mariage, which
 also the wordes of our Sauour that follow doe make more euident,
 for that he saith. *Qui se castrauerunt, who haue guilded themselves.* Signifying,
 that they haue by their voluntarie act, debarred them selues from al vie
 and knowledge of women, which they cannot otherwayse lawfullie
 doe, but by promise and vow to God, whereby they are morally, and in
 conscience disabled to contract mariage.

Luca 1.

*S. Greg. Nis-
 sen. in orat.
 in natiuit*

*Domini. post
 medium.*

*S. Aug. li. de
 sancta virgi-
 nit. cap. 4.*

*S. Bede. in
 com. in Luc.*

*Ruper. 3. in
 cantica. li. 3.*

circa finem.

*S. Ber. in ver-
 ba Euangelij*

*missus est
 Angel homi-
 le 4. post in-
 tium.*

Mat. 19.

10 But I will not, I say, insist vpon the further proofof this, or other arguments, which might bee deduced from other places of scripture, but will manifestlie shew, both the vse, and also the obligation of a vow of chastitie, out of *S. Pauls* words to *Timothy*, saying. *Adolescentes viduas deuota, &c. Auoid, or eschew the yonger widdowes, for when they haue plaid the wantons in Christ, they will marry, hauing damnation, because they haue broken their first faith.* Thus saith the Apostle, meaning by their first faith, their vow of continencie.

11 For whereas some of our aduersaries, would haue it to be vnderstood of the faith of Baptisme, which they say, the young widdowes broke by liuing licentiouslie, it cannot stand with the wordes of the Apostle, who giueth plainely to vnderstand, that they brooke their first faith, by hauing a will to marry, *nubere volunt*, saith he, *habentes damnationem, because they haue broken their first faith.* Yt being therefore euident, that no man promiseth in Baptisme to abstaine from mariage, it cannot be said that any man breaketh his faith of Baptisme, by hauing a will to marry, for if it were soe it would also follow, that no christian man might marry. Neuerthelesse, presupposing a vow of chastitie in any man, it may truly be said of him, that by breaking his vow, he also breaketh his promise, and faith, giuen to God in Baptisme, wherein euery one promiseth to keepe the law of God, which law bindeth vs to obserue all lawfull vowes, as is the vow of chastity, and in this sense, I say (which maketh nothing against vs) it may be said, that the widdowes brake their faith of Baptisme, and so incurred eternall damnation, for breaking their first faith.

12 But if we consider the vniforme consent of all the ancient Fathers, concerning the interpretation of this place, we may wonder at the bouldnes (I will not say impudencie) of such as deny the vse, and obligation of vowes of continencie, in the Apostles time.

13 *Tertullian*, alleadging the same wordes of the Apostle, in his booke de monogamia, saith. *Habentes iudicium, quod primam fidem resciderunt illam scilicet, in qua in uiduitate inuenta, & professe, eam noluerint perseuerare. Ha-*ving iudgement, or damnation, because they brake their first faith, to wit, that faith, wherein they would not perseuer being found in widowhood, and ha-ving professed it. Thus saith *Tertullian* of the widdowes who being conuerted to the christian faith, in their widowhood, made also a particular profession, and promise to perseuer therein, which promise, or

profession he saith, the Apostle calleth their first faith, and is the same which wee call a vow of chastitie in widdowes.

14 Also *S. Epiphanius*. *Si que vidua fuit*, saith he, *ac Deo dicata &c.* If

Tertull. li. de monogamia cap. 13.

S. Epiphani. lib. 2. contra Hareses Hareses. 61. in fine.

which was a widow, and dedicated to God, and afterwards married, had iudgement, and condemnation, because shee reiected her first faith, or promise, how much more shall shee haue iudgement, which was a virgin dedicated to God, & hath married, and played the wanton against Christ, and hath reiected a greater faith, or promise. Thus saith *s. Epiphanius*, teaching twoo thinges to be noted. The one, that the first faith whereof the Apostle speaketh is to be vnderstood of a vow of continencie, in respect whereof hee saith, that those yong widowes were dedicated to god. The other is, that the virgins vow, is greater then the vow of the widow, and that her iudgement, and damnation, is also greater if shee breake it, the reason is, because the merit of virginity, is greater thē the merit of widowhood, & therefore, as the virgin shall haue a greater reward, then the widow, if shee keepe her vow of virginity, so also shee shalbe more seuerely punished, if shee breake it.

The like also saith *s. Christostome*, concerning both these points, who expounding the Epistle to the Corinthians, & particularly those wordes of the Apostle, *si nupserit virgo, non peccauit*, he saith. *Non de ea dicit &c.* He doth not speake of the virgin, which hath made choise of virginity, for shee hath sinem. (if shee marry:) for if the widowes haue iudgement, which after their chuse of widowhood doe marry againe, much more is the same to be vnderstood of virgins. And againe in his homilies, vpon the Epistle to Timothy, & vpon those very wordes of the Apostle, whereof I treat here, he saith of the yong widowes thus. *When they haue vowed themselues to him*, (that is *s. Christost.* to say to Christ) *they haue damnation, because they breake their first faith.* *Fi-* in 1. ad *Them.* *pastum dicit*, he calleth the covenant which they make, their faith. Thus saith *s. Christostom*, of the yong widowes, calling their solemne promise, or vow of continency, a covenant.

In like maner *s. Augustin.* *Quid ait Apostolus*, saith he, *de quibusdam* *s. August. in* *qua uouerunt &c.* *Vhat saith the Apostle, of some which did vow, and did not* *1. sal. 75.* *render, or pay their vow?* Having, saith he, damnation, because they haue broken their first faith. *Vhat meaneth he by saying, that they haue broken their first* *1. Timoth. 5.* *faith? uouerunt & non reddiderunt.* They made a vow, and did not render, or pay it. Thus saith *s. Augustin*, expounding the words of the psalme, *uouete, & reddite domino deo uestro, uouet, and render, or pay it to your Lord God.*

To these I will add a cannon of a counsell of Carthage, of two hundredeth and foureteene Bishops, celebrated about the yeare of our Lord, three hundredeth ninetie fise. Wherein it was decreed, that widowes, which haue vowed themselues to God, and do after marry, shall not be admitted to the holly communion, neither yet to eate, & drinke, with christians: *quoniam fidem castitatis, quam domino uouerunt, irritam facere ause*

T t t sunt:

Sum: because they are so bound, to breake the faith, or promise of chastity which they vowed to God. And it is further signified in the same decree, that *secundum*

1. *Timoth. 5.*
Concil. Tolet

4. can. 55.

a *S. Basil. ad*

Amphilo. epi.

circa. mediū.

b *S. Hierom.*

li. 7. contra

Iovin. ali.

quot paull.

post. initium.

Et in ca. 44.

Ezechiel.

post. mediū.

c. *Ambros.*

in 1. Timo. 5.

in verba A.

dulocentulas

vero viduas

Et.

d. 1. *Timo. 5.*

Apostolū, damnationē habebunt, according to the Apostle, they shall haue dānatiōn.

18 Finally a Synod held at *Tolet* in *spaine* by seauentie Bishops, vnderstandeth the same wordes of the Apostle, in the same sort, and so doe

S. a Basil, S. b Hierome, S. c Ambrose, Primasius, Theodoretus, Theophilatū,

Occumenius, S. Beda, Haymo, Sedulius, S. Anselmus, and al other ancient ex-

positours, of that epistle of *S. d Paule* to *Timothy.*

19 And whereas some of the sectaries, doe not vnderstand by the

word *damnation* (which *S. Paule* saith the young widdowes incurred)

anie paine due to sinne, but onlie reproch, and infamie before men, be-

cause the Greeke word *κρίμα*, signifieth iudgment, and may bee taken

(say they) for accusation before men, whereby they would haue it to be

vnderstood, that men would iudge euell of such young widdowes, and

condemne them of leuitie and follie, for leauing their profession (tho-

ugh neuertheles before God they should be excused, yea and should doe

well to marrie, because it is better to marrie then to burne:) whereas, I

say, some of the sectaries, as *Bucer*, and *Peter Martir*, make this glose, it is

to bee vnderstood, that this shameles shift and cauill, is not onlie con-

trarie to all the Fathers, but also to the vsual sence of the worde *Crīma*

in the scripture, & namelie in the Apostle him selfe, who also els wher-

vseth the same word, for the iudgement of god condemning to eternall

paine, in which respect, it is in our Latin verie properlie translated

damnation, as when the Apostle speaketh of those who did blasphem-

ously belie him, charging him to say, *let vs doe euell that good may come of*

it, he vseth the same worde, *to crīma*, saying, *Quorum dānatio iusta est. Vt*

damnatio is iust, meaning vndoubtedlie, Gods iust iudgment of eternall

damnation. Also when he saith, *Qui resistunt Dei ordinationi, ipsi sibi damna-*

tionem acquirunt. Those which resist the ordinance of God, doe purchase to them-

selues damnation, he hath the same wordes in the Greeke, *to crīma.* And the

like may also be seene in other places of the holie scripture, as *Cardi-*

nall Bellarmin hath verie learnedlie obserued, thrise in one chapter of

S. Iohns Gospell, against *Peter Martir*, and *Bucer*, who were the deuisers &

forgers of this false and counterfeit coyne.

20 Furthermore, whereas they say, that the yong widdowes of whom

S. Paule speakeeth, were to bee condemned onlie by men, of leuitie and

follie for leauing their profession, I would gladlie know of them, whe-

ther this condēnation, or iudgmēt of man were iust, or vniust. If it were

iust, how commeth it to passe, that it is no shame for *Luther* & al his fel-

low Monkes, and Friers (as they say it was not but a vertue) to breake

Rom. 1.

Ibid. cap. 13.

Bell. de Mo-

nachis. ca.

24.

Iohan. 3.

their vowes of chastitie and to marrie? And one the other side, if they were vniustlie condemned (because as the sectaries say, such vowes are lawfull, and therefore may lawfullie, yea, and commendable be broken) why did the Apostle so seuerelie reprehend them, as it appeareth by his owne wordes, who as *S. Chrysostom* saith. *Rehementer accusat. Dicit S. Chrysost. li. vehementer accuse, or blame those widdowes, which after their vow of continencie de virginibus marrie. Wherevpon S. Chrysostom also inferreth in the same place. Non tunc. ca. 30.*

To conclude, al the holie Fathers of the church, followinge the doctrine of the Apostle in this place, doe with one voyce condemne, not onlie of leuitie or follie, but of greuous sinne, al such as breake vowes of chastitie, iudging them to incurre the paine of eternal damnation. In which respect *S. Epiphanius* saith. *Tradiderunt Apostoli &c. The Apostles* *Hera. 16. S. Hierom. l. 1. t. 1.* *hauē deliuered vnto vs, that it is sinne to marrie after a resolution and decree made contra. Iouin de virginie. And S. Hierom hauing said, that virgins which marrie after loco notato* *supra.* *their vow, shall haue damnation, addeth. Virgines enim, quae post consecrationem nupserint, non tam adultera, quam incesta sunt. For virgins which marrie*

after their consecration, doe not commit adulterie, but incest. *S. Amb. ad virginem. l. 1. cap. 5. S. Aug. de bono vidui. cap. 8.*

S. Ambrose (as I haue signified before) saith also, that shee which marieth after shee is veiled, committeth adulterie, and becometh, ancilla mortis the hand-maid of death. *S. Augustine* saith in like manner of such, that iure damnantur, they are worthilie, and iustlie condemned. Not meaning that they are condemned by man, but by almightie God, for that he speaketh of the breach of a vow made to him. *Quod* *supra.* *irridant, saith hee, iure damnantur. Which if they render, and pay not, they are iustlie condemned. S. Basil affirmeth that such seeke to couer, stupriscelus, inuesto coniugij nomine, the wickednes of whoredome, with the honest name of marriage: and that, dant manus nequitiae, they giue their handes to wickednes: and lastlie that, shee is worthilie counted an adulteresse, who during the life of her immortal husband, hath for the vices of the flesh introduced, or brought a mortal man into the bed of our Lord.*

S. Chrysostome, hauing alledged the wordes of the Apostle, *habentes de virginibus. cap. 36.* *damnationem &c. hauing damnation, &c.* expoundeth them expresselie of euine punishmēt saying, that Christ doth alwaies punish those, who do not liue honestly, signifying that those which breake a vow of chastity, do not liue honestly, & therefore shalbe punished by Christ with sctēce of dānation.

Thus then thou seest good Reader, how cleare it is by these wordes of the Apostle, accordinge to the vniforme consent of al the ancient

learned, and holly Fathers, that vowes of chastitie were vsuall in the Apostles time, and approued by them, and that the vowes were bound to the performance thereof, vnder paine of eternall damnation. Where vpon I inferre against our aduersaries, that all their gloses vpon this place, deuised by them to answer our arguments drawne from thence, are most false, and vaine, which I will shew particularlie by the circumstances of the text. And to beginne with *Luther*, he saith, that the faith which the yonge widowes broke, was the christian faith, *wh*o, saith he, returned to *Iudaisme*, or *Paganisme*, to the end they might freely marry againe. Whereas you see all the Fathers agree, that the faith, whereof the Apostle speaketh, was their vowe of chastitie, which is also cleare, by the text it selfe, by the which it appeareth, that they brooke their faith, by hauing a will to marry. Besides that it is manifest, that if those widowes were not hindred from marriage by their vowe, they had no cause to forsake the christian faith, to the end they might marry, amongst the Iewes, or Gentills, seeing that the marriage of widowes (not hindred by vowe of chastitie) was alwayes permitted amongst Christians, and allowed by the Apostle himselfe, as appeareth in this epistle, and his other to the *Corinthians*.

1. Cor. 7.

Vide Bellar.
loco citato.

25 In like manner the vanitie of the three cauling' gloses of *Caluin*, is no lesse euident. For first he saith, that the widowes faith, was their faith or promise, made in Baptisme, and that they brooke it by dissolute, and wanton life: wherein you see, he contradiceth, not only all the Fathers, but also the most naturall, and litterall sense of the text it selfe, which ascribeth their breach of vowe, and their damnation, to their will, and desire of marriage, which desire is no way repugnant to the faith or promise made in baptisme, as I haue declared before.

26 His second shift is, that though the yong widowes had promised and vowed to liue chaste, yet their promise or vowe, was of it selfe void, because they were not of that age, which the Apostle required for the admission of widowes, to the ministrie of the church, saying, *Vidua eligatur non minus sexaginta annorum*. Let a widow be chosen, of no lesse, then threescore yeares. But this cauill, is no way compatible, eyther with the interpretation of the Fathers, which you haue heard, or with the text it selfe, which sheweth plainelie, that though the Apostle to auoid inconueniences, did ordaine, that the younger sort of widowes, should not be admitted to the office of *Diaconisse*, yet he vtterlie misliked, and condemned those that had broken their vowe, iudging them to haue incurred, eternall damnation therebie, so that it is manifest, that their vowe did still bind them. Wherein I also wish it to bene-

red by the way, that whereas the Apostle ordaineth, that no widow shall be chosen vnder threescore yeares of age, he speaketh not of their admission to make a vow of continencie, but that they should not be admitted to the office of Diaconissa (as *Tertullian* saith) or to be of the number of those, who were sustained, and nourished by the church, as *s. Christostome*, *s. Ambrose*, and *s. Hierome* do expound it, and may be confirmed, by the greek text, where our Latin word *eligatur*, is *catàlegēstis*, which properlie signifieth to be enrolled, registered, or admitted, to the catalogue, or number of others: and the reason of the Apostles ordinance was (as *s. Hierome* noteth) partly because the yonger widdowes might gett their liuing by their labour, and partly because they were in more danger to fall to incontinencie, then the elder: and lastly, because it was very scandalous, and reprochfull to the christian faith, that any of those widdowes, which were nourished by the church, should be noted of lasciuiousnes, in which respect it was necessarie, that a very speciall care should be had in the choise, and admission of them, whereby neuer the lesse, the yonger sort were not prohibited to liue single, or to make a vow of continencie, if they were so disposed.

27 For whereas our aduersaries, doe further vrge for that purpose, the wordes of the Apostle that follow. *Volo iuniores nubere, filios procreare* &c. I will, that the yonger marry, and bringe forth children (which they should to be an absolute precept of marriage) it is to be vnderstood, that he no more commaunded young widdowes to marry, then to bring forth children, which was not in their power to performe, depending vpon Gods benediction, and their naturall fertilitie: but his meaning was therbie, to aduise *Timothy*, to permit such widdowes to marry, as were of them selues disposed thereto. For whereas the primitiue feruour of christian zeale, was such in the Apostles time, that all the faithfull tended to perfection, and those which were widdowes, betooke themselves for the most part to perpetuall widowhood: therefore the Apostle foreseeing that this custome growing first of deuotion, would seeme in time to be obligatorie, in such sort, that many yong widdowes more fraile then the elder, and forbearing marriage (rather to accomodat them selues to the custome and example of others, then of their owne deuotion) would commit scandale (as some already had donne) the Apostle, I say, to preuent this inconuenience, would haue it vnderstoode, that there was no obligation for widdowes to forbear marriage, and to vow chastitie, & therefore he signified, that he would haue such of the yonger sort, as were inclined, to marry and to take husbands.

*Tertul. de
veland vir-
ginis ca. 9.
Ep. li. 1. ad
uxorem cap.
7.
s. Chris. Ep.
s. Ambros. in
hunc locum
s. Hieron. in
ep. ad Salui-
nam circa
medium.
s. Hieron.
ibid.*

1. Timot. 5.

1. Tim 5.
S. Christof.
in hunc lo-
cutu.

28 This is conforme, to the doctrin, and sence of *s. Christofome*, who expounding the foresaid wordes of the Apostle: *Volo iuniores nubere. I will that the yonger marry Volo*, saith he, *quia & ipsa volunt. I will, because they themselves will.* Meaning, that the Apostle did speake of no other, but such widdowes, as were themselves disposed to marry, whom he would not haue to be prohibited. Which also *s. Christofome* signifieth further afterwards, saying. *An vero matrimonium precipit? Absit, sed neque prohibet.* Doth he commaund mariage? God forbid, neither doth he prohibit it &c. *Non quod adolescentulas viduas esse nolit, sed quod adulteras fieri vetet.* Not that he would haue no young women to remaine widdowes, but because he forbiddeth them to be incontinent, that is to say, he permitteth them to marry, for the remedie, and preuention of incontinencie. And the same is also taught expresselie by *s. Ambrose*, *s. Augustin*, and *s. Hierom*, who all affirme, that those wordes of the Apostle (*I will that the yonger marry*) were no precept, but a counsell, for the remedy of the infirmitie of the yonger sort.

S. Ambros.
li. de viduis
parum ab
initio. S. Au-
gust. li. de bo-
no viduita.
ca. 8.
S. Hieron. ep.
11. ad Age-
ruthia, sta-
tim ab ini-
tio.

1. Corint. 7.

29 Moreouer, it is also euident, that the Fathers doe vnderstand in like manner, that the same wordes of the Apostle did concerne those only, who were free from all vowes of continencie, as manifestlie appeareth, by that which they all say, concerning the like wordes of the same Apostle to the Corinthians, to wit, *those which doe not liue chaste, let them marry, for it is better to marry then to be burnt*, which (as I haue amply shewed before) they seriousslie affirme, and teach, to belong only to those, who haue not bound themselves to continency by vow. Besides that, the Apostle should be contrarie to himselfe, if he should eyther commaund, or yet permit marriage, to those whome he reprehended, and iudged worthy of eternall damnation, for the only desire thereof. Thus much for *Caluins* second glose.

30 His third glose is, that the promise of continencie, which the yonge widdowes made, was not a vow to God, but only a bare promise to the church, to liue single, and chaste, to the end they might serue with more freedome in the office of *Diaconisse*: euen as, saith he, a woman that should desire to be entertained for a seruant, might promise not to marry, to the end shee might the more willingly be receiued, and serue with more libertie. But this euasion is as frivolous, as the former, both for that all the Fathers doe with one consent teach, that the yonge widdowes vowed continencie to almightie God (as I haue shewed) and also for that the Apostle, himselfe signifieth the same sufficientlie, in that he giueth sentence of eternall damnation against them, for breaking their vow, as I haue proued, not only

by the interpretation of the Fathers, but also by the vsuall sence, of the Latine, and Greeke text.

31 And whereas *Caluin* seeketh yet an other starting hole, saying that they were not reprov'd by *S. Paule*, for hauing a will to marry, but for their wanton, and lasciuious life (whereby they brooke, saith he, their faith or promise of chastitie, which they made to the church:) it is to be considered, that the Apostle condemned in them a present sinne, shewing them to be in state of damnation, at the same time that they had a will to marry. *Nubere volunt*, saith he, *habentes damnationem* 1. Tim. 5. &c. They haue a will to marry, hauing damnation &c. Which could not be if their marriage were lawfull, as *Caluin* houldeeth it, seeing their lasciuious acts were past, and they desirous to amend the same by honest marriage (according to *Caluins* doctrin) which for that present (I meane for the state wherein they were then) deserued rather commendation, then condemnation, because they desired, and sought, a lawfull remedie, as *Caluin*, and his fellowes suppose: so that the Apostle should not in that case, haue had reason to condemne them for a present offence, as *Cardinall Bellarmin* noteth iudiciouſlie, against this shift of *Caluin*. Bellar. 10. ci. at.

32 Whereto I also add, that though it be graunted, that they brooke their vow by their wanton life, and therefore incurred damnation (as in deede they did) *Caluin* gaineth nothing thereby, seeing it doth not follow therefore, that vowes of chastitie, doe not bind in conscience vnder paine of eternall damnation. For though fornication, is of it selfe a deadlie sinne, yet when it is committed, with breach of vow, it is farr more grieuous, and deserueth farre greater damnation, as being both against the law, and against the vow, so that, a votarie committing fornication, deserueth damnation for twoo respects, the one for breaking the commaundement, and the other for breaking the vow.

33 And therefore, though the Apostle had not spoken, of the deſire of marriage in the yong widowes, nor attributed their breach of vow thereto, as he doth expresse lie, yet ascribing it (as *Caluin* saith he doth) to their vnchast, and lasciuious life, and adiudging them worthe of damnation, for breaking their vow therein, he sheweth euidentlie, that vowes of chastitie were vsuall in his time, and that they doe bind in conscience vnder paine of eternall damnation. Wherevpon I also inferre further, that forasmuch, as the younge widowes promised to the church, not only to lyue chaste, but also to liue single, and vnmarried (according to *Caluins* owne confession

feſſion in his laſt gloſe) it muſt needes follow, that they were condemned, aſwell for their deſire of marriage, as for their incontinencie, ſeeing that their firſt faith debarred them from both, and bound them, no leſſe to remaine widdowes, then to liue chaſt.

34 Beſides that, it ſeemeth a ſtrange concept of *Caluin*, to diſtinguiſh betwixt a vow made to God, and a vow made to the church. Can there any thing be donne to the church, pertaining to the ſervice of God, that is not donne to God? For ſeeing the church is the miſticall body of Chriſt, and he the head thereof, there muſt needes be an inſeperable, and mutual communication betwixt the one, and the other. Therefore when *Saule* perſecuted the church, our Sauour ſaid vnto him. *Quid me perſequeris? VVhy doſt thou perſecute me?* And to his diſciples he ſaid. *Qui vos audit, me audit, qui vos ſpernit, me ſpernit &c.* He which heareth you, heareth me he which deſpiſeth you, deſpiſeth me. And when *Ananias* and *Saphira* defrauded the church, in the price of their goods, *S. Peter* ſaid, they lyed to the holly Ghoſt. Whereby it appeareth, that Chriſt doth ſo communicat with his miſticall body, and ſpouſe the church, that what is donne to her, is donne to him, yea rather to him, then to her, he being the end, whereto ſhee, and all her actions are referred. Wherevpon it followeth, that ſeeing by *Caluins* confeſſion, the widdowes promiſed not only chaſtitie, but alſo ſingle life, to the church, they promiſed the ſame to Chriſt, rather then to the church, and therefore breaking their faith to the church, they brake it to Chriſt, and according to the ſentence of the Apoſtle, they iuſtly incurred eternal damnation.

35 So that we ſee, theſe Archſectaries, can by no meanes auoid, or elude this euident teſtimonie of the Apoſtle, concerning the obligation of vowes of chaſt, and ſingle life, whereby it may eaſely be iudged, that they and their fellowes, ſought theſe cauilling ſhiftes, euen contrarie to their owne conſciences, only to defend their licentious liues, and their breach of vowes, being moſt of them votaries, as *Luther*, *Bucer*, *Peter Martir*, *Pomeranus*, *Munſterus*, *Pellicanus*, *Muſculus*, *Menius*, *Miconius*, *Ochinus*, and *Oecolampadius*, who were all of them Monkes, or Friers: and as for *Caluin*, and *Bera*, with diuers others of them, though they were not Monkes, Friers, or religious men, yet they were prieſtes, and conſequentlie bound by their profeſſion to chaſtitie: and therefore reſoluinge themſelues to breake their vowes and to marry (as they all, or moſt of them did) it is no maruaile though they buſied their braines, and employed all their witts, to find out new gloſes of the ſcriptures neuer heard, or dreamt of before

Act. 9.
Luc. 10.

Act. 5.

thereby to cast a mist before the eyes of men, to obscure the truth, and shadowe their owne lasciuious impietie.

And out of the same fountaine, flowed their beastlie paradoxes, and detestable doctrin, whereof I haue spoken before in the 30. chapter, whereto may be added *Luthers* assertion concerning vowes, no lesse strange, and impious, then any of the former, affirming that a man can no more make a vow, that he will not haue the companie of a wo-

Chap. 30.
nu. 2. 3. 4.
vsque ad nu.

man, and multiplie the earth, then that he will not be a man, which saith he, were meere folly to vow, and if it should be vowed, were of no validitie, wherefore he aduiseeth, and counselleth his disciples, not to care, or be moued at all, *etiam si decies iuraueris, uoueris, mera ferrea, adamantina pacta.* Although thou hast, saith he, sivorne tenne times, or gali. vowed vowes of Iron, and made couenants of Diamond or adamant.

*Luther de
vita coniu-*

Behold the found aduise of this holly doctor, how conforme it is to the doctrin of the Apostle, and of all the ancient Fathers, who teach as you haue heard, that the breach of vowes of chastitie, are damnable, and (as the Fathers say) *sacrilegious, and worse then adultery, or incest.* Where vppon I also inferre further, that seeing the euangelicall counsell of virginitie, and continencie, may not only be lawfullie vowed to God, but also being vowed, ought to be performed vppon paine of eternall damnation, it must needs follow, that the two other euangelicall counsells of pouerty, and obedience, being also most acceptable to God, and necessarie to the perfection of christian religion (as I haue amply proued) may in like manner be lawfullie vowed, and ought to be accomplished vppon the same penaltie.

Where vppon also it yet followeth further, that the same vowes are not only lawfull, but also meritorious, for seeing the breach of them deserueth eternall damnation, as it appeareth in the Apostle, it cannot be denied, but that the obseruation thereof, meriteth eternall reward, for it pertaineth noe lesse to the iustice of God, to performe his promise, in the reward of good deedes, proceeding of his grace, then to punish euil: and such is his mercy, bounty, and liberalitie, that he inclineth farre more to reward, then to punish, promising reward for every cupp of could water giuen in his name: how then will he reward those, who freely giue him the greatest good they haue, that is to say, their will and libertie, yea all they haue, by an irreuocable promise, couenant, and vow, making themselues a true Holocaust, or burnt Sacrifice, according to *S. Gregory*, who saith notablie thus.

*S. Greg. ep.
20. in Ex-
chiel. Post
holly medium.*

Qui se per fidem &c. Those which by faith, doe vow themselves to God in

Vuu

Greg. *ibid.* holly conuerſation doe become, the Holocauſt of God: and after a while. *Cum*
Paulo poſt. *quis ſuum aliquid deo vouet &c.* VVhen any man doth vow vnto God ſame
Origin. ſu- part of that he hath, and not all, he is a ſacrifice; but when he voweth in
per Numeros him, *omne quod habet, omne quod ſapit*, all that he hath, all that he li-
homi. 25. ueth, all that he knoweth, or vnderſtandereth, that is to ſay, he that giueth
poſt mediū. by vow to almighty God, all his wealth, his will, his vnderſtanding,
 his iudgement, life, and all, *Holocauſtum eſt*, ſaith S. Gregory, he is a
 Holocauſt, or burnt Sacrifice.

38 And this doe the true religious performe, by the three vowes of
 pouerty, chaſtity, and obedience. For by the firſt, they irreuocablie giue
 to God, their wealth, and ſubſtance. By the ſecond, their bodies.
 And by the third, their ſoules, not referuing to them ſelues, ſo much
 as libertie of will, or iudgement, and conſequentlie they doe, as it
 were ſacrifice themſelues, fully and wholly, and imitate our Satiour
 Chriſt in great perfection, and therefore *Origin*, treating of diuers
 kindes of vowes, ſaith. *Semetipſum deo offerre &c.* For a man to offer, or
 ſacrifice himſelfe to God, is more perfect, and eminent, then all other vowes,
 and he, that doth it, is the imitator of Chriſt. Thus ſaith he. And S. *Auguſtin*
 maketh no doubt to affirme, that the Apoſtles bound them-
 ſelues, to this imitation of Chriſt by vow, when they leaſt all to fol-
 low, and obey him. *Dixerunt*, ſaith he, *potentes illi &c.* Thoſe mighty
 ones (to wit the Apoſtles) ſaid, behould we haue forſaken all, and followed
 thee, *hoc votum potentiſſimi vouerant &c.* This vow thoſe moſt potent, and
 mighty Apoſtles had vowed, but whence had they this (that is to ſay, the
 grace to vow this) but from him of whom it is ſaid, that he giueth the vow,
 to the vower: Thus ſaith S. *Auguſtin*, ſignifying notably by the example
 of the Apoſtles, as well the perfection of thoſe, that bind themſel-
 ues by vow, to the perfect imitation of Chriſt, as alſo that the ſame
 proceedeth from the ſpeciall grace of God, *qui dat votum vouenti, who*
giues the vow to the vower, and therefore is the only authour of all law-
 full vowes, no leſſe then of all other thinges that are acceptable to
 him.

39 No meruel then, that the uſe of vowing the Euangelicall coun-
 ſells, paſſed from the Apoſtles by their doctrin, and example, to other
 faithfull people in their time, as may appeare ſufficientlie, not only
 by the vow of chaſtity, which the widowes made (as I haue declar-
 ed alreadie) but alſo by the vow of pouerty, which the Fathers doe
 note, in thoſe that ſould their goods in the Apoſtles time to line in
 common, namely in *Ananias*, and *Saphira*, whoſe fraude, and offence

S. Aug. li. 17.
 de ciuitate
 dei ca. 4. poſt
 medium.

Art. 5.

(for the which *S. Peter* punished them) did consist (as the Fathers understand) in breach of their vow, and therefore *S. Ciprian*, treating of the obligation to performe vowes made to God, alleadgeth the example of *Ananias* in the Acts of the Apostles. And *S. Chrysostome*, *S. Chrysost.* saith in the persone of *S. Peter*, to *Ananias*. *Quare hoc fecisti? &c.* *VVhy ho. 12. in act* didst thou this? wouldst thou haue thy money? Thou shouldst haue had, or held in medio. in the beginnunge, before thou didst promise it, but now after thou hast consecrated it to God, thou hast committed a greater sacriledge, &c. It was lawfull for thee to hould thy owne goodes, therefore why hast thou made them holly, and after taken them. Thus saith he. And *S. Hierome* in like sort, affirmeth, *S. Hieron. ep.* that *Ananias*, and *Saphira*, were condemned, quia post votum obrulerunt, *S. ad Deme-* quasi sua &c. Because after their vow, they offred their goods, as though they had bennie their owne, and not his, cui semel ea vouerant, to whome they had *S. Basil. ser.* once vowed them. Also *S. Basille*, *S. Augustin*, *S. Fulgentius*, *S. Gregorie*, *S. Gregorie*, *1. de institut.* *Oecumenius*, and *S. Beda* to omit others, doe teach the same expresselie. *monachoru.*

40 And as this custome of vowing theise Euangelicall concells seuerallie, was introduced in the Apostles time, approued, and authorized by them, and by their example: so also the vse of vowing the same iointlie in monasticall, or religious life, proceeded from the same ground, at the same time, as may appeare by that which I haue before declared, out of *S. Dionysius*, *S. Paules* disciple, who ascribeth the institution of monasticall disciplin, to the Apostles, and amongst other things which he relateth concerning the profession of Monkes, he testifieth, that they made a solemne promise, and couenant before the altar, to renounce the world, and to embrace the monasticall life, which (as I haue sufficientlie proued before) consisteth in the obseruation of the three Euangelicall counsells, of *poverty chastity*, and *obedience*. And this publike, and solemne manner of monasticall profession by way of vow, hath benne continued in the church of God ever since: in respect whereof, it hath alwayes bene held vnlawfull, and damnable, for a professed religious man, not only to abandon his vocation, but also to haue the will, and determination to doe it, and therefore *S. Anthony* (as *S. Athanasius*, reporteth in his life) exhorting the Monks his brethren to perseuerance, compared those religious, that were weary of their profession, to *Lots* wife, who looking backwards, was turned in to an image of salt, and applied to them, the saying of our Sauour. *Nemo ponit manum suam &c.* No man that puts his hand to the plough, and looketh backwards, is fit for the kingdome of heauen. *Respicere autem retrorsum*, saith he, *nihil aliud est &c.* To looke backward

Vuu ij

backward

S. Athanas.
in vita *S.*
Antonij.

backward is nothing els, but to repent thee of that which thou hast begunne, and to tye, or entangle thy selfe againe with worldly desires. Thus saith *S. Athanasius*, or rather, both *S. Antony* and he, of the only desire to leaue a religious, or monasticall life, after it is once vndertaken, what then would they haue said of apostasie from the same?

S. Basill. ep. i. ad monachū lapsū in fine.

Idem quæst. vel regula 14. fusius explicata. S. August. in Psal. 75. ante finem.

41 *S. Basill*, who liued in the time of *S. Antony*, writing to a Monk that was fallen, putteth him in mind of his couenants made with God, *coram multis testibus*, before many witnesses: and in his rules of monasticall life, signifieth, that he which hauing vowed himselfe to God in religious professiō, & passeth afterwards to any other state of life, *sacrilegi se scelere obstrinxit &c.* Is guilty of sacrilege, because he hath, saith he, as it were stolne himselfe from God, to whome he had dedicated, and consecrated himselfe. Thus saith *S. Basill*. Also *S. Augustin*. *Nemo*, saith he, *positum in Monasterio frater dicat &c.* Let no brother, or religious man, that is in a monastery say, I will leaue, and forsake it, or that it is not to be thought that only those shalbe saued, who liue in monasteries, or that others which liue abroad, doe not pertaine to God, for to him, that should so say, it is to be answered. *Illi non uouerunt, tu uouisti.* They haue not vowed, but thou hast vowed.

Circa an. 400.

Ioan. Cassian. de institutis renūciant. ca. 33.

Circa an. 500.

42 Finallie *Iohannes Cassianus*, who wrote also a thousand two hundred yeares agoe, treating of the perfection of religious men, and hauing said, that inestimable glory in heauen, is promised them for the obseruation of their rules, and most greuous paines, prepared for them, if they neglect them, concludeth. *Melius est enim &c.* For it is better according to the sentence of the scripture, not to vow, then to vow, and not to performe it. Thus saith he, whereto I might add diuers other testimonies of the Fathers of those times, if it were needefull, but herbie it sufficientlie appeareth, that such as vndertooke monasticall profession, in the primatiue church, tied themselues thereto by vow, no lesse then those of *S. Benedicts* order, which beganne in the next age after *S. Augustin*, and *Iohannes Cassianus*, to witt, about the yeare of our Lord, 500. from which time forward, I thinke our aduersaries make no doubt, but that the vse of vowes hath benne alwayes annexed, to the obseruation of the Euangelicall counsells in monasticall discipline, as may appeare by the rules of *S. Benedict* still extant, both in writing, and in practise, amongst those of his holly order.

43 Seeing then I haue proued, that the Euangelicall counsells, haue benne practised vnder the obligation of vowes, euen from the time of the Apostles, and with their warrant, who seeth not the absurditie of

Luther.

Father, Calvin, and other of their crew, which teach, that we ought to vow nothing (especiallie for the seruice, and worshipp of God) but such things only as we are bound to doe by precept, as to keepe the commandements, which enery christian may voweth in baptisme, though he be otherwaise bound thereto by precept? Whereas I haue shewed by the authoritie of Scriptures, Fathers, and the continuall practise of the Church, that chastitie, and single life (which is not commaunded in the Scriptures, but counsell'd) was vowed in the Apostles time, and throughout the primitiue Church, principallie for the worshipp and seruice of God.

44 Besides that it is most manifest, that the vowes mentioned by me before out of the ould testament, were of things not commaunded, and Moses himselfe speaking of the obligation of vowes in Deuteronomy faith. *Si nolueris polliceri, absque peccato eris.* If thou wilt not promise thou shalt be without sinne, that is to say, thou shalt not be bound under paine of sinne, to doe that, which thou promisest, which cannot be vnderstood of such things, as god hath commaunded, for they are to be performed vnder paine of sinne, whether they be vowed, or no.

45 And no lesse euident is also the absurditie of Peter Martyr, who affirmeth, that the vse of vowes, belonged only to the ceremonies of the old law, whereof the contrarie appeareth most manifestlie, by all that which I haue proued in this chapter, out of the Scriptures, Fathers, & custome of the Church, which may be confirmed by the prophesie of *Isaiah*, who foretould of the christians, that *colent eum in hostijs & muneribus, & vota vouebunt domino, & soluēt.* They shall worship him in sacrifices, and giftes, and shall make vowes to our Lord, and performe them. Which wordes, *S. Hierome*, & *S. Cyrill*, & others that comment vpon that place, doe expresselie expound of the christians, and is fulfilled by our sacrifice of the Masse, & all kind of religious vowes, vsed continually in the church.

46 The like may be said of the vanitie, and absurditie of their objections against our vowes. For what can there be said of any weight, or soliditie against such a manifest truth, grounded vpon such authoritie as I haue alleadged? This may appeare by their vaine, and frivolumous cauills, absurdlie grounded vpon such places of scripture, as teach, that our seruice to god, or good workes, ought to be volitarie, or free, as when the psalmist faith. *Voluntarie sacrificabo tibi.* I will sacrifice to thee voluntarily. And that of the Apostle. *Ne veluti ex necessitate bonum tuum sit, sed voluntarium.* That thy good deede may not be, as it were of necessitie, but voluntarie, and such like: which signifie nothing els, but that

Luther de
vot. monast.
Caluin li. 4.
instit. ca. 13.

Genes. 28.
Leuit. 27.
Numb. 6. &
Deuter. 12.
& 23.

Petrus Mar.
in li. de vot.
& calibat.
contra Smithem.

Isay. 19.

Psal. 55.

1. Paralip.
29.

Psal. 53.

Rom 6.

we should doe all our good workes (yea euen those, whereto we are bound eyther by precept, or vow) with a good will, and with alacritie and promptitude, for loue, and not for feare, with ioy, and mirth, and not with grudging, or heauines of hart, as the scripture testifieth of the children of Israel saying. *Latus est populus cum vota sponte promitteret, quia corde toto offerebant ea domino.* The people reioyced when they did of their owne free will promise, or make their vowes, because they offered them to their Lord with all their hartes. Whereby yt appeareth, that the obligation that followeth of a vow, doth no more preiudicat the promptitude, & redines in the execution, then doth the obligation of a precept, which though yt bindeth of necessity, yt may and ought to be freely, and promptly executed, and therefore though sacrifice was commaunded in the ould law, yet the psalmist said. *Voluntarie sacrificabo tibi.* I will sacrifice voluntary unto thee, that ys to say, as freely and willingly, as though there were no necessity or commandement thereof at all, and the same ys also to be vnderstood of vowes.

47 And no lesse vaine, and friuolous ys the argument, that they frame vppon their false conceit of christian libertie, which they say, ys impeached, and vterly ouerthrowne, by the obligation of vowes, and therefore they teach that Christ would haue all kindes and states of life, to be continually free for any man to choose, or leaue as he should thinke good. Whereas neuerthelesse they tye themselves to marriage, whereby they are no lesse restrayned from single life, then they should be debarred from marriage by a vow of chastity: and though they teach this freedome and Euangelicall liberty (as they call yt) when they impugn our vowes, yet at other times when they argue against our Euangelicall counsell, they hould, and teach, that nothing was least at our libertie, or indifferent, but that all thinges are eyther preciselie commaunded, or forbidden, wherein how they agree with themselves, leaue it to the iudgement of others.

48 Finallie whereas they pretend such libertie of the ghospell, that they hold the obligation of vowes, to be no other then the seruitude of the law, from the which they say, Christ deliuered vs, it is to be vnderstood, that the true christian libertie, which we haue by the faith, and grace of Christ, is no other, but that wee are deliuered first, frō the seruitude of sinne (for *liberati a peccato*, saith the Apostle, *facti estis iustitia*, being deliuered from sinne, you are become the seruants or bondmen of righteousness.) Secondlie, we are also freed from the manifold ceremonies of the ould law, which were but shadowes, and significa-

tion

we are discharged of the feare and bondage of law, but not of the obligation of law, because wee doe by the helpe of charitie and grace, fulfill the commaundement of Gods law, willinglie and ioyfully, out of a filiall loue, and not for seruil feare, so that although wee are bound by the law, yet ar not, *sub lege, vnder the law*, & this is the true christian libertie; whereof the Apostle speaketh, as *S. Augustin* teacheth notable, and this no more excludeth the obseruation of vowes, then the obligation of the tenne commaundements, whereto euerie christian man is bound, not with-standing anie libertie, or freedome from the law, that he may lawfullie pretend to haue from the merits of Christ. Moreouer, the sectaries obiekt particularlie against vowes of chastitie, that the Apostle haueing exhorted the *Corinthians* to virginie, addeth. *Hoc ad vtilitatem vestram dico, not vt laqueum vobis injiciam. I say this for your profit, and not to intangle you, or to cast you into a snare.* By which words *Peter Martir* vnderstandeth, that vowes of chastitie are plainelie forbidden, as snares and intanglements of mens consciences: whereas the meaning of the Apostle is no other, but that he so exhorteth them to continencie, that he will not compell them vnto it, for so *S. Augustin* expoundeth it, saying. *Non vt laqueum vobis injiciam, id est non vt vos cogam, not that I cast you into a snare, that is to say, not that I compell you.* And the like saith *S. Hierom* against *Iovinian*, and *Theodoretus*, *Theophilact*, and others, that haue written commentaries vpon the same epistle, so that though the Apostle would not compell anie man, to bind himselfe by vow to chastitie, yet he leaft it to euerie mans election, vpon good, and mature deliberation, to bind himselfe if he were so disposed. This shall suffice touchinge the obiections of our aduersaries, against religious vowes. And what the Politikes obiekt against the same, in regard of common welth, shal bee declared, and answered in the next Chapter.

1. Cor. 7

S. Aug. de bono. vidu. itat. cap. 5. S. Hierom. li. 1. contra Iovin. ante. medium. Theodoret. & Theophilact. in hunc loc. c. 11.

Certaine obiections of the Politikes, out of the lawes of diuers Emperours and Kings, against religious disciplin are answered, and the impietie of the said lawes is shewed, by the notable punishment of God vpon the law-makers. With a breefe recapitulation, and conclusion of all the former chapters, concerning religious discipline.

CHAP 34



Y T resteth now, good Reader, for the conclusion of that which I haue hetherto treated, concerning our euangelical perfection, and true imitation of Christ in religious disciplin, that I also cleare certaine other difficulties, proposed by the politikes against religious life, in regarde of common welth, which they suppose to be much preiudiced, not onlie by vowes of chastitie (whereby the increase, and multiplication of mankind, they say is hindred) but also because the retired life of religious men, and spirituall occupations, debarre them from the temporal seruice of common wealth, in respect whereof, *Vitru* king of *Spaine*, forced religious men and priestes to marrie, yea, and gaue them leaue to keepe concubins, for the increase of the common welth. And the emperour *Valens*, compelled monkes to serue in the warres, as I haue noted before. And *Mauritius* the emperour ordained, that no souldiar should enter into religion, except he were lame, and vnfit for the warres, or els had serued out the time discribed by the law. And *Isacius Comnenus* emperour of *Constantinople*, confiscated all the lands and goods of monasteries, allowinge them certaine stipends. Finally the emperour *Nicephorus Phocas*, not onlie pilld and spoyled monasteries, but also made a law, that noe more religious houses or monasteries should be built, prouiding thereby verie prudentlie (as these men thinke) for the seruice, defence, and benefit of the common wealth.

2 Here then it is to be considered, that the true ground of this objection, can be no other but meere Arhisme, denying the prouidence of God, in the affaires of men, and gouernement of common wealth. For no man who firmelie beleeueth, that common wealths, and princes states, doe principallie depend vppon the wil, and prouidence of God, can imagin that those thinges which are most pleasant to god, and proceede from his holie inspiration (as I haue proued virginie and religious life, to doe) can be in anie case hurtfull to common wealth. Therefore those which make anie doubt of this point, must for their better satisfaction, call to mind, that which I haue sufficientlie shewed, partlie in the first part of this treatise, and partlie in this, to witt, that almighty God is he, as the prophet saith, *that changeth times and ages, and translateth, constituteth and ordaineth kingdomes at his pleasure*: which I haue ample proued, as well by the euident successe of *Daniels* propheties, concerning the foure Empyres, as also by verie manie examples of Gods

Baron. an.
701.

Vasans. in
Chron. an

702.

Baron. an.

373.

Baron. an

1057.

Baron. an.

969.

Nicetas

Choniates

Annal. in

Manuele.

Comnenus.

Chap. 17.

num. 1. 2. 3.

& sequent.

Chap. 18.

19. 21. & 22.

per totum.

infice

justice, executed vpon princes and their states for sinne, besides diuers other proofes of Gods prouidence, in the conduct of mens affaires, both priuat, and publike: whereto is also to be added, the consideration of that which I haue also treated in this second part, concerning the end and cheefe good of common welth, which I haue proued to consist in mans vnion with God, by the meanes of religion.

This being so, were it not absurd to thinke, that religious life, which doth speciallie vnite man with God, can be damageable to man, or common wealth, which depend on the will and prouidence of God? I haue declared before, that religious perfection is so contrarie to mā's sensual and corrupt nature, that it is not possible, that anie man, and much more manie men, should arriue vnto it, without Gods special vocation, and assistance. Can therefore anie man with reason imagin, that God should be so contrarie to himselfe, as hauing a care to maintaine and conserue common wealths, hee would cause and moue men to religious life, if the same were hurtfull and preiudiciall to common wealth? This cannot be imagined of the goodnes of almightie God, of whome it were extreame folly, and impietie to thinke, that he will suffer that state to perish, which flourisheth in perfection of christian religion, and is thereby most acceptable, and deare vnto him, and most vnto him, and most vnto him,

4 Yea, but say the Politiques, if all men should be religious, how could common welth stand? Whereto I answer with the common prouerbe. *If the sky fall we shall ketch larkes.* As though there were anie danger, that either all men, or most men, will be religious? Therefore

S. Hieron said wel to Iouinian. *Noli metuerne ne omnes virgines fiant, difficilis* S. Hieron cō. tra Iouin. li. 1. post medi-

est virginitas, & idio rara, quia difficilis. Feare not that all will be virgins, or line continent, virginitie is a hard and difficult thinge, and therefore rare because it is difficult. And S. Ambrose saith to the same purpose: *Non ullos dixisse au-* S. Ambros. li. 3 de virgin. ante me-

diu &c. I haue heard manie say, that by religious life, the world goeth to wrack, kind decayeth, and mariage is ouerthrowne. But I aske, who euer sought for a

wife and could find none? And againe, if anie man, saith he, doth thinke that idem ibid.
mankind is diminished by the consecration, or profession of virgins, let him consider,
that where there are few virgins, there are also few men, and where there is more
frequent profession of virginitie, there is also great number of men. Thus saith
 these learned & holie Fathers, taxing the needlesse feare, & idle doubts,
 that worldlinges cast of the decay of the world by religious perfectiō,
 as though almightie God, who both gouerneth the whole world by
 his prouidence, and moueth men to religious life, could not, or would
 not, out of his infinit bountie and goodnes, so accommodate his inspi-

P^a. 13.

tions, to the temporall necessitie of euery common welth, that the same shalbe conserued, and not endammaged thereby, and therefore we may well say with the prophet. *Trepidauerunt timore ubi non erat timor.* They trembled for feare, where there was no cause of feare, where as on the other side, it may be feared, or rather with great reason affirmed, that common welth should receiue farre more damage, by the decay of religious continencie, then by the maintenaunce, and conseruation thereof.

2. Politico. c.
7:

5 For whatsoeuer may be thought, of countries newly inhabited, or false to vtter desolation (where there can be no feare of any immoderate encrease of people for some time) yet in countries already peopled (as all christian countries are) it is euident, that the numerositie of people, if it grow to excesse, is dangerous to the common welth, seeing that thereof may follow, extreame pouerty in very many, and consequently thestes, & robberies, yea seditions, & rebellions, which not only *Aristotle*, but also experience teacheth, to be many times effects of pouertie.

6 And if we consider, what hath followed in our owne country, of the free libertie of marriage in all men without exception, since the suppression of catholike religion, we shall haue litle cause to thinke, that the continencie of religious, and ecclesiasticall men, was euer prejudicial to our common welth, which appeareth sufficiently by the innumerable multitudo of rogues, vagabounds, & idle persons, swarming euery where in *England*, more then euer, to the great detriment of the weale publike, in so much that the gallowes deuowreth more in these our dayes, about *London* only, then it did in times past, throughout all *England*: besides the multitudo of poore people, that load, & ouercharge euery parish, notwithstanding the ordinary remedy of euacuation continually vsed, in sending out infinit numbers to the warres of *Fraunce*, *Ireland*, *Holland*, and voyages by sea, without the which (and the great mortalitie, that hath benne, many times by plagues) it may well be supposed, that the encrease of our people, would haue benne insupportable, and farre exceeded the habilitie of our territorie, to maintaine them.

7 This was very well considered (as it seemeth) by a Burges of the Parliament, in the last Queenes time, who made a motion to the lower house (as I haue hearde) that it might bee enacted (that all the ministers, throughout *England*, shoulde either bee forced to liue single, and continent, or els be made Eunuchs, for that being married, as they are, and not hauing any other maintenaunce, then their bene-

ices (which cannot descend to their children, nor be leaft to their wives) twoo great inconueniences, he said, must needs follow thereon, the one, that they cannot helpe to releue the poore of the parish (as the curats did in Catholike times, and the monasteries much more) and the other that they must needs leaue beehind them, a race of rogues, and beggars, to be susteined by their parishes, to the great greauance thereof, and the generall oppression of the common welth.

8 And although I doe not allow, both the partes of this twoofould proposition, I meane the latter, yet I must needs say, that he had great reason in the former, to witt, that it were good, and necessarie for the common welth, that ministers should be bound to liue single, and continent for the same reasons that he yealded, which were so pregnant, and euident, that they cannot be denied. Where vpon it also followeth, that the chaste and continent life of religious men, neither was in times past, nor could be, any way hurtfull to the common welth, but rather very behoofefull, and profitable thereto, for that the encrease of the people was thereby kept in such moderation, as it neither was redondant to the surcharge, and oppression of the common welth, nor yet defectiue for the due defence thereof, as sufficientlie appeared in all occasions, as well of forraine, as ciuil warres, wherebie it is also euident, how vaine, and friuolous is the doubt, mentioned in the obiection of the wante of souldiars, supposed to ensue of religious life.

9 To this purpose it is also to be considered, that the strength of a country or an army, consisteth not so much in multitudes of men, as in a competent number well disciplined, for did not *Alexander* the great, overthrow *six hundred thousand* men of *Darius*, yea, and conquer a great part of the world, with lesse then forty thousand men? Did not also the Romans propagate, and enlarge their empyre, rather by militarie discipline, then by number of souldiears? And who knoweth not, if he be a soldiear, that when twoo armies meete, of a hundred thousand men a peece, that the battaile is commonlie wonne or lost, before fortie thousand be slaine on both parties? And that great armies, are many times dissipated and defeated, rather by some stratageme, or inuention of warre, then ether by the force, or multitude of men? whereof prooffe hath bene made in sondrie battailes, wherein it hath bene seene, that a handfull of men, in comparison, haue put to flight, infinit thousandes. Al which considered, it must needs be graunted, that the good successe thereof, could not so much depend vpon the

*Machaba. li.
1. ca. 3.*

multitudes of people, as on Gods benediction, and assistaunce, for *Domini custodierit civitatem &c. Except our Lord doe keepe the city, they labour in paine, that defend it.* And as the valiant *Iudas Machabens* said. *Non in multitudine exercitus victoria belli, sed de celo fortitudo est.* The victory in warre, doth not consist in the multitude, or greatenes of the army, but all fortitude, and strenght is from heauen. Where vppon it followeth, that the more that any common welth is vnited with god, by religious perfection, the more victorious, it shalbe in warre, the more prosperous in peace, and the more happy in all occasions.

*S. Greg. li. 7.
Ep. 20. In-
dicit. 1. Ba-
ron. an. 598.*

10 Furthermore it is to be considered, that religious men, are not so wholly exempt from armes, but that they may, and ought in extremities, to vse them for the necessarie defence, of the city, or country where they dwell, as it is manifest by the practise of the church, as well in former times, as in this. *S. Gregory* the greate, gaue order to the bishopps of *Italy*, in time of the *Lumbards* warres, aboute a thousand yeares agoe, to commaund all ecclesiasticall persons, to assist in defence of their citties, and the like was ordained by the late Popes, in the time of the league in *Fraunce*, wherein some cleargie men did notable feates of armes, and amongst others, a *Iesuit* saued the city of *Paris* from surprise, when it was one night assailed on that side where they kept their watch, neere to their owne colledge. So that as in cases of necessitie, they are not debarred from the vse of temporall armes, so also, at other times they vse the spirituall, for the defence, and prosperitie of the common wealth, appeasing with their penance, and prayers the wrath of God, which otherwise might destroy, or seuerely punish the same, for the sinnes of men.

*S. Bern. ser.
breues. Ser.
63.*

11 Here vppon *S. Bernard* saith of religious men, that *ipsi pro toto ecclesie corpore viri. tam viuis, quam mortuis, orare sunt constituti.* They are ordained to pray, for the whole body of the church, as well the liuing, as the dead.

*Obiit an.
372.*

*S. Hieron. in
vita S. Hila-
rionis ali-
quantulum
postmedium.*

12 The truth of this may appeare, by many notable examples, which occurre in all histories, and times, of singular benefits donne to citties, countries, princes, and their states, by the merits and prayers of religious men, whereof I will alleadge some in diuers ages.

13 *S. Hilarion*, the holly Abbot, discipule to *S. Antony*, obtained of almighty God, abundaunce of raine, for the remedie of an extreame drought, which followed presentlie vppon *S. Antonies* death, and continued for three yeares together, in the countries adioining to the deserts of *Egypt*, where also infinit number of people, as *S. Hierome* witnesseth, being stroken, or bitten by venemous serpents, were cured by him

him with holly oile, which he gaue them to apply to their woundes.
 He deliuered also the city of *Epidaurus*, in *Dalmatia*, from a mon-
 strous serpent called *Boa*, so huge, that he deuoured, and swallowed vp
 both men, and beastes; which he drew to him, with the violent force
 of his breath, but the holly man hauing caused a great pile, and heape
 of woode to be laid together, forced the serpent by his prayers, to
 come forth in presence of the people, and to clime vppon it, and to
 remaine there vntill fire was put vnder him, and he burned.

Also the same city of *Epidaurus*, being in extreame danger of a
 deluge, by a terrible inundation of the sea, was most miraculously
 deliuered by him. For the people, seeing the sea swell in such horrible
 manner, that mountaines of waues came rowling vppon the city,
 they had such a confidence in his prayers, that they tooke him by force,
 and sett him on the shore, and after that he had made the signe of
 the crosse thrise in the sand, and stretched out his hands against the
 waues, it is incredible, saith *S. Hierome*, to what a height the sea swelled, and
 standing vp before him, and as it were raging for the opposition which
 he made against it, vntill at length it retired it selfe. *Hoc* (saith he) *Epi-*
daurus, & omnis illa regio, &c. Thus the city of Epidaurus, and all the country
do testifie vntill this day, and the mothers doe teach it to their children, to the
end, it may be recommended to the memory of all posterity. Thus writeth *S. Hier-*
ome, who liued in the same age, and was borne in the same country of
Dalmatia, where this happened.

The worthy and religious Emperour *Theodosius*, surnamed the
 the Great, obtained a notable, and miraculous victorie, against his eni-
 mies, by the prayers and merits of a holly Monk, called *Senuphius*,
 whose staffe and scapular, he carried himselfe in the battaile, and so
 notorious was the miracle, that there was a feast, solemnized yearly,
 a long time after in *Alexandria*, in memorie of it. Besides that, there
 was also a statua, or image of *Theodosius* erected there, expressing the
 manner how he carried the staffe of *Senuphius* in his hand, and his sca-
 pular vppon his head in the battaile.

Mascezil hauing but *five thousand* men, and being accompanied,
 and assisted by the prayers of the holly Monks of the Iland of *Capra-*
ria, ouerthrew his brother *Gildo*, the Tyrant of *Africk*, who had in his
 army, *seauenty thousand* souldiars, but afterwards forsaking the com-
 pany, and counsell of those holly men, by whose meanes he had obtai-
 ned that notable victorie, he fell to ruine, as testifieth *Orosius*, who liued
 in the same age.

A *Kericus*, or *Cipriacus*, a captaine of *Iustinian* the Emperour, obtai-
 ned

Idem. ibid.
circa finem.

Glicas An-
nal. par. 4.
Metaphra-
ses die 31.
lanuarij. Ex-
ron. an. 388.

An. 398.
Orosius li. 7.
c. 36. Eron.
an. 398.
a An. 527.
Ciril. in vi-
ta B. Theo-
dos. To. 7.
an. 527.

ned a great victory against the *Perfrans*, by the praier and miraculous assistance, of *S. Theodosius* the Abbot, as witnesseth *S. Ciril* in the life of *S. Theodosius*.

b *S. Greg. li. 19.* S. b *Gregory*, attributeth the deliuerie of *Rome*, from the seige & sack
6. ep. 23. in- of the *Lumbards*, to the holie life, merits, & intercession of three thousand
dict. 15. religious women, which were then maintained in the cittie,
Baron. an. 20 S. c *Theodorus Sicaota* an abbot, deliuered the people of *Hierusalem*,
396. from a great drought by his praier, & the country of *Caria*, from the
c *Obijt. an.* inundation of the riuer *Copas*, by setting in the shoare a crosse, which
613. afterwarde it neuer passed.

Surius. To 2. 21 S. d *Nicon* hauing liued twelue years in religion, & being then sent by
Baron. an. his abbot to conuert nations, deliuered the cittie of *Lacedamon*, from a
603. great plague by his praier.
d *An. 982.*

Baron. eodē. Duke e *Ranulph*, hauing obtained a great victorie against *Roger*
an. & an. 22 king of *Sicily*, attributed it whollie to the merits and praier of *S. Bernar*
961. To. 10. d then liuing, and therefore meeting with a monke of his order, as
c Circa an. he was in pursuit of his enemies, he fell at his feet.
113. *Surius li.*

2. ca. 7. To. 23 Henrie f the second, king of *England*, ascribeth his escape from
4. & in vita d drowning in the sea, to the merits and praier of *S. Hugh*; to whom
S. Bernar. l. he recommended himselfe, though he was then liuing, and prior of the
2. c. 7. *Carthusians*, but afterwarde bishop of *Lincolne*.
f *Obijt an.* 1189. *Sur. to.*

6. ca. 7. in vi- 24 S. g *Frauncis*, deliuered the cittie of *Aretium*, from a perillous sedi-
ta S. Hugo- tion, by commaunding the diuels, which caused it, to depart from
nie. thence, as witnesseth *S. Bonauenture* in the life of *S. Francis*.

g *Obijt an.* 25 Also about the same time, s. h *Clare* the holie virgin, deliuerd
1226. *Sur.* the cittie of *Assiso*, from the sack and spoyle, of a great armie of the
To. 5. in vita Emperour *Frederick Barbarossa*, conducted by *Vitalis de Auersa*, who had

S. Fran. h *Obijt an.* sworne, that hee would neuer, raise his seige, vntill hee had taken it,
1153. S. An- and when it was brought to such extremitie, that it could no longer
tonin. in hist. resist the enemy, *S. Clare* being then prioresse of a monasterie there,

par. 3. tit. 24. assembled all her religious sisters, and caused them to ioyne with her
ca. 6. *Sur. 12.* in extraordinarie praier and penance, and so acceptable were their
August. hollie indeuours to almightie God, that the verie next night, the
armie of *Vitalis* was suddenlie dissolued, and hee forced to depart
thence.

26 S. i *Albertus* a *Carmelit* Frier, miraculously deliuered *Messina*,
i *Obijt an.* stronglie besieged by *Roger* king of *Naples*, from an extreame, and re-
1292. mediles famin, by three shippes furnished with prouision, which vpon

Surius To. a sudden appeared in the hauen, and could not by anie human meanes
4. 7. *August.* arriue thither, which benifit the king, and people of *Messina*, attributed
fii. to

the merits and prayers of *s. Albertus*.

k s. Vincentius Ferrerius, of *s. Dominicks* order, droue away a horrible storme in *Catalynia*, with the signe of the crosse, obtained raine in an extreame drought in *Carcaffona* in *Fraunce*: and with holly water, and singing holy himmes, destroyed innumerable vermin, which wasted and ruined the fieldes, and vine yards, at *Murisa* in *spaine*.

Many more examples might be added in this kind, of temporall blessings, bestowed by almightie God vpon countries, and states, through the merits, & intercession of religious men, which I willingly pretermitt, to say somewhat of farre greater benefits, I meane spirituall, and such as are most notorious, and euident to the world, to wit, the conuersion of nations to the christian faith, by the holly labours of religious men, which I will breefelie touch, for the satisfaction of the vnlearned, who doe not vnderstand the latine tongue, for that the learned, either are not ignorant of it, or at least may see plainly laid downe, by *1 Father Platus* of the focietie of *Iesus* in his booke, *de bono statum religiosi*, and by *Bozius*, *de signis ecclesiae*.

m s. Remigius, who was first a Monke from his childhood, and after bishop of *Rhemes* in *Fraunce*, conuerted king *Clodoue*, and all the French nation, from Paganisme to the faith of Christ, about the yeare of our Lord, *sine hundredeth*, and *thirtie*, and about the same time, or within some yeares after, *n s. Martin*, first a Monk, and after bishop, conuerted the *Suenians*, from the *Arrian* heresie, to the Catholike faith.

o s. Augustin, with *Four* other religious men, sent by *s. Gregory* the Pope (who was also religious, before he was Pope) conuerted king *Etihelbert* in *England*, and his subiects in *Kent*, to the Christian faith. And not long after, *Lambert p* of *Liege*, a religious man, conuerted also a part of *Germany*.

q s. VVilfrid, *s. VVillibrod*, *s. swibert*, and *s. Boniface*, all of them english men, and religious by profession, though afterwards bishops, sowed the holy seede of christian religion, in the higher and lower *Germanie*, as *s. VVilfrid* first, and after *s. VVillibrod* in *Holland*, and *Engeland*, *s. Guibert* in *Saxony*, *s. Boniface* in *Thuringia*, *Hassia*, and in diuers other partes of *Germany*, in so much that he is euen vntill this day, accounted by the *Germans* their Apostle, being made bishop of *Mentz*, by Pope *Gregorie* the second, and afterwards martyred.

r Vilecardus, *r Ludgerus*, and *Ansgarus*, all three religious in *Fraunce*, conuerted also an infinit number of Infidells, to the christian faith,

k Obiit an. 1418. Petrus Ransanus in vita s. Vincentij li. 3.

l Platus de bono statum religiosi. l. 2. c. 30.

l P. Platus de bono stat. religiosi li. 2. ca. 30.

Bozius de sig. Eccle. li. 4. fig. 6. m Baro. an. 439. n Baro. an. 560.

o Baro. an. 596. p Platus ubi supra.

q Ibidem & Bozius ubi supra. An. 683. Baro. an. 723.

r P. Platus ubi supra.

Circa an. 800. *f* Bozims ubi *supra.* faith, the twoo first in *Franconia* in *Germany*, the third in *Denmarke*, *Suethland*, *Gothland*, and *Grouland*, and an other religious man, called *f* *Steuens*, succeding *Ansgarins*, in his labours in *Suethland*, and the countries adjoining, conuerted all the prouince of *Helinga*, though he was martired in the end.

t *P. Plat.* 33 *ibid.* *Albus* t the Abbot of *Fleuri* in *Fraunce*, was also martired in preaching the faith of *Christ* to the *Gascons*, after that he had conuerted very many of them.

Circa an. 970. *u* *Circa an.* 980. *Idem ibid.* 34 *Adalbertus* u first bishop of *Prague*, and afterwards a professed Monke of *S. Benits* order, in the monasterie of *Casinum* in *Italy*, went together with his brother *Gaudentius* (who was also a monke) into *Pannonia*, now called *Hungary*, and brought all that nation (then most barbarous) to the fould of *Christs* church, and from thence went to preach to the *Sarmatians*, *Russians*, *Lituanians*, *Moscovits*, *Prussians*, and speciallie to the *Polonians*, whose king *Boleslaus* they made christian, though afterwards, *Adalbertus* was martired in *Prussia*.

x *Circa an.* 1025. *Platus li. 2.* 35 *Bruno*, x sonne to *Lotarius* duke of *Saxony*, professing religion in *Rome*, was sent by Pope *Iohn*, the Nineteenth of that name, into *Russia*, where hauing gained many to the christian faith, he was crowned with martirdome: though not long after, an other religious man called *Bonifacius*, discipule of *S. Remoaldus*, conuerted the king of *Russia*, and all that nation, excepting only the kinges brother, who caused the said *Bonifacius* to be cruellie murdered, or rather martyred..

y *Circa an.* 1125. *Idem ibid.* 36 *Orho*, y being sent by Pope *Calixtus* the second, from a monasterie in *Germany* (where he professed religious life) into *Pomerania*, baptized *warceslaus* the prince thereof, and his subiects. And within a while after, an other religious man, called *Vicelinus*, went with foure companions from *Fraunce*, to preach the christian faith to the *Vandals*, whom after thirty yeares continuall labour, they conuerted, and founded amongst them many notable monasteries.

z *An.* 1245. *Ibidem.* 37 Also in the age following the holly orders of *z* *S. Francis*, and *S. Dominicke*, being instituted, Pope *Innocentius* the fourth, sent certaine *Franciscans*, into some parte of *Tartary*, where they planted the christian faith, and after some yeares, built many churches, and monasteries there.

Circa an. Do. 1247. *Ibidem.* 38 About the same time, *Ascelinus* a *Dominican*, was also employed with others of his order, by the said Pope *Innocentius*, in the conversion of the *Tartars*, though with no other fruite at the first, but their owne meritorious labours, yet the mission being afterwards continued in those partes, an infinit number of people was conuerted, and christened.

med, amongst whom no light nor knowledge of Christ had bene before, and that with so great fruite, as it is written, that the soules converted by them to the faith, could not be numbred, especiallie amongst the *Cumans*, wherupō the superior there, writing to the general (which letters are yet extant) declareth, that many thousands of men, not only of the comon people, but also of the nobilitie, receiued Baptisme.

39 In the age ensuing, to witt the yeare of our Lord *a thousand three hundred forty one*, other missions were made of the *Franciscans*, into those partes, by Pope *Benedict* the tenth, who sent two of that order, as his Apostolicall legats, to the Emperour of *Tartary*, with whose licence, they greatly propagated the christian faith in those countries, & about the same time, a great learned man of the same order, called *Gonsalus Sauratus*, was sent into *Armenia*, as also an other called *Paschalis* in to *Medu*, and *Gentilis* into *Persia*, where they laboured many yeares, and wanne many soules to God, though not with such publike, and general fruite, as in other partes. Plinius ibid.

40 About these times also, an other *Franciscan*, called *Odoricus Forolusien-* Circa an. 1370.
sic, being sent into the East, & South partes, amongst the Infidels, baptized *twenty thousand* soules. Ibidem.

41 Also the king of *Hungary*, hauing subdued certaine nations of the Infidels, adioyning *eight Fraciscas*, were sent vnto him at his request, & in a few dayes, couerted *two hundred thousand* to the faith of Christ, where vpon the said king, sent for *two thousand* more of the same order, & the Ibidem.
general that then was, wrote publike letters (which are yet extant) to al his order, encouraging them to vndertake that glorious enterprife.

42 In the next age, to witt, about the yeare of our Lord, *a thousand* Circa an. 1450.
four hundred and fiftie, *Iohannes Capistranus* a *Franciscan*, in one voyage Ibidem.
which he made amongst the Infidells, baptized *12000.* and reconciled also many schismatikes vnto the church, in the same iourney.

43 Afterwards in the same age, the *Franciscans*, not only assisted *Christopher Columbus*, in his suite to *Ferdinand*, the Catholike kinge of *Spaine*, by whose meanes he was sent in the discouery of the west *India*, An. 1493.
but also some of the same order, presentlie went thither themselves, to preach the christian faith. And about the same time, away being also opened in to the east *India*, by *Vasco Gama*, eight of the same order, men excelling in learning and pietie, were sent thither, who multiplied their owne order there in such fort, that their Couents were distributed into *thirteen* prouinces.

44 About the same time, to wit, the yeare of our Lord, *a thousand five hundred*, the *Dominicans* were also employed into those countries, & after Ibidem.

them the *Augustins*, where they haue had euer since a glorious harvest, with great fruit and profit of soules, and amplification of the christian religion.

45 Lastly the society of *Iesus*, being instituted about the yeare of our Lord, one thousand five hundredeth, and fortie, was sent shortly after to the East, and West India, where they gained infinit soules to God, and especially in the East, whither they went in the yeare, a thousand, five hundredeth, forty and one, vnder the conduict of the famous, and holly Father B. *Francisco Zauerio*, of whom I haue spoken before, as also of his glorious labours in spreading the gospell, and faith of Christ in *Capo de Camorin* (where he built about forty churches) in *Matane* (where he baptized two kinges, and a great number of their subiects) in *Malaca*, in the Ilandes of *Molucche* and *Moro*, and lastly in *Giapone*, in all which places, he exceedinglie dilated, and propagated the christian faith, which hath also benne much encreased there, and daily is, by the Fathers of the same societie, especiallie in the threescore kingdomes of *Giapone*, where the harvest, and labour, hath hether to benne only theirs. Whereto I may also add, for Gods greater glory, that whereas it seemed in times past, that there was no hope of access or possible meanes, for the preaching of the christian faith, in the ample and rich kingdome of *China* (by reason of certaine penall, and capitall lawes, forbidding the entraunce thereof to all strangers) the Fathers of the societie, haue neuertheles, not only opened the passage thither, but also planted themselves in diuers partes thereof, and in the principal citie called *Pachin*, where the kinges court resideth, where they haue also by his licence erected a colledge, as also many more in diuers other parts of his dominions.

46 Thus then thou seest, good Reader, how inestimable is the benefit, that the whole world hath receiued by religious men, no lesse in this very age, then in former times, seeing that they haue benne for so many hundredeth of yeares, and still are, the speciall instruments, and meanes, to promulgate the law, and faith of Christ to the world, for the saluation of man: wherebie it well appeareth, how worthwhile s. *Christostome* calleth them. *Luminaria mundi. The lights of the world.* And how truly also *Eusebins* saith, that they are consecrated to God: *in vniuersu genere.* For all mankind.

47 And therefore I cannot omit here by the way, to desire thee to reflect some what seriously vppon this point, and well to ponder two things. The one, what an euident testimonie this is, not only of the great worth, and merit of religious profession, but also of the veritie

An. 1540.

Ibidem.

Bozcius ubi

supra. an.

1541.

Horatius

Tursellinus

in vita B.

Xauerij li. 1.

ca. 13.

d Chap. 27.

Nu. 37.

Obiit an.

1552.

S. Christost.

hom. 56. ad

populum an-

tiochen. de

monachor.

vita.

Euseb. li. 1. de

demonstra.

aa. 3.

of Catholike religion, which admiteth and teacheth it, seeing that
it redoundeth thereof, so great glory to almighty God, and such
honorable fruit to the whole world, as hath here benne declared.

The other is, to consider, what benefit the world hath reaped, or
may reape, by our aduersaries in this kind, I meane what nations they
haue conuerted from Infidelitie, to the faith of Christ, or what ende-
uours, or yet good will, they haue shewed thereto, yea, or how it can
stand with their profession to doe it, seeing they haue no exercise of
the Euangelicall counsells (to wit of voluntarie pouertie, chastitie, and
abnegation of themselues) but reiect them, partly as superstitious, tem-
erarious, and a tempring of God, and partly as impossible (as I haue
signified before) wherebie they vtterlie exclude themselues, from all
practise of Apostolicall preaching, for the conuersion of Infidells.

For he that is charged, and burdened with wife and children, and
will be sure of his, and their prouision, before he stir his foote, how
can he vndertake such long and dangerous voyages, and wholly depend
vpon Gods prouidence, as the Apostles did, in forsaking all to followe
him, and as our religious still doe, and all others must doe, who meane
to vndertake that heroicall labour?

This certainly is the worke of God in ours, & performed by him
in most strange and admirable manner, that is to say, to confound the
stronge by the weake, and to reduce all the strenght, power, and wise-
dome of the world, to his subiection, and obedience, not by force of
armes, and powerfull meanes, but by infirmities, and supposed folly,
I meane by such instruments, and ministers, as being feble, weake, and
simple in the sight of men, and yet practising the perfection of that
which they preached, should not only perswade men the possibilitie
of his law, but also induce them to the obedience of it by their exam-
ple. For otherwaise, who would not haue expected, that those which
preached, this strange, and rigorous law, should first practise it them-
selues? Can he be fitt to perswade men to contemne riches, who wal-
loweth in wealth, and will himselfe endure no want? And he that can-
not liue without a wife, and pampereth himselfe in ease, and pleasure,
can he induce men to repress concupiscence, or to *guelde themselves*, as
our Sauour, counselled, for the Kingdome of heauen, or to mortifie
their owne passions, and affections for the loue of God? Would not
every man deride such a preacher, and bid him first practise his owne
doctrine, and then preach it to others? And therefore I say, our Sauour
ordaining the publication of his law throughout the world, both
taught, and taught the obseruation of the Euangelicall counsells, as

a special meanes to effect, and accomplish it: whereof we haue also hitherto seene the admirable effect and experience, in the conuersion of all nations, to the christian faith, by the Apostles, their disciples, and lastly by religious men, all of them obseruinge the Euangelical counsells. Where vppon I conclude, that our aduersaries, hauing no practise thereof at all, can neither conuert Infidells in forreine nations, or yet arriue to any perfection of vertue at home, and much lesse induce others thereto, either by their example or instruction, as shall further appeare in the next chapter.

51 But to returne to our question, concerning the notable fruite of religious perfection in common welth, what greater testimonie can be giuen thereof, then that the most prudent, valiant, and vertuous Emperours, Kinges, and Princes that euer were (whom it behoued to haue care, as well of their state, as of religion) haue alwayes so greatly reuerenced, religious persons, and so highly respected them for their holy merits?

Bar. an. 388.
Glicas An.
nal. par. 4.
Metaphras.
die 31. Ian.
Baron. an.
602.

52 This is manifest in *Theodosius* the great, who laboured very much to haue *Senuphina*, a holly Monke, present with him in the battaile, which he was to fight with *Maximus* the Tyrant, for the great confidence he had in his prayers, and obtained a miraculous victory, by hauing only his staffe, and his scapular, as I haue declared before. *Mauritius* the Emperour, being in distresse, and affliction of mind, wrote to all the monasteries in the East part, as farre as *Hierusalem*, to be releued by their prayers, as I will further declared hereafter.

Baron. an.
1007.

53 *Henry*, the first Emperour of that name (who was no lesse renowned for his prowes, and valour, then for his piety, and holly life, for the which he was after canonized:) so much honored, *S. Romoaldus* the Abbot, both aliue, and dead, that he helped to carry his body vppon his shoulders to his buriall, as I haue signified before vppon an other occasion.

Beda l. 3. Hi.
stor. c. 24.

54 *Oswy* king of *Northumberland*, in the time of our *Saxon* kinges (shortly after the conuersion of that part of *England*, to the christian faith) shewed the great estimation he had of religious men, and their profession, by a vow which he made to build a monasterie, and to dedicat his daughter to religious life, if he ouerthrew *Penda* king of the *Mercians*, which he performed afterwards, as shall further appeare after a while.

Chap. 28.
an. 25. c. 26

55 And the like may iustly be said, not only of those worthy Emperours, Kinges, and Princes, who became religious men (of whome I haue named many in the twenty eight chapter, and amongst the rest

eight or nine in our owne country:) but also of an infinit number of others, who haue erected, and built monasteries, endowed them with ample possessions, and honoured them with great immunities prerogatives, and priuiledges, whereof we haue also many domestically examples, and those so notorious, that I shall not neede to borrow any from abroad, seeing that no man can be ignorant (if he haue read our chronicles) that the most worthy, and famous kings, that euer wee had, either before the conquest, or since (from the first conuersion of the Saxons, and English, to the christian faith) haue benne founders of monasteries, and especiall patrons of religious men.

66 The first Christian English king *Ethelbert*, being conuerted, and baptised by *S. Augustin* the monke, and other religious men his companions, erected a monasterie, which he dedicated to *S. Peter* and *S. Paul* in *Canturbury*, and gaue it great possessions, as appeareth by his owne letters patents, or Charter, wherein he testified, that he did it with the consent of the venerable Archbishop *Augustin*, and of his princes. a He also founded an other monasterie in the Ile of *Ely*, which he did dedicat to our blessed Lady. b And shortly after, or at the same time, *Seibert*, king of the *East Saxons* (who was baptised by *Melith*, companion to *S. Augustin* aforesaid) built the famous monasterie of *westminster*.

67 A few yeares after, to wit, about the yeare of our Lord, *six hundred thirty*, *Sigebertus*, king of the *East Angles* (who first planted learning in the famous vniuersity of *Cambridge*) so much honoured, & esteemed monastical, & religious life, that he built a monastery for himselfe, where he became religious, leauing his kingdome to his cosen *Egriick*.

68 In the same age also, king *Ethelwald*, sonne to *S. Osuald* king of *Circan* *Northumberland* (where the faith of Christ was then newly receiued) gaue landes to the holly bishop *S. Ced*, to erect a monasterie there, firstly beleeuinge, that he should be much helped, and assisted by the prayers of those, who were to serue God there, for so faith, our venerable countriman, *S. Bede*, who wrote almost nine hundred yeares agoe.

69 Within a while after, *Egbert*, king of *Kent*, built a monasterie of Nunnes in the Ile of *Tener*.

70 In like manner *Genoualchini* (or as *William* of *Malmesbury* callerh him, *Chenemallus*) king of the *west Saxons*, about the same time, built a most famous monastery, at *Winchester*, & endowed it with all the landes, that were within *seauen* miles compasse of it, and shortly after, a notable monasterie of Nunnes was founded at *Wirby* by *Oswo* king of *Northumberland*, in discharge of the vow, which he made to God before his

An. 603.

Guliel. Spina de Abbat. canobij S. Aug. vide Harpsfield in histo. eccl. seculo. 7. ca. 9.

a *Polidorus Virg. lib. 4. Angli. hist.*

b *Idem ibid. Harpsfield.*

c *Beda li. 3. hist. c. 18. an. 63.*

d *Circan.*

d *S. Bede hist. eccles. li. 3. ca. 23.*

e *Circan an. 655. vide Harpsfield.*

f *Circan an. 660. Raulul. li. 5. ca. 13. vi. de Harpsfield ubi supra.*

Circan an. 664.

S. Beda li. 3. ca. 24.

battle, with kinge *Penda*, whereof I haue spoken before, and in the same monasterie, he placed his daughter *Eldfred*, to be brought up in religious disciplin, as he had also vowed.

h an. 693.
Guliel. Mäl-
mesb. de pon-
tific.

i an. 705.
Id. m de reg.
Harpsf. socm.
8. c. 23.

61 h *Cissa* (who as some write, was Father to *Inas*, king of the west Saxons, and built the city of *Chichester*) founded the Abbay of *Abington* in the same age.

62 In the age following (to wit about the yeare of our Lord *Seauen hundred and five*) *Ethelred*, king of the *Mercians* (who inhabited the middle part of *England*) built a monastery, at a place called *Bardone*, and resigning his kingdome to his nephew *Chenred*, professed himselfe religious in the same monasterie, and was afterwards Abbot thereof.

k ex Chron.

Onuphrij

Ioan. Cap-

grauē Har-

psf. sec. 8. c.

8. Polli. 4.

l an. 740.

Polid. l. bid.

m an. 770.

Polid. l. 4.

An. 775.

63 And within *Five*, or *six* yeares after, not only his sonne *Chenred*, but also k *Offa*, king of the *East Angles*, gaue great possessions to the Abbay of *Esam*, and afterwards went both of them to *Rome* to Pope *Constantin*, and entred into religion.

64 The valiant, and Pious *Inas*, king of the west Saxons, in the same age, built the famous Abbay of *Glastonbury*, gaue landes to the Abbay of *Abington*, went to *Rome*, and made his kingdome tributarie to the sea Apostolike.

n An. 810.

Polid. li. 4.

65 And in that age also, m *Offa* king of the *Mercians*, founded an Abbay at *S. Albans*, in honour of our first martyr, *S. Alban*, and an other at *Bath*: he went also to *Rome*, and made his kingdome tributarie to Pope *Hadrian* the first.

66 *Chenulphus* a king also of the *Mercians*, in the age followinge, built the Abbay of *Wimchelcomb*, about the yeare of our Lord *Eight hundred* and *tenne*.

o An. 893.

p Apul. Po-

lido. in

Chron. l. 5.

67 In the same age, the noble, and worthy *Alured*, king of the *Mercians* (who by the perswasion of *Neotus* Abbot of *Glastonbury*, did institute our famous vniuersitie of *Oxford*) founded three monasteries, one at *Winchester* (by the aduise of a holly french monke, called p *Grimbald*, (whose counsaile he vsed in all his affaires) an other for Nunnes at *Shafsbury*, whereof his daughter *Elfgina* was afterwards Abbess) and the third at a place called *Athelne*, or *Ethelinge*.

q An. 939.

Polid. l. 6.

r An. 964.

Guliel. Mäl-

mesb. li. 2. ca.

9. Marian.

in chron.

68 His grandchild q *Adelstan* (who was the first of all our English kinges, that was monarke of all the *Iland of Britanny*) builded two monasteries in the age following (about the yeare *Nine hundred thirty nyne*) the one at *Melton*, and the other at *Michilney*.

69 King r *Edgar*, who for his great valour, and vertue was not only called *Honor, & delicia Anglorum*, the honour, and delight or darling of

England, but was also greatlie honored, and esteemed by forreine nations, founded three monasteries in the same age, one at *Wilton* (where of his owne daughter *Edith* was Abbess) another at *Ramsay*, and the third at a place called *Faruell*.

Canutus king of England, Denmarke, and Norway, reedified the famous monasterie of *S. Edmund*, at *Edmundsbury*, being decayed, & both gave vnto it great landes, and possessions, and also honoured it with many priuiledges, and immunities.

The like did also the holly king, *u. S. Edward* the confessor, to the Abbay of *Westminster*, which in time of the Danish warres, had benne defaced, and almost vtterly ruined, and he not only repaired and amplified it with sumptuous buildinges (and namely with that magnifick church which yet standeth) but also procured a cōfirmation from the sea Apostolike, of certaine priuiledges which he gaue vnto it, and a decree, that the custome of crowninge, and anointing the kinges of England in that Abbay, should be perpetuall.

And forasmuch, as I haue sufficientlie shewed, the great sanctity and hollines of this king, in the *three, and twentieth* chapter, and also how the same was testified, and manifested to the world by almightie God, with many notable miracles, both in his life time, and after his death (whereof not only all our histories, but also the publike iudgement of the church in his canonization giueth sufficient testimonie) I will therefore speake no further thereof in this place, but only note by the way for a speciall argument, of the great merit of monasticall, and religious life, that such holly kinges, as this, and diuers others named before (who were great seruantes of God, and honoured as saintes by all the christian world) haue benne founders of monasteries, and principall patrons of religious men.

But to conclude this point, concerning the opinion of kinges, and Princes, seeing I haue now already deduced the former examples, from our first christian English kinges, to the time of *William the conqueror*.

(who also founded three Abbayes, one in *Kent* called *Barraille Abbay*, another in the suburbs of *London*, and the third at *Cane* in *Normandy*)

I should be ouer tedious, if I should prosecute the same in like manner through the ensuing ages (especiallie seeing there is much lesse doubt thereof, then of the former times) and therefore I will end, with one of our kinges since the conquest, who was no lesse victorious, then wise, and vertuous, I meane *Henry the first*, who (as *Polidor* well noreth in the beginning of his life) knowing right well, that all things are gouerned, and guided by the prouidence of God,

and

f Vide Harpsfield. fecm.

10. c. 8.

t Circa an.

1030.

Harpsf. sec.

11. ca. 17.

u Circa an.

1063.

Ibid. ca. 16.

Barro. an.

1060.

An. 1087.

Epito.

Chronic.

apud Polid.

Polid. in

Chro. l. 22.

and that all humane power is to no purpose, be it neuer so great, if it be not supported and strengthened by the deuine, beganne his gouernment, with the erection of twoo famous monasteries, neere to Richmond, the one called *Bethlem*, and the other *Sion*, placing in the former the holy Chartrouse Monkes, and in the latter, the religious sisters of *S. Brigits* order, of both which orders, and monasteries, I haue spoken before in the *sixe and twenty* chapter, as also of the succession thereof, still remaining vntill this day, in twoo notable Couents of our countrefolkes, in *Flaunders*, and *Portrugall*.

74 And one speciall reason which, besides the great merits of those twoo holly orders, moued that wise, and vertuous king, to make choi- ce of them to people his twoo new monasteries, was (no doubt) that hauing learned out of our holly scriptures, that *multum ualet assidue oratio iusti*, the continuall prayer of the iust is of great valem, and force, in the sight of God, he perswaded himselfe, that his prudence, and prowes being assisted with the continuall prayers, and merits of those great seruants of God, would produce no lesse notable effects in his gouernment, and state, then were after seene by experience, it being most euident, that he was not only most vertuous, and pious, but also one of the most victorious princes, that *England* euer had, as appeared by his famous battailes, and victories in *France*, where he was crowned king of that realme in *Paris*, and after wardes least the possession of the greatest part thereof to his sonne, and the title of the whole to his posteritie.

75 And this shall suffice, concerning the reuerent respect, that christian kinges, and princes (especiallie ours) haue euer borne to monasticall, and religious profession. Whereby two things euidentlie appeare, the one, what opinion, and beleefe these princes had, of the benefit, that they and their states reaped, by the prayers, merits, and holly labours, of religious men. The other, that they sucked (as I may say) the same beleife, euen with the milke of christian religion, as appeareth not only in *Constantin*, the first christian Emperour, and his successors in the Empire, but also in our first christian English king *Ethelbert*, and others that liued in the same age, or haue since succeeded them in our country, vntill king *Henry the eight*, father to the late *Queene Elizabeth*.

76 And although I haue made no mention here, of the christian kinges in *Brittany*, before the entrance of the *Saxons* and *English*, yet who soeuer shall consider, what a famous monasterie the *Britans* had in *Bangor*, wherein there were two thousand monkes, at the entrance of *S.*

Beda in *Histor. Anglic.*
l. 2. c. 2.

Abingdon, and an other also in *Abington*, where, as some write, were
 monasteries about five hundred monkes (of whom sixty liued retired
 in the monasterie, and the rest got their liuinge abroad by their la-
 bour, in the woods, and deserts adjoining; and repaired to the mona-
 stery every Sunday) whosoever I say shall consider this, must needs co-
 gneue, that these so populous monasteries, either were founded, and
 erected by the ancient British kinges, or at least amplified, enriched, &
 patronized by them: which would be as easely proued, as the former,
 if the ancient histories, and monuments of those ages were extant,
 which perished, no doubt, with the whole state of *Brittany*, in the cruel
 waies, and conquest made by the *Saxons*: so that in this also, our ad-
 uersaries may note, a most manifest argument, not only of the anti-
 quitie, and merit of religious life, but also of the great estimation, that
 our British kinges had thereof.

77 But what doubt can be made of the benefit, that redoundeth to
 princes states, by the prayers of religious men, seeing that it is eu-
 ident in the holly scriptures, that almightie God preserueth whole ci-
 ties, prouinces, and states, sometimes for the regard he hath, to the in-
 tercession, and merits of some one man, which he signified euidentlie
 by the prophet *Ezechiel* when he said of the *Iewes*. *Quæsi de eis virum,*
&c. I sought for some man amongst them, who might put himselfe betweene
them, and me like a hedge, and stand opposit against me for the earth, to the end
I might not destroy it, and I found none, &c. I powred my indignation vpon the &c.

78 Thus said almighty god by the prophet, and the like he signified,
 when being moued with iust indignation against the *Iewes*, & ready to
 destroy them for their wickednes, he not only pardoned them diuersti-
 mes at the intercession of *Moses*, but also said once vnto him. *Dimitte me,*
ne ualcat furor meus &c. suffer me, or let me doe my will, that I may extend my
wrath against them, and I will make thee prince of a great nation. And when
Moses, neuertheles persisted to pray for them, *placatus est dominus, saith*
the scripture, ne faceret malum, quod locutus est contra populum suum. Our Lord
was appeased, or diuerted from executing the punishment, which he had threat-
ned against his people.

79 Lo then, how much almighty God, respecteth good mens prayers,
 seeing that he suffreth his handes, as it were to be bound thereby, and
 holdeth from the execution of his iustice vpon the wicked. To which
 purpose also we read in the scriptures, that if there had benne but
 one iust men in *Sodome*; God would for their sakes, haue spared
 the whole city, not with standing all the abomination thereof, as I
 haue declared in the first part of this treatise, where I also shewed

Harps. Secu.
10. ca. 9. ex
chron. Abin-
donens.

Ezech. 22.

Exod. 32.

Genes. 18.

the notable effects of prayer, for the reliefe of all humane necessities, alleading diuers examples thereof, in matters concerning princes, and their states, which therefore I omit here, and conclude, that hereby is sufficientlie appeareth, what exceeding benefit all common welthe, and states of princes reape, by the prayers of good religious men, besides their other pious labours, whereby they conuert Infidels to the christian faith, and sinners to repentance, inducing wicked men to reforme their manners, no lesse by their holy example, then by their learned sermons, exhortations, and instructions. In which respect, *s. Christostome* in twoo of his homilies to the people, exhorted them most seriouslie, to visit oft times monasteries, and religious houses, and to frequent the company of religious men. *Adi*, saith he, *tales viros &c. Repaire to such men, use their conuersation, goe I say vnto them, and touch their holy feete, multo enim honestius &c.* For it is much more honorable to embrace their feete, then the heades of other men.

S. Christost.
ho 59. ad populum.

80 Thus saith *s. Christostome*, of religious men, in respect of their holy example, and endeouours, whereof the experience is also daily seene, euen vntill this day, in all Catholike countries, where the holly labours of religious men (I meane of those, that are both actiue & contemplatiue) doe tend to nothing els, but to draw euery man to liue in his state, and vocation, according to the perfection of christian religion, which perfection (as I signified before) the more it is practised in common welth, the more it vniteth the same with God, and consequentlie aduanceth it to true felicitie.

81 Thus then wee see, that religious life, is no way hurtfull to common welth, but most profitable, and necessarie thereto, which will yet appeare more manifestlie, by the answere of that other part of the former obiection, which concerneth the lawes of certaine Emperours, and Kinges, preiudiciall to religious profession. I will therefore beginne, with the law of *MAURITIUS* the Emperour.

82 This Emperour ordained, that no souldiar should enter in to religion, except he were lame, or otherwise vnfit for the warre, or els had serued out the time assigned by the law, as is signified before in the obiection, and forasmuch as the holly, and famous Pope, *s. Gregory* the great, who liued in the same time, gaue his opinion amply to the Emperour himselfe, concerning that constitution, it may suffice (in respect of his authoritie and antiquitie) that I lay downe the same, with his reasons. For although to mollifie the hard, and peruerse hart of that tyrannicall Emperour, the holly man wrote vnto him, a letter of great submission (signifying neuertheles that he wrote as a priuat person,

Barro. an.
363.

and not as a bishop, to the end, that his humble manner of writtunge, might not preiudice the authoritie, and dignitie of his seat) yet he represented plainely vnto him, the absurditie, and impiety of his law, saying, that he was astonished to see it, seeing that the way to heauen was shut vp to many thereby; *for though there be diuers, saith he, that can* S. Greg. l. 2. ep. 62. indict. 11.
ayne religious life, with secular habit, yet there are many others, that cannot be saved, except they utterly forsake the world.

85 Moreouer, he wisheth him to consider with himselfe, what he would answer to Christ; if he should aske him, why he was so vngracefull to debarre, and withould his souldiars from his seruice, seeing he had made him an Emperour, of a *Notary*, and then he addeth, that perhaps the Emperour would say, that it might be well thought, that none of those souldiars which became religious, were truly conuerted, wherto he answereth, that he himselfe had knowne in his owne dayes, conuerted souldiars in monasteries, men of such holly life, that they did miracles. *Sed per hanc legem, saith he, ne quisquam salium conuerſi valeat, prohibetur. It is forbidden by this law of yours, that none should be conuerted.* Thus saith *s. Gregory*, to the Emperour *Mauritius*. And writting also at the same time to his phisician, to the end that he might communicate the same with him, he saith, that *Julian*, the *Apostata*, did make the like law, & that if the Emperour did thinke, that his armies were diminished, and his forces decreased by reason that many souldiars entered in to religion, he wished he would consider, whether he had conquered the kingdome of *Persia*, by the force of his souldiars or no, or whether God had not giuen the same in to his handes, rather by his owne prayers, and teares, then by the meanes of his power, yea in such sort, as he himselfe, knew not how it was wrought.

86 Thus did this holly man, notable represent to *Mauritius*, the iniquitie of his law, shewing euidently vnto him, his ingratitude towards God, in that hauing receiued not only the Empire from his liberall hand, but also the kingdome of *Persia*, rather by miracle, then by his owne force and strength, he did neuertheles confide more in his armies, and pollicies, then in Gods assistance, yea, and withould his souldiars and subiects from Gods seruice, for the which, both he, and they, and all the world, was created and ordained.

87 But so it pleased God afterwards to dispose, for the confusion of the Emperour, and all such pollicies as he, that notwithstanding his contempt of religious life, he was faine, ere many yeares past, to haue recourse to religious men, for the remedy of his necessities, both priuate, and publike, for within four or five yeares, after that he had made

Baron. an. 598.

— Zzz ij this

Surius die
22. Aprilis
80. 2.

Baron. an.
602.

Annal. Co-
dreni.

Baron. an.
602.

Chap. 35.
Num. 30.

Isay. 28.

Bar. an. 378.
Vaslaus in
Chron. an.
710.
Vasa, an.
714.

a Cha. 20.
Num. 8.
b Chap. 13.
Nu. 14.

this law, one of his sonnes was stricken with a leprosie, which no phisicke could cure, whereuppon he and the Empresse, sent for *Theodorus* a monke, famous for miracles at that time, and humbly craued the helpe of his prayers, for the recovery of their sonne, whome he miraculouſlie restored to perfect health. And within three, or foure yeares after, it pleased God to reueale, not only to the same *Theodorus*, but also to a monke in *Constantinople*, that *Mauritius* should shortly loose, both his Empire, and his life, which the Monke published very strangely, running throughout all the city, with a naked sword in his hand, crying. *Hoc ferietur Mauritius. VVith this Mauritius shall be stricken.* Signifying that he should die violentlie with the sword (which was shortly after executed by *Phocas*, as I haue declared more particularly in the first part of this treatise,

86 And in the meane time, *Mauritius* being frightened with this, and certaine other ominous predictions, sought remedy by the meanes of religious men, writting to all monasteries, euen as farre as *Hierusalem*, to be assisted by their prayers. Whereby it appeareth, how true it is that, which th prophet saith. *Vexatio, dabit intellectum. Vexation, or affliction, will giue understanding,* seeing that *Mauritius* in his aduersitie, acknowledged the merits of religious life, which in his prosperitie he condemned, shewing sufficientlie, that in the extremities of Princes, and their states, more confidence is to be reposed, in the prayers of religious, and good men, then in princelie power, or humane pollicie. Thus much concerning *Mauritius*, and his wicked law.

87 And whereas the Arrian Emperour *Valens*, king of *Spaine*, *Isacius*, and *Nicephorus Phoca*, Emperour of *Constantinople*, made also other lawes preiudiciall to monasticall, and religious life, as I haue signified in the objection, it is to be considered, that as there were most wicked men, so also God did punish them most exemplarlie for the same.

88 The Emperour *Valens*, being ouerthrowne, and pursued by the *Goths*, was burned in a litle Cabin where he had hid himselfe. And *Vitica*, was dispossed of his kingdome, and deprived of his eyes, by *Roderic* his successeur, and for as much as also the said *Roderic* continued, and kept in vre, the beastly lawes of *Vitica*, ordaining that priestes, and religious men should marry &c. Yt pleased God to take a greater reuenge, not only vppon him, but also vppon all *Spaine*, giuing him, and them, in to the handes of the *Mores*, who slew him in bataile, and conquered *Spaine*, as I haue declared at large in the first part of this treatise, to shew partly, how seuerelie God punisheth the sinnes of the flesh, and partly, how he turneth the wicked pollicies of men, to their owne ruine,

which latter point, being also very considerable in this matter, is there handled at large, and confirmed by many examples.

89 But in the Emperour *Isacius Comnenus* (who confiscated all the goods of monasteries) it is very remarkable, that he, being afterwards stricken from his horse with a thunderbolt, was so terrified with Gods judgement vpon him, that after a while he gaue over his empire, and became not only a monke, but also porter of the monasterie where he continued, being also contented to doe all other base offices about the house, as occasion required, so that in recompence of the iniury which he did to monasteries, he was forced by Gods iustice, to end his dayes in the seruice of a monasterie.

90 And now, to say some what also of the Emperour *Nicephorus Phoca* (who got his empire with periurie, and adulterie, and was a man of insatiable avarice) it is nomeruaile, though such a wicked Tyrant as he, made lawes against the foundation, and erection of monasteries, seeing he also ordained, that no landes should be giuen to the church, and posselt himselfe of bishopricks, and was otherwise so prophane, that he would haue ordained, that all souldiars dying in the field should be canonized, and honoured with hymnes, and holly ceremonies as martyrs, and had done it, if the Patriarke of *Constantinople*, had not stoutly resisted him, but in the end, Gods iustice fell vpon him, by the meanes of *Theophano* his owne wife, who caused him to be slaine, and married his murderer, *Iohn Zimisces*, and made him Emperour,

91 And how pernicious to the Empire, those his wicked lawes were, it may appeare, by the constitutions of *Basilius*, the Emperour, who succeeded *Iohn Zimisces*, and reuoked those lawes of *Nicephorus*, testifying, & affirming, that all the calamities fallen lately before vpon the Empire, were the iust punishment of God for the same, and that therefore he annulled, and abolished them. So that the example of these princes, & their lawes, proueth nothing els, but that the enemies of religious life, are wicked men, & that the lawes ordained against the same, are vniust, barefull to almightie God, and pernicious to princes, and their states, drawing the wrath, and vengeance of almighty God vpon them, whereby also the great merit of religious life, and the conueniencie, and necessitie thereof in common welth, sufficientlie appeareth.

92 Though many other pointes belonging to this matter, doe offer themselves vnto me to be handled, neuerthelesse considering that I haue benne already much longer, then I was at first determined to be, I will conclude this chapter, and all the former concerning religious perfection, and the end of common wealth.

Chap. 3.
nu. 4. & ch.
31. nu. 5 6. 7.
8. & 9.

Baron. an.
1060.

Baron. an.
969. Zonar.
Annal. to. 3.

93 And first for the matter of *vowes*, which I haue handled in the last chapter, it appeareth sufficientlie, as I hope, that the vse of *vowes* of chastitie, and of the other euangelical counsels, obserued in religious discipline, is most conforme to the scriptures, and deriued from the doctrine, and practise of the Apostles, and from their time, continued in the church of God vntill ours: and finallie, that the obiections of the sectaries, against the same, are but meere shiftes, and cauils, proceeding only of a desire, to defend the breach of their owne *vowes*, to couer their shame, and excuse their Apostacy, from the Catholike faith.

94 And whereas, I vndertooke in the fise and twentieth chapter, to proue that the Catholike Roman religion, is not only the true religion, but also most conforme to true pollicie, and fit for gouernment of common wealth, and that the opinions of *Lutherans*, and *Caluinists* (wherein they dissent from vs) are contrarie, as well to true religion, as to true pollicie, I haue for this purpose, allready proued in these former chapters. First, that the Roman Catholikes, haue amongst them the true imitation of our Sauour Christ, by the obseruation of the Euangelicall counsels, and that therein consisteth, the highest perfection of Christian religion.

95 Secondly, that by the meanes of this religious perfection, they arriue to a perfect vnion with God, testified in all ages, by the externall signes of reuelations, visions, apparitions of our Sauour Christ; and his saintes, rapt, and most miraculous workes, accompanied with ineffable sweetenes, and spirituall consolations.


96 Thirdly, that the sectaries haue no true imitation of our Sauour Christ, nor obseruation of the Euangelicall counsells, yea, and that they are open, and sworne enemies, of the true Euangelicall, and religious perfection. And lastly, that they haue no externall signes, of any internall vnion with God, as the Catholikes haue, by deuine rapt, reuelations, visions, or miracles, but are by the iustice of God, exposed to illusions of wicked spirits, fantasticall dreames, false, and fanaticall reuelations, as I haue signified in the last chapter, by all which it appeareth, that they haue not any perfection of Christian religion, and consequentlie no vnion with God.

97 And therefore, for as much as I haue also proued amply before, that the perfect vnion of man with God, is not only a most speciall, and assured effect of true christian religion, but also, that it is the end, and felicitie of man, and common welth, twoo thinges must needes follow thereon. The one, that the Roman Catholikes, hauing this

union with God, haue aswell the truth of Christian religion, as the felicitie of man, and of common welth. The other, that the sectaries, being enemies of true christian perfection, and therefore void of all union with God, haue neither truth of religion, nor the true happiness, which is the end of man, and common welth: whereuppon it is also to be inferred, that their religion is most pernicious to all princes states, not only for that it depriueth them of Gods speciall protection, and benediction (which can neuer concurre with false religion:) but also because it draweth his wrath, and malediction vppon them sooner, or latter, howsoeuer he may for a time suffer them to prosper, for such causes, as I will declare amply heereafter, in the third part of this treatise. Besides that, some of the cheefe and principall pointes of their religion, are of themselves, so contrarie to true reason of state, that the beleefe, and practise thereof, must needs ouerthrow the common welth in time, or at least breede great inconuenience therein, as I haue shewed partly already in their absurd, and beastly doctrine, of the impossibilitie to liue chaste, and will now shew further, concerning some other pointes of their beleefe, in the next chapter.

To proue that the Catholike religion is conforme to true reason of state, and the contrary doctrine repugnant thereto, ten points, controuersed betwixt the Catholikes, and their aduersaries, are debated by way of state: and it is evidently shewed, that the doctrine of Catholikes, leadeth to all vertue, and is therefore most conuenient for state, and that the doctrine of their aduersaries, eyther withdraweth from vertue, or inciteth to vice, and consequently is most pernicious to all states. Finally, the bad fruite of Lutheranisme and Caluinisme in Common welth, is shewed by the experience thereof, sufficiently acknowledged by Luther, Caluin, and others their fellows.

CHAP. 35.

Auing hitherto shewed the necessitie, fruit, and dignitie of the Catholike Roman religion in common welth, aswell by the end, and felicitie of common welth it selfe, as by the perfection of Christian religion (both which I haue proued, to be proper only to the Roman Catholike church) I will now a litle further prosecute the same subiect in this chapter, and confront certaine important points of our Catholike doctrine, with the contrarie doctrine of our aduersaries, whereby it shall euidentlie appeare, that our Catholike religion, tendeth wholly to the practise of

Chap. 9. per
totum.

of perfect vertue, and is consequentlie most behouefull for common welth, and that the opposite doctrine of our aduersaries, either directly draweth the professors of it to vice, or at least, withdraweth them from the practise of vertue, and so by a necessarie consequence, is most pernicious to common welth, which doth stand, and flourish by vertue, and is ruined by vice, as I haue amply proued before in the ninth Chapter. And for this purpose I meane to examine tenne seuerall pointes of religion, controuersed betwixt vs and our aduersaries; and to treat thereof in this chapter, only by way of state, reseruing their further discussion by way of religion, to the third part of this treatise, because otherwise this part would grow ouerlong, and to a greater volume then would seeme conuenient.

Concil. Tri-
dent. Sessio.
6. ca. 6.

Iac. 2. d. 24.

2 First then concerning our iustification by faith, and workes. The Catholike religion, teacheth two thinges, speciallie to be considered for our purpose. The one is, that no man hauing the vse of reason, can be iustified, without the concurrence of *seauen acts*, declared by the councell of *Trent*, to witt, of *faith, the feare of God, hope, charity, repentance* of sinnes past, *intention to receiue the sacraments with full purpose to amend*, and finally, *to obserue the commandements of God*. The other point is, that good workes proceeding of Gods grace, doe increase our iustification, whereby it may be truly said, according to the expresse wordes of the scripture, that *we are iustified by workes, and not by faith only*.

3 Of these two points of Catholike doctrine, there followeth this euident benefit to common welth, that those which professe the same, and desire to be iustified, doe not only dispose themselues with all diligent endeuour, to the loue of God, and their neighbours, to the hate of sinne and vice, and to the practise of all vertue, but also doe performe all kind of good workes, all which must needs redound to the publike good, in so much, that if this doctrine were beleeued, and followed of all men, there should neede no other, to make all the members of the common welth most vertuous, and the whole common welth most happy.

4 But the doctrine of our aduersaries, teaching iustification by only faith, must needs worke a farre different, or rather a contrarie effect in common welth, and in euery member thereof. For although our aduersaries are forced sometimes, by the irrefragable veritie of our Catholike religion, to graunt (at least in words) the necessitie of charity and good workes to iustification, yet such are their grounds, and such is the whole course of their doctrine, that they doe in

And, not only exclude good woorkes wholly from iustification, but also utterly abase and decry them, treating of them so contemptuously, and odiously that how soeuer they otherwise contradict themselves, they must needs induce their followers, to an extreme negligence, and contempt of well doing, to the vnpeakeable damage of all the common wealths, where their religion ys embraced.

And to the end, that this may partly appeare (so farre forth as cōcerneth this point whereof I presently treat) I will lay downe some of Luther's grounds, concerning iustification by only faith.

He teacheth, a that *fides sine opere caritate iustificat*. Faith iustificeth without, and before charity. That b *fides, nisi sit sine ullis etiam minimis operibus, non iustificat, imo non est fides*. Faith, except ye be without all kind of woorkes, yea without the best woorkes, that may be, doth not iustifie neither yet ys faith. That c *opus, non potest deceri &c.* A worke cannot be taught, with out the prejudice of faith seing that faith, and woorkes, are extremely contrarie the one to the other, so that the doctrine of woorkes, must needs be the doctrine of deuills.

That d the highest art, and Christian wisdom, ys, not to know the law, and to be ignorant of woorkes, and of all active iustice.

Allo, f *Caucamus*, saith he, *peccatis, caueamus ab operibus bonis*. Let vs beware of sinnes, let vs beware of good woorkes, and let vs attend only to the promise of God, and so faith, for that ys a short, and compendious perfection.

And in another place, he saith g *Vides quā diues sit homo Christiā*, &c. Thou seest how rich a Christiā mā ys who though he would, cannot lose his saluation, with out sinnes what soeuer, except he wil not beleene: no sinnes can damne him, but by incredulity. There is no other way, whereby a man may agree, or deale with God, but by faith: he careth not for woorkes, neither doth he neede them.

And againe, h *Nullum opus*, saith he, *tam malum est &c.* There is no worke so euill, that yt can damne a man; neither any, so good, that can saue a man, but only faith sauerh, and only incredulity damneih. Allo, i *nullum peccatum est &c.* There ys no sinne but incredulity or lack of beleefe, no iustice or right conscience, but faith. Allo, k *erga Deum*, saith he, *non operibus sed nuda fide indigemus*. &c. Towards God we neede no woorkes but bare faith, for we must come to God by faith only, that ys to say with faith, we must dismisle our seruantes, and asse, that ys to say our woorkes, how much we consider them as if much sooner will God in fauour, or power his grace, in them.

Finally, he preemprorily affirmeth, that *quando sic docetur, fides iustificat quidem sed simul seruare oportet &c.* When any man teacheth thus, faith doth iustifie, yet we must also keepe the commandments of God (because ys written, *non ad vitam ingredi seruis mandata*. If then wilt enter into life keepe the commandments.) There Christ ys presently denied, and faith abolished, because this

a Luther in ca. 2. ad Gal.

b Idem disput. an opera

faciant ad iustificationem.

c vide Iohann. Coccius

in Thesau. To. 2. de iustificatione.

d Luther de votis monast.

e in argumēto. I.

f Sermo de noua testam.

g De captiuitate Babylo.

h Ad euangelii dominica. 8. post festi. trinitatis.

i Cōtra Ambrosium Ca. 1. in

piscatura Petri.

l in ca. 2. ad Gal.

Mat. 19. c. 17

which ys only Gods, ys attributed to the commandements of God, &c.

12 Thus much I haue thought good to alledge out of Luther who teacheth these most impious, an absurd paradoxes, not only in the place here alleadged, but also in diuers other which I omit, thinking them sufficient, to shew his doctrine concerning only faith, to the end yet may appeare, that he excludeth all kinde of good workes from iustification, not only in respect of any operation they may haue therein, but also in regard of their verrey concurrence, or presence with faith, abasing, contemning, and reiecting them, as you haue heard. And what maruaile, seeing that he also affirmeth els where, in that euery good worke ys sinne, which ys also taught expressely by a Melancthon, o Calvin, and other sectaries, who are sprung from Luther, in so much, that Nicolaus Amstdorsius a Lutheran writing against Georgius Maior, about the manner of iustification, intituled his booke, *Quod bona opera sint perniciose ad salutem*. That good workes are pernicious to saluation, and amongst diuers other fond, and folish arguments, he produceth, Luthers assertion, and doctrine in confirmation of his, citing for the same q Luthers owne wordes, out of diuers partes of his workes,

13 And in a conference which was held at Alenbourg, in the yeare of our lord, a thousand five hundred sixty eight, and printed at Iena in the yeare a thousand five hundred, seauenty, the rigid Lutherans, insisting vpon the groundes and principles of their great master Luther, maintained (as I may say) with tooth, and naile, that the good workes of the law and new obedience, doth not belong to the kingdome of Christ, but to the world: that Christians, with good workes, belong to the diuel, and only faith, without good workes, doth performe all, whether we respect the merit, or the presence of good workes. And finally to omit others strange paradoxes, they taught this proposition, *opera sunt necessaria*, workes are necessary, ys a false proposition, and that *ad ea illa necessaria non sunt, vnde salutem incommode, sunt perniciose*. They are so farre from being necessary that they are hurtfull, and pernicious to saluation.

14 Thus crowed they after their kind, discovering themselves, to be chickens of Luthers brood. But now yf we consider, what a holsonne doctrine all this ys, which I haue related here, and how necessary, and profitable the same may be for the publike, or priuat weale of men, and for their spirituall good we shall easily see, that yf all the infernall spirits, had laid their heades together, to reach a doctrine to draw men to all impiety, and to make them most desperately wicked, they could not haue inuented more pernicious principles, or haue layd downe more pestilent groundes for that purpose.

m Luther in
assertion. ar.

31. 32. & 36.

n Melanct.
in locis com-
mun. editio. 1.

o Calvin. li.

3. instit. ca.

24. ss. 9. &

cap. 11. ss. 55.

p Nicola.

Amstdorf. co-

tra Georgii

Maior.

q Vide Iodoc

Coccinum in

Thesauro

ubi supra.

r Colloquii

habitu Alie-

burgae an.

1568.

that he which shal belecue, and be perswaded in conscience, that God
 doth not his workes whether they be good, or bad: And that no sinne but in-
 iustice can damne him: that his best workes, are finnes: that a iustifying faith,
 is found with good workes: that the doctrine of good workes, is the doctrine of
 death: that good workes, are pernicious to saluation: and finally, that the more
 a man is, the nearer he is to Gods grace (for al this doe Luther and his
 followers teach, as you haue heard before:) what wickednes will such
 men forbear to commit; when occasion either of pleasure, or com-
 moditie, shall inuite him thereto, in case he may hope to auoid the pe-
 naltie of temporall lawes, as not only princes, and great men, but also
 honourable persons find meanes to doe many times, as experience tea-
 cheth. What then can be expected in a common welth, where this do-
 ctine is currant, but that most men shall abandon themselves to all
 iniquity, and wickednes, relying only vpon their iustifying faith, and not
 to any contemning, and reiecting all kind of good workes, but also ha-
 ving them as pernicious impediments to their saluation? And therefore
 I conclude for the present, that as the doctrine of Catholikes, con-
 taining iustification, containeth great motives to vertue, and to all
 good workes; and is consequentlie most beneficiall to common welth:
 so the other side the doctrine of our aduersaries (which looseth the
 way to all vice, and wickednes) is most pernicious thereto, and thus
 I conclude for the first point.

Secondlie, the like may be said of the different doctrine of Catho-
 liques, and sectaries, touching inherent, and imputatiue iustice. For the
 Catholikes hold, according to the holly scriptures, that it is necessarily
 required to the iustification of euery christian man, to haue not only,
 remission of finnes, but also inuauation of spirit, and the infusion of charity, by
 the gift of the holly Ghost; (that is to say a real, and true iustice inherent
 in him, giuen him by almightie God, through the merits of our Sa-
 uour Christ) whereby he is not only reputed, but also made iust, which
 kind of iustice cannot possibly stand with any mortall sinne: where-
 fore it must needs follow, that those which seeke to be iustified,
 according to this doctrine, doe labour to be truly vertuous, and to es-
 chew all vice, and consequentlie to become notable members of the
 common welth.

But our aduersaries beleue, on the other syde, that they are iusti-
 fied without any real, or inherent iustice in themselves, by the impu-
 ration of the iustice of Christ only, which iustice is in him, and not in
 them, whereby they are not iust in deede, but reputed for iust, so that
 their iustification, may according to their opinion, stand with all vic-

Ephes. 4.
Tit. 3.

Rom. 5.
S. Aug. de
spu. & litte.
c. 9. & 11.
Item tracta.
26. in Euag.
leau. & pas-
sim.
Caluin li. 3.
instituto. ca.
11. §. 2. 3.

a Luth. in
 articulis a
 Leo 10. dam-
 nat. art. 2.
 b Idem in
 assertion. ar.
 31. 32. & 36.
 vide Bellar.
 l. 4. de instit.
 c. 1.
 Caluin in
 Antidoto co-
 cil. trident. ff.
 6. c. 11. & li.
 3. instit. ca. 11
 ff 10. & 11.
 Itē li. 3. ca. 3.
 & c. 14. ff. 9.
 Eccles. c. 9.
 Concil. um
 Trident. sess.
 6. ca. 9. & 12.
 Rom. 11. 22.
 1. cor. 10. 12.
 Philip. 2. 13.
 Apoc. 3. 2. ep.
 2. lo. 8. Psal.
 2. 11.
 Philip. 2.
 Luth. in art.
 10. 11. & 12.
 Melaneth. in
 locis com. tit.
 l. fide
 Caluin. in
 Antidoto. con-
 filij. sess. 6. &
 in li. 3. instit.
 c. 2. ff. 16. 17.
 1. Bucer in
 li. concor. ar.
 de iustificat.
 Petrus mar-
 tir. ad. c. 8.
 ep. ad Rom.
 Ev. Bellar. li.
 3. de iustific.
 3. & 12.

kednes. For if it be true, which they teach, that not only, the
 corruption in humane nature, and the very concupiscence in man,
 the best workes of the best men, are mortall sinnes, though ne-
 pured, for the merits of Christ (for so they teach:) yt ys euident
 they are alwayes truly impious, and wicked in the sight of God,
 withstanding their imputatiue iustice. And therefore yt ys manifest
 that they haue no cause, or motiue by this their doctrine, to labour
 to be truly vertuous (being as they hold alwaies damnable vicious)
 may rather presume to make the same a cloke to couer all kind of
 kednes, seeing that their supposed iustice, doth not exclude mortall
 sinne, but may be imputed to them, be they neuer so wicked, when
 yt appeareth, that the doctrin of Catholiks, ys in this point alle-
 beneficiall, and theirs very preiudiciall to common welth.
 18 Thirdly, the Catholikes teach out of the holly scriptures, that
 knoweth (without a speciall reuelation) *utrum odio, vel amore dignus*
 Whether he be worthy of loue, or hate, neither yet (though he be in
 state of grace) whether he shall haue the gift of perseverance, and thus
 by euill life, he may also loose Gods grace and be damned: where
 pon yt followeth, that such Catholikes, as labour to liue according
 Catholike doctin, are moued hereby to stand continually vpon
 gard, and by all meanes possible of prayer, penance, and good workes
 to procede daily from vertue, to vertue, *operantes salutem*, as the apostle
 aduise, *cum timore, & tremore*, working their saluation with feare and
 bling, by which means they both liue most vertuously themselves,
 and also geue good example to others, to the great benefit of the com-
 mon welth.
 19 But the sectaries, hold that no man ys faithfull, and iust, except
 assure himselfe, not only of his iustification, but also of his predesti-
 nation, and saluation, and that the faith which iustificeth, consisteth
 in this assurance, wherefore Caluin defineth faith to be a firme, and cer-
 ne knowledge of Gods mercy and beneuolence towards vs which knowledge, said
 he, being founded on the truth of the free promise made vs in Christ, is trans-
 led to our mindes, and sealed in our hartes, by the holly Ghost. Whereuppon
 must needs follow, that such, as are wicked men amongst the sectaries,
 and beleue them selues to be iustified by only faith (as they all doe) can
 not haue in their opiniō, any neede at all to amēd their liues, in respect
 of their saluatiō, seeing that they hold themselves already assured of
 And I make no doubt, but that yf the wickedest Caluinist, or Lutheran
 England, (be he neuer so desperat a malefactor) were demanded, whe-
 ther he be sure of his saluation, or no, he would presently answer,

that he not only beleueth, and assureth himselfe, that Christ
will be for him, but also applieth by faith, Gods promise vnto himselfe,
that he is sure to be saued by Christs merits. And if the doctrine of the
securitie be true, it cannot be denied, but that having this faith and as-
surance, he shall vndoubtedly be saued: And this being soe, what need
he to amend his life for feare of damnation?

And whereas *Caluin* to blind the eyes of the simple, affirmeth that
a wicked man hath not this iustifying faith, he must needs confesse,
that either the wickedst man in the world may haue it, or els, that no
man knoweth when he hath it, where vpon it will follow, that no
man can be sure of his saluation. For if a man can know when he hath
it, who can better know it, then he that feeleth it in his hart (which is
the most assured knowledge thereof, that any man can haue) and this
no doubt, doth the wickedst *Caluinist* feele, if he beleue according to
the rules of his religion: and, as I haue said, if you aske him whether
he feele it, or no, he will assure you, that he doth, yea, and that it is re-
uealed vnto him by the holly Ghost: so that wee must needs graunt,
either that wicked men may haue this iustifying faith and securitie,
which *Caluin* denieth, or els that those, which feele it them selues, can-
not be assured of it, and consequentlie, that this doctrine of securitie is
false, and false, and the most dangerous doctrine, both for body, and
soule, that euer was taught in the world, as no doubt it is.

For how many may it be thought, that this presumptuous, and false
securitie, carrieth headlong yearly first to the gallows, and after to hel,
whilest many that are most wicked, and sinfull in life, and yet withall
hold themselues secure of their saluation, haue no feare of eternal pu-
nishment, & doe hope by some meanes, or other, to escape the tempo-
rall penalty of the law, whereby they are emboldened to commit all
mischiefes: Besides that, it is euident, that this doctrine, not only confir-
meth the wicked in their wickednes (as I haue said) but also impaireth
those, that are other wise of theselues wel disposed, making them care-
lesse, and negligent, in their manner of life, whereby they fall into in-
numerable temptations, which no man can auoid, and much lesse resist wi-
thout much prayer, continuall watch, great care, and diligent preuen-
tions, all which must needs seeme needeles, to those that are already
secure of their saluation,

Therefore I conclude; that this doctrine of securitie, is not only
an impediment to vertue, but also a prouocation to vice, and sinne, and
therefore most pernicious to common welth, whether we respect the
eternall, or the temporall good thereof.

*Psal. 18. 11.
Psal. 18. 11.*

23 Fourthly, the Catholike church teacheth, that the morall part of Moyses his law, consisting in the commaundements, was not taken away, but confirmed by Christ, and that the said commaundements, are not impossible to be kept, but also easy, sweete, and delectable, with the helpe of Gods grace, and as the psalmist saith, *more to be desired then gold, or precious stone, and sweeter then the honny, as the honny combe.* Wherby Catholikes are moued, and encouraged, to doe their yetermost endeuour to obserue them, and consequentlie to liue in the exact practise of all vertue, to the great benefit of the common welth, but the sectaries teach, not only that the commaundements are vnpossible to be kept, but also that they are wholly abrogated by Christ, and to the end it shal not be said, that I slander them, with these opinions, I thinke good to lay downe some of their owne wordes, first concerning the impossibilitie to keepe the commaundements, and after touching the abrogation of them.

*Luther in
respon ad
dialog. Sil-
uest. priera-
tis.*

*Melanch. ad
ca. 4. epi. ad
Roma. editio
Caluin li. 2.
institut. ca.*

*7.
Videlo Cocci
lib. 3. art. 2.
de Iustif. ho-
minis.*

24 Luther writing of the first against Siluester Prieras, saith thus, *Primum facis &c. Thou doest very ill, that thou deniest, that God hath commaunded impossible thinges, and thou doest much worse, in that thou darest call this a fallacy, to wit, we cannot fulfill the commaundements of God in this life.* So he. Melancthon saith, that whereas the law commaundeth, that God shall be loued &c. it commaundeth an impossible a thing, as if it should bid us *frangere the hill Caucasus.* Caluin also determineth the same, as a matter out of doubt. *Sic, saith he, extra conuersam &c. Let it be out of all controuersie, that the accomplishment of the law in this flesh, is impossible.*

25 Thus say they, concerning the impossibilitie to keepe the commaundements, but how impious, and absurd this their doctrin is, it may appeare by two consequents that must needs follow thereof. The first is, that they doe in effect taxe God of iniustice, not only for commaunding thinges impossible, but much more for ordaining punishment for the breach thereof, for no man can be iustly punished, for that which he cannot performe. The other consequent is, that they disanimate their followers, from endeuouring to obserue Gods commaundements, for no man can haue courage, or will to obserue that which he shall hold to be impossible, and therefore how preiudicial to common welth this doctrin is, any man may easily iudge.

*Luther de
libertate
Christiani.*

26 But much more absurd, and preiudiciall is their opinion, concerning the abrogation of the Commaundements by Christ, which Luther teacheth evidently, when hereasoneth thus, *sola fides, &c. verbum &c. Only faith and the word, doe reigne in the soule, whereby it is manifest, that only faith sufficeth a christian man for all thinges, and that he needeth*

for his iustificacion, and if he neede no workes, he needeth no law, if he *idem ad ca.*
law, he is free from the law, and it is true, that the law is not made 2. ad Galat.
iust. Thus argueth Luther, and vpon the same ground he affir-
resolutelie els where. *Sola fides necessaria est &c.* Only faith is necessa-
we may be iust, all other thinges are most free, neither commaunded any *Idem in ca.*
nor prohibited. And againe in an other place. *Nihil omnino*, saith he, 7. ep. 1. ad
obligatus &c. Thou art bound to God in nothing, but to beleene and con-
him, in all other thinges, he maketh thee free, that thou maiest doe according
thyne will, without any offence of conscience &c. So he.

And doth he not plainelie teach herein, that Christians are exem-
from all obligation of Gods law, and commaundments? Where vp- 76.

his dearest darling Philip Melancthon, saith thus. *Necesse est*, vt sa-
&c. We must needs confesse, that the commaundments are also abra-
our sophisters (he meaneth the Catholikes) doe say, that the iudiciall,
ceremoniall part of the law is abrogated, and that the law of manners
is to say the morall part of the law, or the commaundments) is
by Christ, so that they make of Christwise Moyses. Thus saith Me-
lancthon, giuing to understand, that the Catholikes in teaching that
law did not abrogate the morall part of Moyses law, but confirme it,
deny Christ, making him no other then a second Moyses.

To the same purpose also, the rigid Lutherans, of whome I made
mention before taught, and mainteined in the foresaid conference at
Altenburg, that *nihil ad nos Christianos precepta decalogi pertinent*: the pre-
cept of the Decalogue, or the tenne commaundments, doe belong nothing at
all to Christians. And the reason, that they yeld thereof is, because
the Christian which beleueth v, say they, *supra omnem obedientiam*, &
omnem legem, above all obedience, and above all law. Thus they.

Therefore, what maruile is it, that a sect of Lutherans called An-
abridg, draw also out of these principles of Luther, these conclusions
following. *Lex non est digna, vt vocetur &c.* The law is not worthy to be cal-
led the word of God, if thou be a whore, or a fornicator, or an adulterer, or any
other sinner what soeuer, only beleene, and thou art in the way of saluation,
when thou stickest fast, in the very midst of thy sinne. The tenne com-
maundments belong to the court, but not to the pulpit. We shewer haue any Coccium vbi
legis doe with Moyses, doe gae the right way to the diuell &c. The saying
Certam fidei uocationem uisram per bona opera. Make sure your voca-
tion by good workes, is unprossible. We shewer thou hast any cogitation, that
meants is to be used in the church that men may be good, honest, and holly,
thou art already gone astray from the gospell. Thus they teaching
nothing els, but the very quaintellence of Luthers doctrine con-
cerning

*Colloquium
Altenburg.
habitu an-
1568. impres.
lena an.
1568. in 4.*

*Confessio
Mansfelds.
in secta An-
anomorun.
Vide Iodoci
Coccium ubi
supra.
Et Stanislaſſi
Raschium de
Euangelic.
saec. centurio
Antino-
mia.*

cerning faith, and workes, or rather explicating the same, and deducing out of it, such necessarie consequences, as must needs followe from it, as it may be euident to any man, that shall consider his grounds and principles aboue mentioned.

30 But to omit other things, and to touch only that which concerneth the abrogation of the commandements, can any thing be more pestiferous to common welth, then this doctrine? For seeing, that the tenne commandements, except the keeping of the sabbath (whereo christians are not bound as the Iewes were) are nothing in effect, but the very explication of the law of nature, obscured by the Gentils, according to the light of naturall reason, can any reasonable man thinke, that Christ exempted his seruants from the obseruance thereof? Can any doctrine tend more directly then this, to ouerthrow all common welth, and to extinguish the very law of nature in men, and to make men little better, then beasts?

31 For if euery man were perswaded, that he hath no obligation of conscience by the law of God, to honour, and obey his parents, not to forbear theft, perurie, fraud, and deceit, fornication, adulterie, and such other things, as the law of God, and nature forbiddeth, what confusion would there follow amongst men within a while? What not the shame, that men naturallie haue of sinne, be lost by little and little, and so, humane nature become bestiall, and no other bridle be left to restrain men from any enormitie, but only the feare of humane lawes? Which how little it auailleth many times, experience sheweth, and I haue sufficientlie signified in my first part. And how preiudiciall this doctrine, is also to the authoritie of humane lawes, I will declare hereafter, in an article a part, and doe conclude for the present, that it sufficiently appeareth, by this which I haue here debated, that this doctrine of the sectaries, touching the abrogation of the commandements, is no lesse absurd, beastly, and iniurious to God, and naturallie then preiudiciall to common welth.

32 Fifthly, the Catholike doctrine concerning mans free will, as well in morall, and ciuill, as in naturall actions, is a great motiue, to incourage men to the practise of all morall vertue, for the publique good, for that considereth the excellencie and dignitie of vertue, and the benefit, both priuat, and publique, that may be reaped thereby, and belongeth with all, that he may liue vertuousslie if he will, he cannot, but he is encouraged thereto. Besides that, vpon the consideration of mans free will, are grounded all polititical lawes, precepts and prohibitions, penalties, and rewards: For if man had not free will, to doe as he listeth,

MR 1. ch. 9.

NUM. 28. 29.

30. 31. 32. &

33.

*Aristot. ethic
1.3. Plato. in
Gorgia.*

morally well, he could neither be iustly punished; nor rewarded; neither yet admonished, counsell'd, or commaunded; as the very pagan philosophers argue out of the light of reason, so that if there were not free will in man for ciuill, and morall actions, all politicall gouernment (which proceedeth from the very law of nature, and reason) must needs be vtterly superfluous, and against reason.

Whereby yt appeareth, not only that the catholike doctrin concerning más free will, ys most cõforme to reason of state, but also that the contrary opinion of *Luther, Caluin*, and other sectaries, ys most repugnant thereunto and absurd, seeing yt cannot stand with that course of politicall gouernment, which nature hath ordained, besides that, yt must needs hinder mens endeouour to be vertuous, and draw them to all kind of vice: for he which ys perswaded, that all humane actions are guided by an absolute necessity (as the Arch sectaries aboute nature haue tought) he must needs conceiue also, that yf God haue ordained him to be vertuous, he shalbe vertuous whether he wil, or no, yf to be vicious, he cannot doe withall. Where vppon yt must needs follow, that beleeuing this doctrin, and finding bad inclinations in himselfe (as euery man doth more or lesse) he will thinke yt very vayne and superfluous to resist them, and so will suffer himselfe to be transported there with, perswading himselfe, that he cannot helpe yt. So that yf this opinion were generally receiued, men would become no better then beastes, following their owne sensuall appetits in all things, as drawne thereto by an absolute necessity: and therefore how inconuenient this would be, either for common welth, or for mens particular estates, euery man may iudge, seing that yt doth frustrate and euacuat, not only all politicall gouernment and morall vertue (as I haue declared) but also all humane prouidence, discourse, deliberation, and consultation in mens priuat affaires, all which were needlesse and vaine, yf man had not free wil to make his choise and electiõ: in which respect *Eusebius Casariensis*, shewing the absurdity of this opinion by many notable reasons, concludeth very wel, that those which hold yt, do peruert and ouerthrow, *uniuersam vitam humanam, all the life of man.*

Sixty no lesse absurd, and inconuenient for common welth ys the impious and blasphemous opinion of *Luther Melancthon, Zuinglius, Calvin, Beza* and other sectaries, that God doth not only moue, and commaund men to sinne, but also worke yt in them. *Luther*, teacheth that *in mala opera in impijs operatur deus. God worketh euill workes in wicked men*, and teacheth this question. *Quis audet negare? &c. Who dare deny, that he ys of*

*Luther in
assert. art. 36
Caluin. li.
1. institut. ca
16. ff. 8. & li.
2. c. 4. ff. 6.
Bucer. li. de
cõcordia ar.
de libero arb.
Melanch. in
locis cõmun.
editis an 1521*

*Euseb. de præ
paratione
Euang. li. 1.
ca. 7.*

*Luther in
Assertionib⁹
impressis Vi
tenberg. an.
1520. art. 36.*

times compelled in euill workes to doe otherwise, then he thought. And againe in his booke *de seruo arbitrio*, he affirmeth that, *Iudas* did necessarily beleeue in Christ, and that it was not in his hand or power to doe otherwise, or to change his will which, saith he, God moued by his omnipotency, as he doth all other things. Where vppon Melancthon making as yt were a glose, vppon this ground of his master teacheth, that the treason of *Iudas*, was the proper work of God, as wel as the vocation of *Paule*.

Melanct. ad
ca. 8. ep. ad
Rom. edit. 1.

Zuinglius
ser. de prou-
identia ad
Phillippum
Cattor. prin-
cipem an.
1530. ca. 6.

1b. d. ca. 5.

1b. d. c. 6.

Vide Bellar.
lib. 2. cap. 3.
de Amis. gra-
tia a statu
peccati. lod.
Cocci. To.
2. de peccato
hom. art. 1.
libri. 2.

a Petrus
martir ad. c.
2. li. 1. Sa-
muel. & in
ep. ad Rom.
b Beza in
responsione
ad Sebastia-
num.

c Castilio-
nem de aeter-
na dei pra-
destinat.

35 Zuinglius also, deliuereth the same doctrin, and amongst diuers other deuillish and blasphemous speches, he saith thus. *Num atque idem facinus puta adulterium &c.* One and the selfe same wicked act, so wit adultery, homicid, as it is the worke of God, the Author and mouer of it, is not an effect of sinne, but as it is, the worke of man, it is a sinne and a wicked act: and againe. *Numen ipsum auctor est eius, quod nobis est iniustitia, illi autem nullatenus est.* God himselfe is the authour of that which is iniustice in respect of thus, ought to be not so in respect of him. Thus he, and affirmeth also further, that God not only moueth, but also compelleth the theefe to kill the innocent, and yet that the theefe is iustly punished for it, because he sinneth against the law of God, not as the author, but as the instrument, whome therefore, Zuinglius compareth to a hammer, and a file which a man may vse, as it pleaseth him, turning the hammer into a file, or the file, into a hammer.

36 The very same doctrin, teacheth Calvin in diuers partes of his workes, as in his booke *de aeterna dei praedestinatione*, printed at Geneva in the year 1552. fol. 905. 916. 906. 944. & 946. & li. 1. Institut. ca. 17. ff. 11. & ca. 18. ff. 1. & ff. 2. & deinceps, & libro 2. ca. 4. ff. 2. 3. & 4. & li. 3. ca. 23. ff. 4. 7. 8. & 9. in which places he affirmeth, that God not only permitted all the sinnes of men, but also that he hath determined them from aeternity, that he commaunderth the diuell to draw men to sinne, and that he inclineth, moueth, and compelleth men thereto, yea, and that he worketh himselfe in the mindes of wicked men, as the first cause vsing them as his instruments.

37 The same also is taught seriously by Peter a Martyr, and most amply by Beza, whose wordes I willingly pretermitt, not to rake vp further the chanel of such a filthy, and beastly doctrin, which the very Painims would haue abhorred, who beleued, and taught most constantly, that God being goodnes it selfe, cannot possible be the cause, or author of any sinne, no more then fire, being hott by nature, can refrigerat, or coole any thing.

38 But to let passe for the present the considerations belonging to religion, and to touch only, one, or twoo concerning reason of state, who seeth not what inconuenience must needs follow of this doctrin

common welth : For what care will any man haue to auoid sinne, when he shal be perswaded that if he sinne, he doth but fulfill the eternall decree of God, whose will he cannot resist : and that God both moueth, and compelleth him thereto, yea, and worketh it in him. How such a one (I say) that is so perswaded, either hate sinne, or be sorry for it, or yet beleuee, that he doth synne at all, or thinke any punishment to be iust, be it deuine, or humane, that shalbe inflicted vppon him for any offence what soeuer?

For whereas the masters of this detestable doctrin teach, that euill acts are sinne, not in respect of God (though they say he is the author and mouer of them) but in respect of vs, who are the instruments of God, and doe breake his eternal law, their absurditie in this distinction is euident, for diuers reasons. For first, who knoweth not that the author, mouer, and worker of an euill act, vsing an instrument which cannot resist his will, is in fault for the act, and not the instrument (no though it be an actiue instrument, as they say man is) especially seeing they also teach (as appeareth in the former article) that man hath no free wil, but is drawne, and compelled to will, or doe euery thing that he doth by an absolute necessitie, and an eternall decree of God: in which respect *Zuinglius* hath great reason (according to this opinion) when he compareth man in this case, to a hammer or a file, saying he hath no more libertie in his action, then those or any other sillie, or dead instruments: whereuppon it must needs follow, that God being both the mouer of mans euill will, and intention, and also the worker of the euill act in him, is the sinner (if any sinne be committed) and not man, who is but Gods instrument, and cannot choose but fulfill his will, which consequent, how blasphemous it is, euery man seeth.

Secondly, if the reason of mans sinne be in this case, because he breaketh the eternall law of God (for so say these doctors) I would gladly know of them, whether the absolute will of God, and his eternall decrees, be not in all cases to be held for his lawes, and so to be obeyed: which cannot be denied, for, whatsoeuer he eternallie decreeth, and absolutelie willeth, the same is his law, and therefore ought to be performed. Whereuppon I inferre, that seeing God hath not only eternallie decreed the sinnes of men (as these sectaries teach) but also moueth, and compelleth men thereto, effecting, working, and executing his owne decree in them, and by them, it cannot with any reason be said, that men sinne, in concurring with his absolut will, but rather that they doe their duty in obeying the same: so that, albeit God haue

eternallie decreed, that adulterie shall not be committed, and that all men are bound to obey this diuine law, and decree (as many doe) yet it must needes be vnderstood, that when he moueth, and forceth men to commit adulterie, he either contradicteth himselfe in breaking his owne law, or at least, dispenseth with his law, and maketh the breach thereof in such case, to be lawfull. As for example, if a prince hauing forbidden the transport of corne, or money out of his country, vpon paine of death, should neuerthelesse commaund, yea and compell some afterwards to breake his law, could any man be so absurd to say that such a subiect so commaunded, and compelled by his prince, should thereby commit any offence against him? Or that the prince, die not in that case dispense, with his owne law? And if he should not, but would inflict the penalty vppon the party, would not all men iustly condemne such a prince, of monstrous iniustice, and tirannie?

41 Thus then it appeareth, that two notable, and blasphemous absurdities, doe necessarilie follow of this opinion of these sectaries. The one, that if any sinne be committed in the transgression of Gods law God is the sinner, being the author and worker of it, and not man who is but Gods instrument, and cannot resist his will, and consequently cannot sinne therein, no more then a horse, or a beast, seeing that according to the knowne, and common axiome. *Nullum est peccatum, quod non sit voluntarium.* There is no sinne, which is not voluntarie. The other absurditie is, that God doth daily, and hourely, either breake or at least dispense with his owne eternal lawes, mouing, and compelling men to the breach thereof, seeing that daily, and hourely, men doe transgresse them by Gods owne motion, and compulsion, as these sectaries teach. Whereuppon there followeth also, an other notable absurditie, touching both religion, and state, to witt, that all penal lawes, deuine, and humane, ordained for the punishment of sinne, are vtterlie vniust, yea, and that there is no hell, or damnation for sinners, because there is no sinne committed by men, according to this ground.

42 Therefore I appeale here, to the iudgement of any indifferent man, what a good Christian, and member of a common welth, he is like to be, that is thus perswaded, and how pernicious it would be to all states, that this doctrine of Calvin, and other sectaries should be taught, and receiued therein? Whereas the contrarie doctrine of Catholikes, as it is most pious, so is it also most political, teaching that God being infinitely good, and iust, is so farre from mouing, or tempting any man to sinne, that he hateth both the sinne, and the sinner, and neither man

*S. Aug. li. de
vera religio-
ne c. 14.*

*Psalm. 72.
Sap. 14.
Iac. 1. 13.*

teeth any man himselfe (for *Deus neminem tentat*, saith *S. Iames. God. 1. Cor. 10. 13.* *tempteth no man*) neither yet *suffreth* any man to be tempted about his power, as the apostle teacheth expressely: And therefore, although God concurre with man to the act of the sinne, as he doth to the actions of all his creatures (as an vniuersal cause, without whose concurrence, no creature what soeuer, could haue any operation:) yet he concurrereth not to the deformitie of the act, wherein the sinne consisteth, which deformitie proceedeth from a particular cause, that is to say, from the will of man: so that, albeit God may be said to be a cause of the action, yet he cannot be said to be a cause of the sinne.

43 As in like case, when a monster is borne of a woman, the monstrousitie, or deformitie (which is a certaine sinne of nature) cannot be referred to the heauens, which are an vniuersal cause, but to the defect of the parents, who are the next cause: for, the influence of the heauens, which is vniuersal, and worketh in all creatures alike, would not produce, either man or horse, or plant, if it were not determined, by a particular cause: and therefore man, who doth procreate the monster, is the cause of the deformitie, and not the heauen, which alwayes giueth such influence, that a perfect man might be produced thereby, if there were not some defect and hindrance in man himselfe, who is the next cause.

44 And the like is to be vnderstood in this question, concerning the cause of mans sinne, for that the concurrence of God, to the actions of man, is indifferent either to good, or bad, and may be vsed well, if man will, and therefore seeing that man doth abuse both it, and his owne free will, to the breach of Gods law, he is truly the cause of his owne sinne, and iustly deserueth to be punished. And here vpon it followeth, that all punishment for sinne, and the lawes that ordaine the same, are most iust, which whosoever beleueeth (as all Catholikes doe) he hath thereby a notable motiue to obey all good lawes, as well humane, as deuine, and to acknowledge euen his owne punishment to be most iust, in case he transgresse them. Whereby it appeareth how necessarie this Catholike doctrine is to be taught, and beleued, in regard both of conscience, and of common welth, and how preiudiciall the contrarie doctrine of the sectaries is in both respects. And therefore no marueile, that *Plato* forbade it to be taught in his common welth, ordaining that *no man, either young, or old, Plato dialog. should be suffered to say, or heare, that God is the cause of euil, which 2. de repub. saith he, is neither holy to be spoken, nor profitable to vs.* Thus much for this point.

45 Seauently, who can deny, the great vtilitie, that groweth to common welth, by the Catholike doctrin, and practise of the sacrament of pennance, consistin in the *Confession* of sinnes, *Contrition*, and *Satisfaction*? What a notable, and potent remedie, is it against all sinne, and vice, seeing that thereby we are taught, and accustomed to examine our consciences, to discern betwixt sinne, and sinne, to stirr vp in our selues acts of contrition, and sorrow for the same, to make full purpose of amendment (without the which, we know our confession to be fruitelesse:) and finallie to labour to doe satisfaction, not only to almightie god by pennance, but also to our neighbour in case of wronges, by restitution of goods, and fame, and to doe all kind of good workes, for the publike good? Besides that the very shame to confesse our owne sinnes and defects, is a notable bridle to restraine vs from offending either God, or our neighbour.

46 And of these great benefits, we haue most manifest, and daily experience in the Catholike church. For besides the priuat, and particular comfort that men receiue thereby in their owne soules, and the encrease of Gods grace, for the repression of sinne (which every man, that duly frequenteth confession, trieth sufficientlie in himselfe) there follow also thereof many notable commodities to the publike, to wit, greate store of almes giuen to the poore, and many charitable workes daily done, the reconciliation of enemies, and composition of quarrels, restitution of stolne, or ill gotten goods, and the reformation of manners in seruants towards their masters, in children toward their parents, in married folkes one towards the other, and in all sort of officers, and subiects towards their princes: whereas the sectaries, hauing no vse of confession, are depriued aswell of the priuat, as of the publike benefit thereof, yea and liue in such a continual ignorance of the state of their owne soules, that it is a lamentable case to see.

47 For I may be bold to say, that very few of them (if there be any at all) doe so much as know, how to examine duly their owne consciences, or are able to discern truly betwixt sinne, and sinne, in so much, that they know not many times, how, and when, they offend God, which we find daily by experience in such of them, as are conuerted to the Catholike religion, who no doubt, will alwayes testifie the same, as also, what light of soule, encrease of grace, and spirituall consolation they find by the vse of confession. And so notorious, is the dammage that followeth of the want thereof to the common welth, that the city of Noremberg in Germany, hauing receiued *Luthers* new Ghospel, and banished confession, found such euident in-

conuience

conuenience thereby, that they sent a solenne embassage, and made
 great suit to the Emperour *Charles* the first, to haue it restored againe
 to their city, by an imperiall law, as witnesseth *Dominicus Soto*, who
 was there present, and testifieth further, that the Embassadors were
 worthily laughed at for their paines, seeing they imagined, that men
 might be compelled, by an Imperiall law, to confesse their secret sin-
 nes, without any obligation in conscience, or remission of sinnes, both
 which they denied according to *Luthers* doctrine which they professed.

Dominicus Soto in 4. Sentetia dist. 18. q. 1. ar. 1.

But if any of our aduersaries shall object here, as some are wont
 to doe, that our vse of confession, is rather an encouragement to sin-
 ne, then a restraint of it, by reason of the facilitie to obtaine absolu-
 tion, and pardon at the priests handes, it may easely appeare how
 fond, and friuolous their conceit is, if wee consider twoo thinges.

The first is, that they haue no reason to imagine so great facilitie
 therein, seeing that the very repugnance, which all men naturallie
 haue to discouer their owne imperfections, and offences, might of it
 selfe, suffice to diuert vs from confession, were it not that the force of
 Gods grace, ouer commeth nature therein. For prooffe whereof, we
 find by experience, that some wicked men, who stick not to brag, and
 vaunt of their wicked acts amongst themselues, yea in publike before
 others, are neuertheless so ashamed, to confesse them before Gods
 minister, in the sacrament of confession, that they are hardly drawne
 to doe it once a yeare. to satisfie the precept of the church.

But if we add to this natural repugnance, the contrition, and sor-
 row, that is requisit on our part: the full purpose (with the helpe of
 Gods grace) neuer to commit the same sinnes againe, or any other: the
 penance enioined by the priest, and satisfaction to be donne (al which
 is of necessitie required to obtaine remission:) yea, and which is more,
 if we consider, that if the said penance be not sufficient to satisfie
 Gods iustice, and that the defect thereof be not otherwaies supplied in
 this life, it is to be payed in purgatorie, centupliciter, saith a *S. Bernard*,
 a hundred fold, usque ad b nouissimum quadrantem, euen to the last farthing
 (which moueth vs also to add voluntarie penance of our owne part,
 to the iniunction, and ordonance of the priest:) if all this, I say, be
 well waighed, no man hath reason to say, that we are easely quit of
 our sinnes, or that the facilitie of pardon, doth encourage vs to sinne,
 the rather.

a *S. Bernard. Ser. de obitu Humberti monachi & Concil Florent. in literis unionis b. Matth. 5. S. Ciprian. ep. 52. ad Antonianum.*

But now if we consider, on the behalfe of our aduersaries, how
 much more easely they cleare their skore, or rather (if I may so say)
 scape scot-free, with their only faith, and imputatiue iustice, it will
 quickly

quickly appeare, how ridiculous this their obiection is against vs: for if wee Catholikes be animated to sinne, the rather (as they say we are) by the hope of an easy remission, at the priests handes (whereuntoeuer thelelle all the foresaid conditions are requisit on our part) what may be said of them, who neede not in their conceit, to doe any more, then only to beleue firmelie, that their sinnes are forgeuen them for the meritts of Christ.

52 Therefore Luther saith. *Qui fortiter, & firmiter credit, &c.* He which strongly, and firmly beleueth, that his sinnes are forgiven him, he may make this confession, and confesse to him selfe alone. So he. And of contrition he saith thus.

Luther in
postil. domi-
nica Remin-
iscere.

Idem sermo 53 *Contritio qua paratur, &c.* The contrition which is gott by the discussion, of a penitent. lection, and dejection of our synes, pondering their greuousnes, filthines, multitud. an. Dom. ricud, and the losse of eternall blisse, and the purchase of eternall damnation, 1517. & in this contrition, I say, makes a man an hipocrit, and a greater sinner. Thus he. Assertio art. 6.

Idem sermo 54 *Post peccata etiam grauisima &c.* After the most greeneous sinnes, that may be, no satisfaction is to be done by vs, lest we derogat from the satisfaction of Christ. Thus teacheth Luther.

Idem sermo 55 Also Caluin, vtterly reiecteth all the meanes, that Catholikes vie for the satisfaction of their sinnes (as namely Lachrimas, ieiunia, & offi-

Caluin in cia charitatis. Teares, fastinges, and offices, or workes of charity.) And addeth institut. ca. further. *Talibus mendacis &c.* To such lies I oppose, the franke, and free remission of sinnes, so clearely declared in the holy scripture, as nothing more. So he. Fathering his loose, & wicked doctrine vpon the scriptures, though most falselie, as it will appeare most manifestlie in the next chapter, where I hall haue occasion to treat amply, of the continual practice of mortification and penance in the church of God,

56 Now then, can any man inuent, or imagin, an easier way to the remission of his sinnes, then to lay all the pennance, satisfaction, and penaltie thereof vpon Christes backe, and to beare no part of the burthen himselfe? Or can any doctrine more animate men to sinne, then this? No truly, and therefore I may truly say, that it is most pernicious to common welth, as it may appeare euen in Plato, who in his lawes ordained, punishment for a certaine kind of wicked men, who liued in his time, and were of opinion, that God pardoneth the greatest offences, and sinnes of men, with all facilitie, as for a litle sacrifice, and prayer, which kind of men Plato numbred with the Atheists, that deny the prouidence of God, and holdeth them to be no lesse hurtfull to the common welth, then they: and no meruaile, seeing that one

Chap. 36.
from num.
4. to nu. 49.

Plato. de le-
gib. dial. II.

vs: for the speciall benefites of religion in common welth (to wit the feare of
 we are Gods iustice in the chastisement of sinne) was vtterly frustrated by that
 reto ne opinion. And truly the like may wel be said, of the meanes prescribed
) what in this day, by the sectaries for the remission of sinne, which they teach
 y more to be more facil, and easy, then that which *Plan* condemned, seeing
 nem for that they escape, as they thinke, farr better cheape then with sacrifice,
 e which and prayer, to wit, with a franke, and free remission only, for the me-
 may omi nus of Christ: Thus much for the seuenth point.

ition he Eightly, the Catholike doctrin, and practise of prayer to Saintes,
 and of their canonization, and the honour donne vnto them, is a great
 helpe, and furtherance, to good, and vertuous life, and consequentlie
 sion, col most consonant to reason of state, for what greater spurr, or prouo-
 nes, mul cation to vertue can be imagined, then the notable example of the
 mnation, most vertuous liues of Saintes, and the honour which, wee see, is daily
 Thus he donne them in earth, euen by Emperours, Kinges, and Princes, besi-
 nes, the des the ineffable felicitie which wee beleeeue they haue, and shall haue
 faction of eternallie in heauen? Can any thing, I say, more potentlie moue vs
 to aspire to the perfection of vertue, then not only to see it so highly
 ikes vie rewarded, and glorified euen in this world, but also to haue so many
 a, & off notable guides to lead vs to the practise of it by their example, repre-
 d addeth sented vnto vs partly in the written histories of their liues, partly by
 free re our preachers, and lastly by their feastes, and solemnities, images, and
 more. So pictures? So that though nothing els were to be respected in this point,
 though but only this continuall incitation to vertue, & sanctitie, it must needs
 chapter be graunted to be most politicall.

practise But who can sufficientlie expresse, the inestimable benefite, that not
 y to the only priuat and particuler men, but also whole common welths, king-
 on, and domes, and states, receiue by the intercession, and prayers of Angels,
 rt of the and Saintes, procured by our inuocation of them, whereof the expe-
 one, then rience is euident in all histories, by infinit examples in all ages, and
 ricious partly in the first a part of this treatise, and
 is lawes partly in the b *four and twentieth* chapter of this second part, where I
 ho liues answered certaine objections of *Machiauel*, and therefore I remit my
 carest of reader thereto, and conclude, that it is manifest hereby, that the do-
 fice, and ctin of the sectaries, impugning the prayer to Saintes, and the honour
 fts, that donne them here in earth, is preiudiciall to common welth, depri-
 hurtfull uing it, both of a great motiue to vertue, and also of the benefite of their
 at one a protection: besides that, contēning, & dishonoring the Saintes of God,
 whom his spouse the church, ordaineth to be reuerenced, & honoured,

CCc they

a Par. I. ch.

15. per totum.

b Chap. 24.

nn. 31.

they contemne, and dishonour God himselfe, and thereby prouoke his iudgement, and wrath against the common welth, where their religion is generally embraced.

59 The ninth point, which I wish to be considered, is, our doctrine concerning the fast of Lent, friday, saturday, and the vigils of our principall fastes, which how necessarie it is for common welth, it seemeth to be sufficientlie acknowledged in our country, euen at this day. For albeit our aduersaries hold it for superstitious, yet our wise magistrates, knowing the fast of Lent to be conuenient, for the encrease, and breede of all kind of cattell in the spring time, and that the other fish also, doe helpe greatly, aswell to conserue all kind of flesh viualle (which otherwaife might be ouer much wasted) as to maintaine, the fishing at sea, whereof resulteth the maintenance, and encrease of mariners, necessarie for our nauigation, (whereunto may be added also, consideration of good economy, to wit, frugalitie, and moderation of expence, in euery particuler familie:) for these causes, I say, and such like, our magistrats doe still retaine, some publike vse of those fasts, yet and haue added thereto, a kind of abstinence from flesh vpon the wensday, ordained by act of parliament, in the late Queenes time, though neuerthelesse it is no way obserued in England, for ought I know, neither yet are the other fasts kept by our aduersaries, other wise then for seruants only, to saue charges, for euery one, that can get flesh, eateth is freely without scruple, whereby the law is generallie broken, and the common wealth endammaged.

60 But besides these foresaid benefits, that grow to common welth, by the obseruation of our fasts, suie other may be recounted, very important to be considered. The first is, the repression of vice, by the maceration, and extenuation of the flesh, whereby concupiscence, and lust is restrained, the flesh made subiect to the spirit, and many exorbitant sinnes, which grow of excelsse auoided, to the publike good, wherefore *s. Ambrose* calleth fasting *Fundamentum castitatis, & culpe morrem*. The foundation of chastitie, and the death of sinne.

Ambros. in li. de Helia. & ieiunio.

61

3. Cor. 4. d. 26.

s. Christ. Ho. 1. in Genes.

61 The second benefit is, the purification of the soule, whereby it is enabled the better to performe the act of contemplatiō, wherein consisteth the end, and felicitie of common welth. For as the Apostle witnesseth. *Quanto externus homo noster corrumpitur, tanto internus innouatur*. By how much more our outward man is corrupted, or weakened, so much mote is our inward man renewed. And therefore also *s. Christome* calleth fasting *Alimentum animæ*. The meat or nurriture of the soule, and addeth this reason: *semper corporalis iste cibum &c.* As this corporall meate

to nourish and fatten the body, so doth fasting strengthen the soule, and quicken it feathers and wings, whereby it may mount vp, and contemplate the highest things. For this cause also the old philosophers prescribed great abstinence and fasting to their contemplatiues, as I declared before, in the *seauenthtreene* chapter, when I treated of philosophicall contemplation.

Chap. 17. m.

The third benefit is, the health of the body which is greatly hindered and impaired by repletion, and plentiful diet, and therefore S. *Basil* laudibus commendeth fasting, *matrem sanitatis* the mother of health, and addeth. *Interrogatus & dicens tibi &c.* Aske the phisicians and they will tell thee, that there is nothing more dangerous then to haue thy body in too good a plight, in which respect those which are most skilfull in the art of phisicke, doe by fasting abate the redundancy of the body, lest other waies the waight of corpulency, may oppresse nature. So he.

S. Basil. de iuniij ho. 2.

The fourth benefit is, the pacification of Gods wrath, by the affliction of our bodies, as appeareth in the *Ninivites*, who by their fasting, appeased the wrath of God, and scaped the destruction, threatened them the prophet, and therefore S. *Ambrose* doth worthily call fasting. *seculum reconciliationis.* A sacrifice, whereby we are reconciled to God. And S. *Basil* saith that, *penitentia sine ieiunio ociosa, & infructifera est.* Penance without fasting, is idle, and fruitles: and, *per ieiunium*, saith he, *satisfacit deo, satisfaciunt* by fasting.

1ma. 3.
S. Ambros. li. de Helia. & ieiun. ca. 9.
S. Basil. de laude ieiunij ho. 1.

The fifth benefit is, the impetration or obtaining at God handes, not only of all temporall good, necessary for common welth, but also of grace, whereby we are disposed to all vertue, as well moral and spiritual, as Theological, for which cause. S. *Ambrose* calleth fasting. *radix gratiae*, the roote of grace. And S. *Chrysostome*, *matrem omnium bonorum.* the mother of all good. And *omnium virtutum magistratam.* The mistresse, or teacher of all vertue. And saith in another place. *Ieiuna quia peccasti, &c.* Fast because thou hast sinned, fast that thou maist not sinne, fast that thou maist receiue gifts of God, and fast that thou maist retaine and keepe the gifts which thou hast receiued. And S. *Basil*, shewing the notable fruits and fruits of fasting, by many examples of the holly scripture, saith that it giueth wisdom to lawmakers, fortitude in warre, and quiet or tranquillity in peace, meaninge, that it obtaineth of God, those gifts and benefits for the common welth. And therefore S. *Chrysostome* also worthily teacheth it, *honorum, atque beneficiorum cardinem.* the very hinge whereon we hang and depend all the good thinges, and benefits spiritual, and temporall, which wee haue of almighty God: whereby it sufficiently teacheth, how necessary and profitable fasting is to common welth.

S. Ambros. ubi supra ca. 3. Chrysost. ho. 1. in Gen.
S. Basil. hom. 1. de laude ieiunij.
Chrysost. ser. 2. de ieiunio.

65 But perhaps, our aduersaries will say, that all these commodities may follow also of their doctrine, seeing that they doe not condemn all fasting, but only the fasts ordained by the church at certaine times, and vppon sett daies, as also the prohibition of flesh, eggs, and other meates, and that they allow voluntary fastes, as good, and necessary for the ends aforesaid.

66 But how litle benefit, the common welth reapeth by their doctrine in this behalfe, experience sheweth sufficiently, euen in them selves, whom wee see how few there are, which fast voluntarily, besides that it is manifest, that a voluntary fast, not prescribed by lawes, and at certaine times, can neuer be generall to the publike good, and when there is no prohibition of flesh, neither the flesh vittailles are generally spared, nor the fishing, and nauigation thereby maintained, nor concupiscence in men sufficiently repressed, nor yet the act of penance well performed, and consequently the iustice of God not so fully satisfied, nor his grace, and gifts so abundantly obtained, as by the vniuersal and most strict fastes, that are prescribed by the Catholike church, as *S. Leo* first

*S. Leo. ser. 3.
de ieiunio 7.
mensis.*

named the great, teacheth notably in those words. *Exercitatio continentie* &c. The practise of continency, or temperance, which euery man im-
 "poseth vppon himselfe, doth belong to the commodity but only of
 "some portion, or part, whereas the fast that the whole church ordaineth, excludeth no man from the benefit of the generall purification
 "and then is the people of God most mighty, and strong, when the hard-
 "tes of all the faithfull, agreeing in the vnity of holly obedience, there-
 "is an vniforme preparation, and the selfe same munition, or defence
 "throughout the whole campe, of our christian army. Thus saith *S. Leo*
 Where vppon I conclude, that our Catholike doctrine and practise of
 prescribed, and generall fasts, are most behouefull to the common welth
 and that the contrary doctrine of our aduersaries, hindring such notable, and vniuersall benefits, as hath benne declared, is most prejudiciall thereto.

67 The tenth and last point shalbe, the different doctrine of Catholikes, and sectaries, touching the christian liberty, which Christ purchased for vs with his precious blood, which wee say, was no other but
 "freedom from the thraldome, and bondage of the diuel, and sinne
 "and from the seruitude of the Mosaical law, and that therefore, our
 "christian liberty is no way prejudiciall to the obedience due to our magistrates, and superiors spirituall, or temporall, but that we are still bound
 "to obey them as the apostle teacheth. *Non propter iram, sed propter conscientiam*
 "Not for wrath (that is to say) for feare of punishment, but for conscience,

necessary it is to be taught, beleeneed, and practised for the good of
common welth, any man may easily iudge.

But the *sc* *Charles* teach, that wee are freed by our Sauour Christ,
wholly from the bondage of sinne, and the *Mosaycal* law (yea and
from the commandments of God, as I haue declared before) but
not from all obligation of humane lawes, or statutes, I meane obli-

gation in conscience, for so teacheth *Luther* expresse, saying. *Nulla lex*
obligat, neque captiuus apud Deum. No law doth bind, or captiuat vs
before God, *apud quem*, saith he, *omnia licent, liberaque sunt*, before

Luther in
ca. 7. ep. 1.
Cor.

whome, or in whose sight, all things are lawfull, and free, or indis-

ferent. And here vpon he also inferreth, that which I haue in part
alleged out of him before, to wit, *nil omnino Deo es obligatus, nisi so-*

lum credas, & eum confitearis, in omnibus aliis &c. Thou art bound to
God in nothing at all, but only to beleue & confesse him, in all other
things he makes thee free, that thou maist doe according to thy owne

will, with out any offence of conscience. Thus he. *Caluin* also teacheth
the very same in effect, making our christian libertie to consist spe-

ciallie in three things. The first is, that there be no regard had of
the law, or of woorks, when there is question of iustification by

faith (which, *Caluin* calleth not *fidem*, but *fiduciam*, confidence.) The
second is, that good woorks be not examined by the rule of the law,
but as to be accepted of God assuredlie, of what sort soeuer they be.

The third is, that the vse of all externall things, be held for indiffe-

rent in such sort, that no scruple be made, whether we vse, or leaue
them. Thus teacheth *Caluin* in greate conformitie with *Luther*, most

impiouslie destroying, not only all that part of religion, and woorship
of god, which consisteth in external things; but also all common

welth, freeing, and exempting men by this doctrin, from all obli-

gation in conscience to obay human lawes, which concerne for the
most part, the good vse, or abuse of externall things: besids that,

Caluin teacheth also expresselie els where, that Christians are not
bound in conscience to the obseruation of euery particuler law of
princes (he meaneth iust lawes) but to the general praecept of God to
honour princes, and to respect the end of the lawe, that is to say peace,

and the loue of our neighbour.

69. But if this be true, how standeth it with the doctrin of the Apost-
le, who hauing taught that all power is of god, and that he which
resisteth the same resisteth Gods ordonance, addeth, *neccessitate subdi-*

Vide Contra-
dum kelim
aduersus ca-
ninas Lu-
theri nuptiae
li. 4. tracta-
tu 2. ca. 1.
Caluin li. 3.
Instit. ca. 19.
ss. 2. 4. & 7.

Vide Bel-
larm. li. 2. de
iustifica. ca.
1.

Caluin li. 4.
Instit. ca. 10.
ss. 5.

Rom. 13.

but also for conscience sake? Is it not euident that the meaning of the apostle is, that conscience bindeth, wherefoeuer punishment may be iustly feared? In which respect, he sheweth the necessitie of our obedience, by the consideration, as wel of abound in conscience, as of the feare of punishment, extending the one as far as the other: to which purpose *S. Augustin* saith, that *omnis iusta poena, peccati poena est*. If then we iustly feare punishment, for the breach of euery iust law of our prince, we are also to acknowledge, an obligation in conscience to obserue the same, especiallie seeing the Apostle teacheth in the same place, that those which resist humane power, *damnationem sibi acquirunt*, doe purchase damnation to them selues, and that our princes, and gouernours are, *ministri Dei*, the ministers of God, that is to say, his substitutes, and, as it were liuetenants, where vpon it must needs follow, that our disobedience to their iust lawes, doth include a disobedience to God, whose place, and person they represent. And therefore *S. Bernard* saith notably well. *Sine Deo, siue homo vicarius Dei est*. Whether God, or man being the vicar, or substitut of God, doe geue a

*S. Bernard
tra. 7. de pra-
cepto & disco.*

commandment, it is to be obeyed with like care, *ubi tamen Deo contra-
non praecipit homo*, when neuertheles man doth not command things contrarie to God. Thus saith *S. Bernard*. And this I haue said breuely, to show that the christian libertie which these archsectaries teach, is no lesse repugnant to the veritie, & truth of the holly scriptures, then preiudicial to common welth, which would be vtterly subuerted, if all respect of conscience in the obseruation of humane lawes were abolished, as it wold be if their doctrine were generally receiued, seeing that it woulde follow thereon, that to breake human lawes, would be held for nothing els but to vse, & practise the priuilege of our christian libertie, as shall further appear in the third part of this treatise.

70 And although *Luther* doe afterwards, in the place before alledged, acknowledge a kind of obligation, of one man to an other, affirming that there is no danger of conscience before God, but only when there is offence committed against our neighbour, yet it is euident, that he doth not acknowledge thereby any obligation to obey humane lawes, but only to performe couenants, and mutual offices of charitie, & ciuill conuersation, & therefore he concludeth. *In summa nemini quicquam debeamus nisi ut inuicem diligamus, & mutuo per charitatem seruiamus*. In fine, let vs owe nothing to any man, but that we loue, and mutuallie serue one an other for charitie sake.

And that this (I say) is his sense, and meaning, and not to teach obedience to human lawes, it appeareth plainly, as well by that which he saith out of him before (where he saith, that no law bindeth vs, as God) as also by his exposition in the same place, of these words of the Apostle. *Pretio empti estis, nolite fieri serui hominum.* You are freely bought, doe not become the slaues of men, which saith he, the Apostle, without all doubt, doth say, as a common, or general sentence, *contra statuta hominum*, against the statutes of men; *quibus tam liberis, quam aequalitas ista fidei annihilatur, & conscientie arctantur*, with the which, as well this libertie, as the equalitie of faith is annihilated, and mens consciences are streightned or entangled. And againe afterwards, leading also the same text, he saith, that the Apostle speaketh there of Christ, *qui proprio sanguine nos ab omnibus peccatis, legibusque redemit, atque liberis efficit*: who with his owne blood, redeemed vs from all sinnes, and lawes, and made vs free. And then addeth, that neuerthelesse, redemption, doth not concerne, *humanos contractus*, &c. humane contracts, or bargaines, by the which men are bound one to an other, as the contracts of the slaue, or seruant with his Lord, or master, and of the wife with her husband, *hos contractus*, saith he, *Paulus non tollit, sed seruari*, these contracts Paule doth not take away, but will haue them to be kept.

Luther. ubi
supra.

Thus saith Luther, distinguishing plainlie, as you see, betwixt the obligation to performe bargaines, or charitable offices, and an obligation to obey humane lawes, admitting the former, and denying the latter, vpon pretence of our christian libertie.

I haue debated this, the more largelie out of Luthers owne words, as well to the end, I might truly, and manifestlie shew his opinion, concerning this point, as also, that by the same occasion, I may further discover here, his notable folly and grosse ignorance: his folly, in the evident contradiction of himselfe: and his ignorance, in his absurd, and ridiculous doctrine.

As for the first, it is to be considered, that hauing laid downe his general rule, or ground of the indifferencie of all externall things, in the sight of God, he maketh an exception, against his owne rule, seeking to admit an obligation in conscience, euen in our externall actions, when they are iniurious to our neighbour, as I haue signified before, to which purpose he saith thus. There is no danger of conscience before God, in eating, or drinking, or in apparell, or in liuing in this, or that manner, *nisi contra proximum sit quod agitur*, except when that, which is done is preiudiciall to our neighbour. Thus he.

Luther ubi
supra vide
Conrad Kel-
lin. li. 4. tra-
cta. 2. ca. 3.

m. 64.

75 And therefore, which he yeeldeth for it is, that although man is not bound to God, further then to beleue, and confesse him (as he hath declared before) yet one man hath obligation to an other, for the performance of the workes of charitie, and of ciuill conuersation: which respect, he saith also, that albeit wee are free towards God, yet wee are not free towards our neighbour, and albeit God careth not for our externall actions, in regard of himselfe, yet he careth for them in regard of our neighbour, where vpon he also inferreth, that in offending, or wronging our neighbour, in externall thinges, wee endanger our consciences.

76 Thus teacheth he, and yet neuerthelesse, he contradicteth it presently after. For hauing said, that there is no danger of conscience, in externall actions, but only when our neighbour is wronged, he addeth immediatelie, *Contra Deum hic peccari non potest, sed contra proximum.* For here, or in this case, that isto say, in externall acts, we cannot sinne against God, but against our neighbour. But if it be true, which he affirmeth before, to witt, that there is danger of conscience, when we wrong our neighbour, how can it be true, that, *contra Deum hic peccari non potest*? wee cannot sinne in this case against God? Doth he not teach, that in doing iniurie to our neighbour, we endanger our conscience? And how can our conscience be in danger, when wee cannot sinne, and offend God? And therefore what els saith he here in effect, but that wee cannot offend God, when wee doe offend him, which is a most strange, and ridiculous contradiction.

77 And no lesse strange, and ridiculous is his folly, and grosse ignorance, in affirming that no sinne, or offence to God, can be committed in externall thinges, but when there is some offence to our neighbour: for who knoweth not, that euen in those examples which he alledgeth of eating, drinking, and apparell, God may be most hainously offended, by dronkenness, surfeits, and prodigall expences, when neuerthelesse, our neighbour is no way wronged, or offended, but perhaps pleased, and benefited? And who seeth not, that by this his wicked pollution and ground, of the indifferencie of all external things (which is also *Caluines* doctrine, as you haue heard) the holy sacraments themselves, are made indifferent to be vsed, or least at our pleasure, and that we cannot offend God therein (according to *Luthers* opinion) when no offence of our neighbour concurrerh?

78 Furthermore how absurd is he, in making humane acts sinfull, & offenseue to God, not in respect of God himselfe, but only in respect of our neighbour, as though any sinne could be committed against a creature

in respect of some law, or ordonance made by the creator, where-
 the offence is principally, and in order of nature, first committed
 against him, whose law, and will is thereby infringed, and broken: And
 therefore wee see, that wee doe not offend God alwaise in doing hurt
 our neighbour (as in killing him by order of iustice) but in doing
 inordinatelie, that is to say, against iustice, because the hurt, and of-
 fence of our neighbour, in that case, is against the will, and law of
 God, who is iustice it selfe, and to whome all iniustice is opposit, and
 ensue. Besides that, it is to be considered, that no humane law, or
 iustice hath force to bind, but only, as it is conforme to the eternal
 law, and iustice of God, and therefore seeing, that euery effect depen-
 deth more on the first cause, then on the second, and receiueth more
 influence from it, it followeth, that whatsoeuer is against humane
 law, reason, or iustice (in matters touching either our neighbours, or
 our selues) is principallie against the iustice, and eternall law of God,
 and consequentlie is a sinne committed directlie against him.

Lastly, what an impious, and monstrous absurditie, was it in Lu-
 ther, to teach that God careth not for our externall acts, in respect of
 himselfe, but only in respect of our neighbour? Did he not know, or
 was he so wicked, and absurd to thinke, that God is not the last end of
 man, and of all humane actions, as well, as of all other things, and
 that therefore the loue, honour, duty, respect, and obligation of one
 man to an other, is speciallie for God, and to be principallie refer-
 red to his glory? Doth not the scripture teach vs, that *Deus vniuersa*
propter seipsum est, *propter semetipsum*. God made, and wrought all thinges for him-
 selfe? Wherevpon it must needs follow, that he also careth for all
 thinges, principally for him selfe: for although he neede not our goods,
 as the *psalmist* saith, neither receiueth any benefit by any seruice, ho-
 nour, or glory, that we yeld him, either in our workes, or in our faith,
 yet it is most iust, that he be glorified by vs in all our actions, whether
 they concerne him, our selues, or our neighbours, wee being all his sla-
 ues, and creatures, and he our Lord, creator, and last end, or felicitie, &
 therefore he respecteth the obligation, that we haue one to an other,
 both as it is iust, & dependant on his eternal law, & because it finally re-
 bouideth to his seruice, & glory, for the which he created vs, & al thin-
 ges els: And to say otherwise as *Luther* doth (to wit, that God careth not
 for humane actions, but only in respect of man) is rather to make man
 the end of God, then God the end of man, which is in effect
 to introduce *Atheisme*: whereby wee see, to what beastlie absur-
 ditie *Luther* is driuen, to maintaine his wicked pretence of christian

Proverb. 16.

libertie, being nothing els in truth, but the seruitude, and bondage of sinne; or (as *S. Peter* saith) *velamen nequitie, the veile, or couer of wickednes* in which respect it is euidentlie pernicious to common welth.

80 And this shall suffice for the *Tenne* pointes, whereof I purposed to treat in this chapter, whereto I could, and would adde many more, were it not, that I haue thought it conuenient to reserve diuers for the third part of this treatise, both because they more properly belong to the subiect that I haue speciallie designed to handle therein, and also because, I am forced for diuers causes, to hast to the conclusion of this part, which is now already growne to a iust volume, and therefore cannot well be much further extended.

81 Now then I hope, good Reader, thou hast euidentlie seene, as well by these *Tenne* pointes lastly debated, as also by certaine other handled before, touching the euangelicall counsells, that the doctrine, and practise of Catholike religion, leadeth directlie to the perfection of vertue, and to the true imitation of Christ by pennaunce, and good workes, by mortification of the flesh, by restraint of the passions, and affections of the mind, and by repression of concupiscence, and of all kind of vice, and consequentlie, that it must needs be most necessarie, and beneficiall to common welth, as I haue euidentlie proued. Whereas on the other side, the contrarie doctrine of our aduersaries, do admit no mortification of the flesh, no pennaunce, nor satisfaction for sinne, on our part, but looseth the raines, and bridle to all kind of vice, teaching as I shewed, a iustification by only faith, an impossibilitie to liue chaste, and to keepe the commaundements, an abrogation of them by Christ, a contempt, and reiection of all good woorkes, a presumptuous, and false securitie of saluation, an absolute necessitie, yea a deuine motion, temptation, and compulsion of man to sinne, and lastly a christian libertie, admitting all libertie of the flesh, which must needs induce a seruitude, and bondage of the spirit, and breede a remediless dissolution, and corruption of life and manners, remedies I say, in such as liue in the true profession, and practise of this doctrine.

82 And although this is manifest inough, by that which I haue discoursed already, yet for the more eident prooffe thereof, I will here lay downe, what experience *Luther* himselfe, and others his disciples, and followers had of it, in the professors of their new Gospell, in their primitiue church, if I may so terme it. And this shall appeare by their owne confession.

*Luther in
sermonibus
cōtinual Ger-
manice fo. 55*

83 *Luther*, in certaine sermons, which he wrote in the German

saith thus. Yt is a wonderfull, and scandalous thinge, saith
 that from the time that the pure doctrin of the Ghospel was
 restored, & brought to light, the world hath euery day becōe worse
 & worse: euery man abuseth christian liberty at his pleasure, no other-
 waie, then as though it were lawfull for euery man to doe euery thing
 that he listeth. And againe in the same sermons. Since that the ghos-
 pell, saith he, was reuealed, vertue is killed, iustice oppressed, tempe-
 rance tied, or bound, truth rent and torne by doggs, saith shut vp, wic-
 kednes is become ordinary, deuotion banished, and heresie remaineth.

Also in an other place. *Nostrorum plerosque*, saith he, *septiceps ille dia-*
bolus inuasit &c. The seauen head diuel, hath inuaded or possesseth, the
 most part of our men, and hath made them worse then they were vn-
 der the Pope. And againe: *vidimus*, saith he, *quod hoc tempore* &c. Wee see
 that at this time, men are much worse, more couetous, more licen-
 tious, thē euer they were before in the papalty. Thus saith Luther, of the
 professors of his ghospel, whom he also confessed (as *surius*, testifieth)
in templo sodomitis peiores euasisse: to be growne tenne times worse, then
 the sodomits.

But let vs heare one, or twoo witnesses more of his owne follo-
 wers. *Andreas Musculus*, a famous Lutheran, saith thus of himselfe, and
 his fellowes. *Cum nobis Lutheranis hoc tempore ita agitur, ut si quis videre vo-*
luerit ingentem turbam nebulonum. The case standeth so with vs Lutherans,
 at this day, that if a man, would see a huge multitude of knaues, and
 turbulent fellowes, let him goe to some city where the ghospel is pu-
 bly preached, and he shall find them there in heapes: for it is clearer
 then noone day, that of vnbridled, and disordered men (amongest
 whom all vertue is extinguished, and nothing reputed for sinne, and,
 where the diuel hath his full swinge) there are no where more found,
 then amongst the professors of the ghospel. No not amongst Turkes
 Ethincks or other infidels: Thus farre *Musculus*.

And that this excesse of wickednes, in these new ghospellers,
 proceeded principally from their very doctrin, it may appeare sufficien-
 tly by the testimony of *Ioannes Andreas*, a Lutheran preacher, who repre-
 hendinge the horrible Epicurian, and bestly life of the German ghos-
 pellers (in their quaffing, & drinking, their couetousnes, poms, pro-
 phanation of the deuine name & their blaphemies) addeth as followeth.
 God, saith he, seriously commaundeth in his word, and requireth a
 serious and christian disciplin in his christiās, but that is now esteemed
 to be a new popery and a new monkery, for thus they say, wee haue
 learned now, to be saued by only faith in Christ, who satisfied with his

Ibid. fo. 625.
vide Thesau-
rum Iodoci.
Coccej To. 1.
de sig. eccles.
nr. 12.
idem prasat.
in postillam.
Surius in cō-
ment. an.
 1537

Andreas.
Muscul. Do-
minic. ad-
uent.

" death for al our sinnes, & we cannot satisfie for them with our fasting,
 " almes, prayer, and other workes, therefore permit, and suffer vs to
 " lay a side such workes, seeing wee may, be saued otherwise by Christ,
 " and doe relie only vppon the grace of God, and vppon the merits of
 " Christ. And to the end, that all the world may acknowledge them to
 " be no papists, nor to confide any thing at all in good workes, they
 " doe not exercise any of them. In steede of fasting, they spend both
 " night, and day in banquetting, and quaffing, and whereas they should
 " doe good to the poore, they skinn, and flea them, they turne prayers
 " into oathes, blasphemies, and execrations of the name of God, yea
 " so desperatelie, that Christ is not so much blasphemed at this day by
 " the Turkes. Finallie in steede of humilitie, there raigneth euery whe-
 " re amongst them pride, elation, and hautines of mind, with all ex-
 " cesse in costly apparell, which is wrought, and trimmed, either most
 " sumptuouslie, or most foolishlie, and all this kind of life, is called
 " by them Euangelicall. In the meane while those miserable men, per-
 " swade themselves, that they retaine in their minds a right, and true
 " faith in god, and that God is mercifull vnto them, yea they iudge
 " themselves to be better, or more vertuous, then the wicked and false
 " Apostolicall papists.

87 Thus saith *Iohn Andrew*, discovering not only the maladie, and
 disease of his fellow ghospellers, but also the true cause, and roote, fro
 whence it proceeded, and this by their owne confession, excusing
 themselves of their vices, and enormities (as you haue heard) by the
 groundes of their doctrine, and with great reason, seeing that the sa-
 me being laid for the foundation, no other building can be raised vpon
 it, but sinne, and wickednes.

88 Therefore no maruaile, that *Calvin* also reaped the like fruit of
 the like doctrine in his followers, whom in a French sermon (which
 he wrote vppon *S. Pauls* Epistle to the *Ephesians*) he called, the most
 facinorous, and wicked of all mortall men: and not finding wordes suf-
 ficient to expresse their impietie, tearmed them, horrible monsters, and
 euill spirits in the shape of men. So that we neede no other witnesses of
 the vile, and beastlie liues of the first gospellers, then their owne
 masters, and teachers, not treating of different sects from theirs,
 but euerie one speaking of those of his owne crew, and therefore
 I hold it needelesse to lay downe the censures, and iudgements that
 one sect gaue of another, whereof I haue also giuen some litle tast be-
 fore in the 31. chapter, where I treated of the pride of the sectaries.

89 But now our aduersaries will seeke perhaps to answere all this

*Caluin con-
 cio 1. in ep.
 ad ephes.
 V. de Cocciū
 ubi supra.*

four
 and b
 like f
 prote
 uers o
 in the
 mons
 these
 lastly
 may b
 repug
 Chris
 answ
 chap
 vortu
 good
 ter, I
 tione
 it wil
 aient


Three
 th
 uir
 bee
 cess
 mo
 tion
 dra
 rel
 as

kes,
 drin
 whic
 tion

four wayes. First by the way of recrimination, ripping vp the faults, and bad liues of many Catholikes, to proue therebie, that our Catholike faith, hath no aduantage of theirs, in respect of the liues of the professors of it. Secondlie they will perhaps, produce examples of diuers of their profession, who liue vertuousslie, or at least morallie well in the sight of the world. Thirdlie, it may be, they will alledge the sermons, and exhortations of diuers of their writers and preachers, as of these aforesnamed, reprehending vice, and exhorting to vertue. And lastly, they will say perhaps, that howsoeuer our Catholik religion may bee in these, or other points conforme to reason of state, yet it is repugnant to the holly scriptures, and consequentlie to the truth of Christian religion. Thus, I say, our aduersaries, may, or perhaps will answer to that which I haue discoursed in this, and all the former chapters, concerning the bad fruits, and effects of their religion, in the corruption of mens manners. Wherefore to the end that thou maist, good reader, receiue some satisfaction concerning this important matter, I will in the next chapter, handle three of the four points last mentioned, remitting the fourth to the third part of this treatise, for that will require a more ample discourse, then can stand with the conuenient proportion of this present volume.

Three obiections are answered. The first, concerning the bad liues of some Catholikes. The second touching the good liues of some Lutherans, and Calvinists. And the third concerning their exhortations to vertue, and by occasion hereof, it is amply proued that the mortificatio or chastisement of the flesh, is necessary to good life. Also that the worst, and most vicious Catholiks, are commonly those which become Lutherans, or Calvinists. Lastly that the exhortations, which Luther, and Calvin vsed to induce men to vertue, and to withdraw them from vice, were ridiculous in them, being wholly repugnant to their religion, and by the way they are slyly compared to Epicurus, & his followers, as well for their doctrine, as for their manner in the deliuey of it.

CHAP. 36.

 Hereas there is nothing more ordinarie, or common to all sectaries, then to seek to obscure, and blemish the resplendant truth of Catholike religion, with odious exaggerations of the bad, and vicious liues of many Catholikes, vsing the same as an argument, to proue corruption in their doctrine, I wish it here to be considered, that although all were true, which they say in this kind (as a great parte of it is but meere fictions, and calumniationes) yet it were litle to the purpose, for

DDdd iij. the

the matter now in hand, seeing that the question is not here, whether all those which professe a true religion, be good men, or no (whereof there can be no doubt, seeing that our Saviour himselfe affirmed: that there should sit wicked men, *euen vpon the chaire of Moyses*, whose doctrine neuerthelesse, he commaunded should be followed, and teacheth vs also, that the kingdome of heauen (that is to say his militant church) is like to a sheepefould, wherein there are both sheepe, and goates: and to a barne floore, wherein there is cockell, or darnell, mixt with the good corne, to a nett, in the which there are good fishes, and bad: and lastly to tenne virgins, of whom five were wise, and five foolish: by all which similitudes he signifieth, that there are in his church, both good, and wicked men, that is to say, such as professe, one true faith, and yet doe many of them neuerthelesse liue wickedlie, as *S. Augustin* teacheth against the Donatists, out of these very similituds, and wordes of our Saviour. Therefore, I say, our question is not now, concerning this point, (though the same be also controuersed betwixt our aduersaries, and vs) but whether the bad liues of Catholikes, do any way proceede from their religion.

Matth. 23.

Matth. 25.

Matth. 13.

Ibid. Cap. 13.

Matth. 25.

2 To which purpose, it is to be vnderstood, that as amongst the twelue Apostles themselues, who receiued the Catholike religion immediately of Christ, there was a wicked *Iudas* (not because the religion which he professed, did induce him to wickednes, but because he obserued not the rules of his religion:) so also amongst Catholikes, there are many euill men, because they liue not according to the prescript of Catholike religion, which if they would doe, they must needes be veruious, yea holly men: for that Catholike religion not only teacheth all perfection of vertue, but giueth also the true, and effectuell meanes to eschew vice (as to mortifie all inordinate passions, and affections, and to obtaine Gods grace for the reformation of manners:) whereas on the other side, *Lutheranisme*, and *Caluinisme*, worketh the contrarie effects, as I haue euidentlie shewed already: so that though there are wicked men in the profession of both religions, yet this difference is to be noted betwixt them, that the wickednes of the one, to wit of the *sectaries*, may, and doth many times, grow of the doctrine, and practise of their religion, but the bad life of the Catholikes, can haue no other ground, or reason, but because they doe not duly practise the precepts, and counsells of their religion.

3 For how is it possible, that he should be a wicked man, who following the rules, and prescript of Catholike religion, labourerh continually to subdue his sensualitie, and passions, by penance, fasting, and

kind of mortifications, by prayer, meditation of our Sauiours life, and passion, daily examination of his conscience, frequent confession of his sinnes, and communion, with full purpose, and diligent endeavour to amend his life by such meanes as I haue declared particulerlie, when I treated of contemplation: whereto I add the obseruation of the euangelicall counsells, of voluntarie pouerty, perpetuall chastity, and perfect abnegation of his owne will, and the exercise of all kind of good workes (all which the Catholick religion partly commaundeth, and partly counselleth) how is it, I say, possible, that he who practiseth all this, can be otherwise then a good, and holly man? For by these meanes, all the dearest seruantes of God, and greatest Saints in his church, haue arrived to that perfection of holly life, which the whole world hath admyred in them: besides that experience teacheth, that those Catholikes which doe duly vse, and exercise the same meanes, are alwaies good, & vertuous men, and that on the other side, those which neglect, or omit them, are so much the worse, or more wicked, by how much more negligent they are in the practise thereof, and finally that those are alwaies the worst, and most vicious, who vse the least, or no discipline thereof at all.

But now for as much, as our aduersaries do reiect a great part of these meanes, houlding them for superfluous, and needeles to good life, yea for superstitious, and vnlawfull (as not only the practise of the euangelicall counsells, and confession, whereof I haue spooken sufficiently already, but also all the mortifications, and chastisement of the flesh vsed in the Catholike church) therefore I thinke good to prooue that the practise of mortification, and punishment of the flesh, is very important, and necessarie to repress concupiscence, to appease Gods wrath, and to obtaine his grace, and mercifull assistance to good life, whereby it will appeare, that the contempt, or omission thereof, is cause of bad, and vicious life, as well in many Catholikes, as in the *Protestants*, and *Caluinists* themselves. And this I hope to make most euident, and cleare, not only by the scriptures of the old, and new testament, but also by the examples of our Sauiour Christ himselfe, of his apostles, and of all the holly men, no lesse in the primitive church, then in these later ages.

In the old testament, we reade, that the famous, and holly *Iudith*, *Iudith* *cap. 8.* after her husbands death intending to liue a widow, vsed to fast euery day except the saboaths and festiuall dayes, and to weare haire cloth, *ut lambos eius*, which shee did, no doubt, to the end to repress concupiscence, and the better to conserue herselfe in vidual chastity, & afterwards

Chap. 38. 19.
20. & 21.

Ibid. cap. 9 *1bid. cap. 4* *Holofernes*, she intred into her oratory, put on hairecloth, cast ashes on her head, prostrated her selfe vpon the ground, to obtain Gods assistance therein. And to the same end the people also humbled their soules, saith the scriptures, in fasting and praier, and the priestes put one hairecloth, whereby they obtained Gods fauour, for the good successe of *Iudiths* attempt.

Histor. ca. 4. 6 Also when king *Assuerus* published his cruel edict against the *Iewes*, vpon the wicked suggestion of wicked *Aman*, not onlie *Mardocheus* did put one sackcloth and cast ashes vpon his head, but also the *Iewes* abroad, throughout al the dominion of *Assuerus* fasted, and manie of them used, saith the scripture, *sacco & cinere prostrato*, sackcloth and ashes prostrated, to moue the mercie of almightie God to deliuer them, which hee did by the meanes of *Hester*.

7 In like manner king *Dauid* to obtaine the life, and health of his sonne in the cradel, punished his bodie with fasting, and lying vpon the ground seauen daies together. Also the wicked *Achab*, being threatened by the prophet *Elias*, for the death of *Naboth*. *Operuit carnem suam cilicio, ieiunauit, & dormiuit in sacco*. Covered his flesh with hairecloth, fasted, and slept in sackcloth, by which meanes he inclined almightie God to mercy, & to differr the destruction of his house vntill after his death.

4. Reg. 6. 8 And when *Benadad* king of *Siria* inuaded *Samaria*, & the people were miserablie afflicted with extreame famine, in so much that a woman did eate her owne child, their king *Ioram*, tore his garments, and al the people saith the scripture, *saw the hairecloth which the king ware inward vpon his flesh*. And the *Ninivites*, being threatened by *Ionas* the prophet, with a generall destruction of their cittie, obtained mercie at Gods handes by their repentance, and by fasting, sitting in the ashes, and wearing sackcloth.

oia. 3. 9 Finallie, when *Iudas Machabeus* was assailed by *Timotheus*, both hee and al those which were with him, cast ashes vpon their heades, and praied vnto almightie God, *lumbos cilicijis praeincti*, hauing their loynes gyrt with hairecloth, and thereby obtained a famous and miraculous victorie, being assisted by fise Angels.

2 Macha: 10 10 Thus then we see in the ould testament, the vse of mortification, by fasting, sackcloth, hairecloth next the skinne, lying vpon the ground, and sleeping in sackcloth and ashes, to afflict and punish the bodie, not onlie to the end to pacifie Gods wrath, and to doe penance for sinne, as the *Ninivites* and *Achas* did, or to obtaine Gods fauour, and assistance in temporall necessityes, as we see in *Dauid*, *Ioram*, *Mardocheus*, & *Iudas*, but also to repress concupiscence, and to obayne Gods grace,

Mar. I.

Ioan. 2. 15. 16

Rom. 11.

Co. 14.

A. Is. I.

Math. 11.

Math. 7.

1. Cor. 12. Co.

Galat. 6.

Galat. 5.

D. Tho. in

hunc locum.

Math. 16. Co.

Marc. 8.

1. Cor. 9.

Theophyl. in

ca. 9. ep. 1. ad.

Corinth.

nights together: whereto I add, that being in the wild wilderness, *bestijs, with beastes*, as the euangelist saith, he had no better bed, then the ground, and it is also more then probable, that he vsed at other times not onlie to fast, but also to weare hairecloth, though it be not expressed in the gospel. And this I say, for that in the 68. psalme (which in six seuerall places of the scripture, is applied to our Sauour) he saith by the mouth of the prophet. *Operui in ieiunio animam meam &c. & posui vestimentum meum cilicium.* I covered my soule with fasting &c. and I clad my selfe with hairecloth. And al this our Sauour did, to moue vs to the imitation of his patience, humilitie, and mortification, to the end, that suffering with him, we may raigne hereafter with him, and participate of the glorie of his kingdome, which, as he testifieth himselfe, can not be obtained, but by such as use violence, and walke the straight and narrow way, which he went before vs, his whole life, and doctrin tendinge to nothinge els (as I haue oft signified, and cannot to oft repeat) but to teache vs the contempte, and hate of the worlde, abnegation of our selues, and the continual carriage of our crosse, praier, penance, and mortification of the flesh.

13 Wherein also his Apostles imitated him, leauinge vs the like example: In which respect s, Paule saith. *Imitatores mei estote, sicut & ego Christi.* Be you followers of me, as I am of Christ. And in what fort he imitated Christ, it is euident, in that he witnesseth of him selfe, that he gloried in nothing, but in the crosse of Christ, and that the world was crucified to him, and hee to the world, which he further explicateth, when he saith. *Qui Christus sum* &c. Those which are Christs, haue crucified their flesh, with al the vices, & concupiscences thereof, that is to say (as s. Thomas, noteth verie wel) they haue conformed themselues to Christ crucified, afflicting, & chastising their owne flesh and therefore haue ouercome all their vices, and vurious inclinations. And herein is fulfilled the counsell of our Sauour, concerninge the carriage of our crosse, when hee said. *If anie man will come after mee, let him take vp his crosse*, that is to say, lett him not onlie beare patientlie, such crosses as shal bee laid vpon him by me, or by my permission, but also willinglie take, vp or lay vpon himselfe, *crucem suam*, his owne crosse, by voluntarie affliction, and chastisement of him selfe: whereof the Apostle sheweth the praefise in himselfe, when hee proposeth himselfe for an example of mortification, sayinge. *Castigo corpus meum, & in seruitutem redigo &c.* I doe chastise my bodie and bringe it to subiection, least whiles I preach to other men, I become my selfe a reprobate Vpon which wordes, the learned Greeke Doctour Theophiladotus noteth, that the greeke word *uopiazō*, which in our latine translation

Castigo, signifieth a chastisement by blowes, or stripes, which leaue behind them black, and blew marks, and therefore he saith, that when the Apostle said. *Castigo corpus meum*. I chastice my body, *plagus seculi* afflicte *arguit*, he gaue to vnderstand, that he did beate himselfe, with stripes or blowes: though other Fathers vnderstand the word *Castigo*, more generallie, as comprehending, Fasting, and all kind of bodily labours and afflictions.

14 And this the Apostle also signified (as well concerning the rest of the Apostles, as himselfe) when he described the office and duty of Gods ministers, saying to the Corinthians. *Exhibeamus nosmetipsos sicut ministros Dei* &c. Let vs shew our selues as the ministers of God, and then specifying wherein, he addeth, not only in *multa patientia*, &c. In much patience, tribulations, necessities, distresses, stripes, and prisons (which kind of afflictions were imposed vpon the Apostles, by their persecutors) but also, in *laboribus*, in *vigiliis*, in *ieiuniis*, in *castitate* &c. In labours, in watching, in fasting, in chastity &c. Signifying the mortifications which they voluntarily imposed vpon themselves, besides the voluntarie povertie, wherein they liued, being sustained partly by almes, and partly by the labour of their owne hands.

15 And it is further testified, by most graue, and ancient authors, that S. Iames the Apostle, (who was bishop of Hierusalem, and called, *frater Domini*, the brother of our Lord) did neuer drink wine, nor eat flesh, but fasted continuallie with bread, and water, and that he went alwayes barefoote, and spent the greatest part, as well of the night, as of the day, in prayer, in so much, that his knees grew to be as hard, as the knees of a camell, and the skinne of his forehead, became senselesse, by the continuall custome of kneeling with his forehead vpon the ground. So that we may easely iudge, that all the rigour which holly men haue vsed from time to time, vpon their owne bodies for the conquest of the flesh, proceeded from the doctrine, and example of our Sauour, and his Apostles: which may also be confirmed by the great austeritie of the first Christians in Alexandria, vnder S. Marke the Euangelist, whereof I haue spoken amply in the 25. chapter, where among other remarkable points of their perfection, I declared the most admirable abstinence, and fasts which some of them kept three dayes together, and some six, without eating, or drinking any thing at all, their refection being commonly no other, but bread and salt, and their drinke water, except that some (who were counted more delicat then the rest) did eat some times, hisop with their bread.

2. Cor. 6.

2. Cor. 11.

Egesip. li. 5.
apud Euseb.
li. 2. ca. 22.
eccl. histor.
Galat. 1.
Metaphras.
Gal. Sur. 1.
Matij.
S. Io. Chri-
stoph. ho. 5. in
Matth.

vide Strii
17. Decemb.

16 It is written also of *S. Lazarus*, whom our Sauour raised from death, that being banished by the *Iewes*, together with his sisters, *Mary Magdalen*, and *Martha*, and made bishop of *Marsels* in *France*, he grew admirable to all men for the austeritie of his life, going alwayes barefoote, neuer sleeping but in ashes, and hairecloth, with a hard stone vnder his head, and neuer eating any thing before sunne setting, and then nothing but barly bread, and drinking water.

Idem 22. Iulij

17 Also his sister, *S. Mary Magdalen*, spent thirty yeares, in continual mortification, and pennance vpon a montaine in a desert, not farre from *Marsells*, whereof the memorie and monuments remaine yet, and are yearely visited with great deuotion, as well by strangers, as by the inhabitants of that cuntry. And now to procede to the ensuing ages in the primitiue church, we read, of the holly virgin *S. Cythia* (who was martired within 230. yeares after our Sauour Christ) that being nobly borne, and hauing dedicated her virginitie to almighty God, shee laboured to conserue it by prayer, fasting, and wearing of hairecloth next her skinne, vnder other costly, and sumptuous apparell, whereby shee obtained such grace of almighty God, that shee not only remained in her virginall puritie (not withstanding that her parents espoused her, against her will, to a yong noble man, called *Valerian*) but also conuerred him, and his brother *Tiburrim*, to the christian faith, and suffred a glorious martirdome shortly after them.

Idem Epip-
poman . ex
Metaphras-
te. 22. No-
te 22. No
uemb.

18 I haue made mention of this blessed virgin, and martyr, the rather for the particuler deuotion I haue to her, and the glorious memory that remaineth of her heere, by reason that her body hath bene twise found whole and vncorrupt, first about 800. yeares agoe, when Pope *Paschalis*, the first of that name (hauing had a reuelation from her selfe) found it appareled with a garment of silke, imbroidered with gould, and couered ouer with a silk veil, and at her feete a linnen cloth embrued with her blood, all which he translated, with great solemnitie vnto the church, which now beareth her name, where shee was martired (it being then her dwelling house) and there it was also found againe the second time ten yeares ago (to wit, in the yeare of our Lord 1599.) within a coffin of Cypressse, and appeared in the same manner, that I haue declared, with the bloody linnen cloth lying also by it.

Sigebert. in
chron. an.
8. 21.

19 And of all this, the truth is so euident, that no man can with any shew of reason deny it. For, the first finding of it, by Pope *Paschalis*, is sufficientlie testified, not only by *Anastasin Bibliothecarium* (who

lined
also b
be se
and
diuer
seene
also t
selfe
see it,
vppon
did as
more
in Pon
nalls,
20
glory
how
them
most
Saints
Apost
penn
in Fra
and h
racul
of Poi
point
me in
great
shop
Aug
diuer
rw.
at
blick
holly
were
name
S. Bed
same
lined

lined in the same time, and maketh very particuler relation of it) but also by the letters patents of Pope *Paschalis*, which are yet extant to be seene in the *Varican*, in which letters he relateth her apparition, and speech to him, with all the circumstances before declared, and diuers others, which I omit for breuities sake, all which may be seene in the ninth tome of Cardinal *Baronius*, where he recounteth also the manner how it was found the second time, and how hee himselfe being sent by pope *Clement*, together with Cardinal *Sfondrato*, to see it, found it in such sort, as I haue declared, and that pope *Clement* vpon their relation repared thither, and was an eye witnesse of it, &c. did afterwards cause it to be reburied in the same place, and for the more solempne celebration of the feast, song himselfe a solempne masse, in *Pontificalibus*, being assisted with all the sacred colledge, of Cardinals, and an infinit number of people.

20 This I haue thought good to touch by the way, for the greater glory of God, and the honour of his Saints, and to shew with all, how gratefull those are to him, who vse to mortifie, and chastise themselues, which shall also further appeare by the examples of the most famous men in the church of God. Amongst all the glorious Saints, that haue benne since the Apostles time, there was none more Apostolicall, or whose memorie hath benne more celebrated by the penes of learned, and holly men, then *S. Martin* bishop of *Tours*, in *Fraunce*, whose life was written by *a S. Sulpitius Seuerus* a bishop, and his disciple, by *b S. Gregory* also, bishop of *Tours*, whom he miraculoussie restored to health, and by *c Venantius Fortunatus*, bishop of *Poitiers*, who being deliuered of a great paine in his eyes, by appointing with the oyle of his lampe, out of gratitude, made a Poeme in his praise, besides that other notable men haue recounted his great miracles and published his praises, as *d Herbenus*, likewise bishop of *Tours*, *e Richerius Metensis*, *f Gibertus Gemblacensis* *g Honorius Augustudonenfis* *h Odo Abbot of Cluny*, *i S. Bernard*, and (to omit diuers others) the historiographers *k Sozomenus*, and *l Nicephorus*.

21 And amongst other testimonies of the common opinion and publick fame, or rather of the whole churches iudgement concerning his holly life, I cannot omit, that he was honored for a Saint, and that there were churches built, and dedicated vnto him shortly after his death, namely in oue country during our primitiue church, as appeareth in *S. Bede*, who testifieth, that when *S. Augustin*, and his companions came to conuert the *English*, to the christian faith, the church

*Baron. to. 9.
an. 821.*

*a S. Sulpitius Seuerus in vita S. Martini.
b Greg. Turon. de gloria confessor. ca. 4. & 20.
c Venant. Fortunat. de vita S. Mart.
d Herbenus de laud. S. Mart.
e Richer. de vita S. Mart.
f Gibertus Honorius h Odo Cluniac. de vita & translac. S. Mart.
i S. Bern. ser. de S. Mart.
k Sozomen. li. 3. ca. 13.
l Niceph. li. 9. c. 16.*

where they beganne first to assemble themselves, to singe, to pray, to say masse, to teach, and, to baptise (for so faith in *S. Bede* was made, antiquitas, saith he, in honorem sancti Martini, in ould time, in honour of *S. Martin*, dum adhuc Romani Britaniam incolerent, whiles the Romanes dwelt yet in Britany.

22 Now then, this famous holly man, hauing benne a monk, before he was Bishop (as I signified, when I spoke of contemplation) practised his monasticall austeritie n euer after during his life, in fasting, watching, and wearing haire cloth, in so much, that he neuer did ease more, then of necessitie he must to maintaine life, and lay alwayes vpon the hard ground, in hairecloth, and vsed such continuall mortification, that his life seemed to be nothing els but a perpetuall penance. And this was so gratefull to almightie God, that he honoured this his seruant with the grace, and gift of miracles, which he did so abundantlie, and in such stupendious manner (so raising dead men, curing all manner of diseases, casting out diuels, and hauing as it were, an absolute commaund ouer all kind of creatures) that he conuerred innumerable gentils to the christian faith, whereby it manifestlie appeareth, how acceptable to almightie god is the mortification, & chastisement of the flesh, when it concurrerth with true faith, and other christian vertues.

23 The like also may be said of *S. German*, bishop of Auxerre in Fraunce, who hauing benne first a married man, and of great authority in that kingdome, liued all the time of his bishopricke in most severe disciplin, and pennance, abstajning from all wine, oyle, vineger, salt, or what els soeuer might seazon or giue tast to his meat, which was no other but barly bread. And he vsed commonlie before his repast (which was neuer before night) to eat ashes, and sometimes forbare to eat or drink fise, or six dayes together: Also his apparell was all one winter, and sommer, and next to his skinne he wore a shirt of haire, day and night, his bed was neuer other then bare bordes, without any bolster, or other thing to lay vnder his head, which kind of life he continued thirtie yeares together, as witnesseth *Constantinus* a priest and notable writer of that time.

24 And how acceptable to God this his mortification, and pennance was, it may appeare, not only in the same author, but also in our owne histories, namely in our venerable, and worthy contriman, *S. Bede*, who testifieth of him, that when our Britany was greatlie afflicted, with the Pelagian heresie (before the conquest thereof by the Saxons) he passed thither out of France, together with *S. Lupus* bishop of Troyes, and wrought so many notable miracles (which *S. Bede* recounteth particularly,

in *S. Bede* li. i. histor. Angli. c. 26.

in *S. Sulpicius Severus* in vita *S. Mar.*

o *S. Bernard* Ser. in Festo *S. Mart.* Nisephor. li. 9. ca. 16.

Vide *Sirium* 31. Iulij.

S. Bede li. i. histor. eccl. Angl. ca. 17.

Ibid. ca. 18. 19. 20. & 21.

particularlie, and I omit for breuities sake, that the *Pelagians* were vtterly confounded thereby, and such of them as could not be conuer-
ted, were, by common consent banished, and the whole Island cleared
of that pestilent infection of the *Pelagian* heresie. So that the good
fruits of this holly Bishop in our country, and the notable miracles,
which it pleased God to worke by him, both there, and els where (as
appeareth in the historie of his life) doe giue sufficient testimonie to
the world, how gratefull his mortification, and pennance, was to his
diuine maiestie.

To these two precedent examples of these two holly Bishops, &
Confessors, I will add two other, of two of the most famous doctors
of Gods church, the one a grecian Bishop (to wit, *S. Gregory Nazianzen*,
famous for his profound learning *Theologus*, the *Deuine*) and the
other *S. Hierome*, who was, I may say, the oracle of the world in his
time, for his exquisit knowledge, of all the learned tongues, and vn-
derstanding of the holly scriptures.

S. Gregory Nazianzen, testifieth of himselfe, by what meanes he
tried to quench the fire, and heate of concupiscence, and other passions
in his youth: I did extenuat, saith he, my body, with continual labours,
for that my flesh did continuallie boile in the flower of my age: I ouer-
came the greedy, and gluttonous appetit of my belly, and the tyranny of
the partes adioining thereto. I mortified my eyes, and repressed the
fury of anger, and bridled, or restrained all the members, or partes
of my body. My bed was the earth, my apparell was hairecloth, my
sleep was continuall watching, and my teares, my repose. In the day ti-
me I vsed continuall labour, & trauell. In the night I stood as still as an
Image, writting Hymnes, not admitting any humane delight into my
soule; no not so much, as to my thought. This was the stile, and course
of my life, when I was yonge, for that flesh, and bloud like a foun-
taine cast out continuall flames, and sought to withdraw me from the way
of heauen.

*S. Gregor.
Nazianzen.
bo. de ieiunio.
& silentio.*

The like doth also *S. Hierome*, witnesse of himselfe, writting to
the holly virgin *Eustochium*, of the temptations, which he passed, in the
deserts of Syria. O how oft, saith he, did it seeme to me, that I was
amidst the delicious dainties of Rome, whiles I liued in that hydeous
wildernes, which being parched, with the excessiue heate of the
sunne, striketh a horreur in-to the monkes that dwell there. I sate me
downe solitarie and full of greefe, hauing my weake, and feble body
clad with sackcloth, and my flesh euen blacke, and consumed. I mour-
ned all the day, and when sleepe ouercame me against my will, I pro-
strated

*S. Hieron. ad
Eustochium
de virginit.
custodia ep.
22.*

strated

"strated my selfe vpon the cold ground, though my bones were able
 "able to hold together. I speake not of what I did eate, and drinke, for
 "the monkes (that dwell there) be they neuer so sick do neuer drinke
 "any thing but water, nor euer eat any thing that is sodd, which they
 "hould for sensualitie. In this banishment, and prison of mine (where
 "to for the feare of hell I voluntarie condemned my selfe, hauing no
 "other companie but scorpions, and wild beasts) I found my selfe ma-
 "ny times in my conceit, amidst the danſes of the Roman dames, my face
 "was pale with much fasting, and yet my will burned with bad desires,
 "and finding my selfe abandoned of all other helpe, I cast my selfe at the
 "feete of Iesus, I washed them with my teares I subdued my rebellious
 "flesh with fasting whole weekes together.

28 I am not ashamed to recount my temptations, and conflicts, but
 "rather I lament that I know not now, what then I was, but I remem-
 "ber, I continued sighing, and crying day, and night, neuer ceasing to
 "strike my owne breast, vntill at leaſt this tempest, and storme was
 "ouerblowne, and the desired calme returned, by the commaundement
 "of my Lord &c. And I call him to witnes, that after all these sighs,
 "sobbs, and teares, and that I had fixed my eyes, and cogitations wholly
 "vpon heauen, with so great affliction, as I haue declared, I felt such
 "contentment, and heauenlie delights, that I was absorpt, transported
 "and rauished out of my selfe, and thought my selfe to be amidst the
 "quyres of Angels, ioyfully, and merrilie singing, *post odorem unguen-*
 "*torum tuorum curremus*, we will runne o Lord, after the fragant sauour
 "of thy ointments.

29 Thus saith *s. Hierome*, concluding further with these wordes (which
 I wish all men to note) if therefore the flesh doe so terribly assault
 those which doe afflict, and torment it, what doe they thinke they
 shall suffer, who doe pamper it with pleasures, and delights: is it possi-
 ble that such shall not haue very violent temptations? Though in such
 case, I thinke there can be no greater temptation then not to be tem-
 pted.

30 All this I haue alleadged, out of this ancient, and learned Father,
 the more amply, to the end it may appeare thereby, that not only these
 mortifications, and asperities, haue benne alwayes accustomed by the
 most holly, and learned men in Gods church (as necessarie for the re-
 pression of humane passions and sensualitie) but also that the same are
 no lesse acceptable to God, then fruitful to vs, seeing they wrought such
 effect in this holly man, as hath benne declared, to wit, the conquest of
 concupiscence, and peace of soule, yea abondance of heauenlie de-
 lights.

delights, and consolations which almightie God vscth to impart to his seruants in the greater measure, by how much more they afflict, and chastise themselves for the loue of him.

But what doubt can there be, that this custome of mortification hath bene continual in Gods church, seeing that it is euident that monastical, and religious life (which of it selfe is nothing els but a continual mortification) hath benne deriued by a neuer ceasinge succession, from the Apostles time, vntill this verie day, though in different orders of religion, yet all communicating, and agreeing in the chastisement of the flesh, by abstinence, and fasting, watching, praier, and meditation, hairecloth, disciplines, and such like, some more, and some lesse, all tendinge to the perfect imitation of Christ, for the mortification of sensuality, thereby to attaine to christian perfection, that is to say, to true sanctitie, and hollines of life.

¶ And as for the deriuation of religious life from the Apostles time, I shall not neede to say any thing thereof in this place, for that I haue proued it at large in the 25. 26. and 27. chapters, where I haue also treated amply of the spirituall consolations, which God hath giuen to religious men in all ages, in the exercise of contemplation: and therefore I will now say some what only concerning the mortifications, and rigorous disciplin, practised by the ancient religious in the first foure hundredeth, and five hundredeth yeares, omitting neuertheles to speake of the first monkes in the Apostles time, vnder *Saint Marke* in *Alexandria*, because I haue touched it sufficientlie a litle before, and more amply in the 25. chapter.

¶ I will therefore beginne with *S. Paule* the Hermit, whose life *S. Hieron* writteth, testifying of him, that in the cruell persecutions of the church vnder *Decius* the Emperour, which was about the yeare of our Lord, two hundred, and fifty, he retired himselfe to the desert, and liued there solitarie, without any humane companie, or comfort, almost a hundredeth yeares, during which time, he clothed himselfe with the leaues of a Palme tree, and fedd vpon the fruit thereof, drinking water, without any other sustenance, for well neere forty yeares, at what time it pleased almightie God, to provide him miraculously of a peece of bread, brought him by a crow euery day, for threescore yeares together, vntill *Saint Anthony*, hauing benne also threescore yeares in the same wildernes, found him by reuelation, and was an eye witnesse, of Gods mercifull

FFFf

prouidence

*S. Hieron. in
vita Pauli.*

mercifull providence towards him. For whereas the crow had binne alwayes accustomed, to bring to *S. Paule* halfe alofe for his repast, he brought him then a whole lofe for him, and his guest, as not only, *S. Hierome* in the life of *S. Paul*, but also *S. Athanasius*, witnesseth in the life of *S. Antony*, and this shall suffice for *S. Paul*.

34 And although I haue made mention diuers times alreadie of *S. Antony*, and spoken largely of his contemplation, and of Gods great fauours towards him in the exercise thereof, yet hauing hitherto said nothing of his mortifications, I will add here concerning him, that (as *S. Athanasius* testifieth in the famous historie, which he wrot of his life) he did neuer vse to eat vntill after sunne setting, & then his repast was no other but bread, and salt, with a litle water for his drinke, from the which he also abstained many times three dayes together, taking his refection only the fourth daye, & he vsed for his bed nothing els, but a matt of rushes, couered with hairecloth, and watched in prayer whole nights, and so liued closed vpp, in and ould ruinous castle twenty yeares, vntill an infinit number of people, being moued with the fame of his holly life, repaired to see him from all partes, & forced him to come forth, at what time it pleased God to giue testimonie to the great merits of this his mortification, by many notable miracles, which he did in the expulsion of deuils, and the cure of many sick, and diseased persons.

35 And what the opinion of all the learned, and good men, or rather of the whole world, was in the primitiue church concerning his sanctitie, and hollines, may appeare sufficientlie, not only by all ecclesiasticall histories, which write of his time, but also by that, which I recounted in the 16. chapter, to wit, how much *S. Augustin* was moued with the fame of his rare vertue, before he himselfe was conuerted to the Christian faith, & how *Potitianus* and his companion, were suddainelie drawne to forsake the world, only by reading the historie of his life, as *S. Augustin* also testifieth. Thus much of *S. Antony*.

36 *S. Hilarion* (of whom I haue also spoken before, though not of his mortifications) retiring himselfe, to the desert, when he was but Fifteene yeares of age (being as *S. Hierome* witnesseth, of a very tender, and delicat complexion) became a mirrour of austeritie. For finding himselfe molested with temptations of the flesh, by reason of the heate of his youth, he resolued to quench the flame of concupiscence, by withdrawing from it all the matter, that might kindle, and nourish it, saying to himselfe (as *S. Hierome* also witnesseth.) O

*S. Hieron. in
vita hilario-
nis.*

me, I will shortly, bring thee so low, and hamper thee in such sort, that thou shalt not be able so much as to kicke. I will not feede thee with barley, but with straw, I will punish thee with hunger and thirst, I will lay such loades vpon thee, and so treat thee both with heat, and cold, that thou shalt haue somewhat els to thinke vpon, then fleshly pleasure.

Thus said hee, and presently beganne to put the same in practise, for he contented himselfe once in three, or foure dayes, to eate a few carrickes (which is a fruit in that country like to figgs) and to drinke the ioyce of herbes, and at such times, as he did not meditat, and pray, he also wearied his body with labour, digging the ground so long as he was able, and then made matts of rushes, in imitation of the monkes of *Egypt*, whom he had seene vnder *S. Antony*. Also he built him selfe a litle cabane, which was to be seene, in *S. Hieromes* time, not past foure foote broad, five in height, and some what longer then his body, so that it was more like a sepulcher, then a house. His bed was no other then a matt of rushes, laid vpon the bare ground, his apparell was of sackcloth, which he neuer changed, nor washed so long as it lasted: And this kind of life he ledd from *sixtynne* yeares of age, till he was *one and twenty*. And for *three* yeares after, he liued to eate nothing but a few *Lentils*, stiped in cold water, and for as many yeares more, a litle dry bread, sopt in water with salt, and during other *three* yeares, he liued vpon herbes, and rootes, and then finding himselfe some what sickly, he vsed to eat euery day *six* ounces of barley bread, and a few sod herbes, with a litle oyle, which he continued till he was threescore and three yeares of age, and from that time, till he was foure skore, he did neuer eate bread, but a certaine pottage made with meale, and hearbes, shred very small, which serued him both for meat, and drinke, forbearing neuertheless to eate till the sunne was sett. And this kind of diett and fast, he neuer after altdred, or broke, for any sicknes, or other occasion whatsoever,

All this, and much more *S. Hierome* testifieth, concerning the austeritie of *S. Hilarion*, which almighty God also approued, with many wonderfull miracles, recounted by *S. Hierome*, whereof I haue already related some in the *seauen and twentish*, and *thirty fourth* chapters, vpon other occasions.

And therefore whereas these great seruantes of God (whose vertue the Christian world admired) were speciall propagators of monasticall life, ouer all the east parts (as I haue declared in the *Fine and*

FFFF ij *twentish*

chap. 25. nu.
31. & 32

(*twentieth chapter*) let vs see, what was the practise of their disciples, and such as descended from them. This may appeare, by that which the historiographers, and authours of those times doe write, concerning the manner of life of the monks, and hermits of *Egypt*, *Armenia*, *Nitria*, and *Syria*, of whome *Palladius*, and *Theodoretus* (to omit diuers others) wrote particuler histories, relating their most admirable asperities, and mortifications, and the miracles, which it pleased God to worke by them: of all which, the said authours themselues, either had benne eye witnesses, or els had otherwaise most assured knowledge.

40 These then affirme of the hermits and monkes aforesaid, that (besides the ordinarie obligation of pouerty, chastitie, and other regular disciplin common to them all) some of them, for their further mortification, fasted without eating, or drinking *two*, or *three* dayes together, some *fine*, and some *seauen*, and some did eate nothing during the lent time, but herbes, or dried pease, steeped in water, which abstinence some others also made some yeares together, and some vsed to eat stinking, and loathsome meate, to depriue themselves of all pleasure in eating. Others accustomed themselues, to stand on their feete al thenight long in prayer. Other to goe barefoote through thornes, and briars, in the remembrance of the payne that our Sauour suffered by the nailes, that pearced his handes, and feete, and also to stand whole nights with their armes spread, and stretched out in imitation of Christ crucified. Some afflicted their bodies with continuall labour in the sunne, during the extremitie of the Egptian heates, which *Palladius* saith, might be copared with the furnace of *Babylon*. Some lay both day, and night abroad, exposed aswell to the winters cold of frost and snow, as to the sommers heat. Others wore chaines of Iron about their bodies, vnder their hayre cloth. Finallie to omit diuers other particulers, such was the rigour, and violence which some vied vpon them selues, that it had not bene possible for humane nature to endure it, so many yeares as they did, if God had not miraculously assisted them, aswell for his owne glory, as also to inuite others by their example to penance, and mortification: which *Theodoretus* obserueth notably well in diuers religious hermits, and monkes of his time, but especially in one called *Symeon*, whom he tearmeth, *magnum orbis miraculum*, the great miracle of the world, in respect of his rare vertue, and holly life, knowne, as he saith, to all the *Romane* Empire, yea to the very *Ethiopians*, and *Indians*.

41 This *Symeon*, being a shepheard, and hearing related out of the

Palladius in
Macario.
Theodoretus
in Marciani
ista de Sabi-
no sub. fine.
Pallad. in
Pachomio.

Idem. in Isi-
doro presbi-
tero.
Idem in Pau-
lo Simplicio.
Theodoretus
in Macedo-
nio. Iacobo.
Theodosio
Romano Eu-
sebio.

Idem in Si-
meone.

Gospel, that our Sauour called them *happy*, who weepe, and mourne, ^{ibidem.}
 and those miserable, or *wretched*, who laugh, and are merry, was so ^{Matth. 5.}
 moued and stroken therewith, that he shortly after resolu'd to
 abandon the word; and repairing to certaine religious men in tho-
 se partes, and being receiued amongst them, he so profited in fer-
 our of spirit, and desire of true mortification, that within a while,
 he exceeded them all, fasting from all kind of sustenance, whole
 weekes together, and binding his body vnder his cloathes very
 strait, with a rough, and sharpe corde made of the Palme tree,
 which did so gaul, and exulcerat his fleshe, that the blood drop-
 ped from him, whereby it was perceiued, and he forced to leaue
 it. And not contenting himselfe with the austeritie that others y-
 sed, he retired himselfe to a litle cabane, where he liued three
 yeares alone in admirable manner, attempting to fast forty dayes,
 as our Sauour *Christ*, *Moyse*, and *Elias* did, with out meate, or ^{Matth. 4.}
 drinke, which he also performed, and continued it euer after during ^{Exod. 24.}
 the lent time, as long as he liued, which was aboute *thirty* yeares. ^{3. Regum. 19.}
 41 And whereas it pleased God in the meane time, to giue him
 such a grace in the operation of miracles, that he was oppressed
 with the multitude of people which came partly to see him & partly
 to receiue health, and remedy by him (such being also their impor-
 tunity, that they tore his very garments from him, to haue some
 relikes, and monument of him) he procured a pillar to be made,
 first *six* cubits high, and after *twelue*, after *twenty*, and at last he cau-
 sed it to be raised *six and thirty* cubits, and in the top thereof, a recepta-
 cle to be made for his body, not past *two* cubits broad, open to the
 aire without any doore, where he stode on his feete perpetuallie,
thirty yeares together, eating only once a weeke a litle pittance, which
 was brought him vp by a ladder, and bestowing all the night, as
 also the greatest part of the day, in prayer, and contemplation,
 vntill it was three of the clocke in the after noone. And from that
 time forward vntill sunne setting, he either preached to the peo-
 ple (who were continually there in great numbers) or compound-
 ed quarrells, and controuersies, which were remitted to his iud-
 gement from all parts, or gaue answeres to questions demaunded
 of him, or els cured the blind, lame, and diseased by his prayer,
 or benediction.

42 Furthermore, such was the fame of his life, that the most
 Christian, and worthy Emperour *Theodosius*, being reprehended by
 him, for an edict which he made in fauour of the *Pewes*, reuoked

it, and humbly craued the assistance of his prayers, and benediction. Besides that his very pictures, and Images, were sett vp in euery house, and shopp in *Rome*, and as *Theodoretus* also testifieth vppon his owne knowledg (who knew him well and frequented him often) the confluence, and concourse of people vnto him, was like a sea continually filled with supplies of riuers, on euery side, for that infinit numbers of men, and women, flocked vnto him from all parts, as from *Italy*, *Spaine*, *France*, and *Brittany*, besides *Ismaelits*, *Persians*, *Armenians*, *Hebrews*, *Homerits*, and other Eastern nations, though Infidels, and Pagans, of whom he conuerted (saith *Theodoretus*) an infinit number to the christian faith, and speciallie of the *Ismaelits*, or *Sarazins*, who came vnto him ordinarilie in great troopes, sometimes two hundred, or three hundred, and sometimes a thousand together. *Quos ego vidi, & andini*, saith he, *patriam impietatem abnegantes*, &c. Whom I haue seene, and heard renounce the impietie of their contry, and receiue of him the euangelicall doctrin of Christ.

44 All this *Theodoretus* saith, to shew the manifest concurrence of almighty God with this holly man. Besides that he also answereth notable the friuolous cauils of such, as may perhaps blame, and condemne this extraordinarie manner of life in him, to which purpose, he wisheth them to consider, that God hath often moued his seruants to doe thinges extraordinarie, to stirre and awake the slouthfull out of their drowly sleepe, and therefore, saith he, God commaunded the prophet *Esay*, to goe naked, and barefoote, *Hieremy* to carry collers of wood, and *Iun* about his neck. *Osee* to marry a common queane. And *Ezechiell* to lie forty dayes on his right side, and three hundred and 90. dayes on his left, &c. And here vppon *Theodoretus* concludeth, that as almighty God, hauing care of those, which were sluggish, and slouthfull in his seruice in those times, commaunded his prophets to doe these strange, and extraordinarie thinges, *ita hoc nouum*, & *admirabile procurauit spectaculum*, &c. So he caused this new, and admirable spectacle, drawing all men to it, by the noueltie, and strangenes of it, to the end they might the rather beleue, the admonitions, and doctrin of his seruant, for the good of their owne soules. So he.

45 I haue thought it conuenient (good reader) to lay downe al this, the more largelie out of this ancient, and approued author, to the end it may euidentlie appeare, not only what was his, and the generall opinion concerning the vse, and practise of mortification in his time (which was within the first foure hundred yeares) but also how acceptable the same was to almighty god in this holly hermit: seeing

Esa. 20.
Hierem. 28.
Osee. 1.
Ezechel. 4.

pleased his deuine maiestie to approue it in him, with count-
 less miracles, and the conuersion of innumerable soules to the
 christian faith, which no man, that hath so much as common sense, can
 ascribe to anie deceyt, or illusion of the diuell, or anie other cause, then
 the omnipotent hand, and spirit of God, who to conuince the Epicu-
 rian worldlings of sinnfull delicacy, and slought, stirred vp this, and
 other his seruants, to the rigorous practise of these incredible asperities,
 assisting them therein aboue the course of nature, to the end, that no
 man might be excused from doing the worthy fruits of penance, with
 the pretence of disability: for he which considereth, and seeth that God
 enableth his seruants, which confide in him, to doe, and suffer more
 then humane nature can beare, how can he with reason doubt of Gods
 assistance (if he will dulie implore, and seeke it) for the performance
 of such works, as doe not surpasse the ordinary power of man? I meane
 such moderat chastisement of the flesh, as wee see hath benne alwayes
 used by good, and holie men, in the church of God, and is most necessa-
 rie to good life.

And this shall suffice concerning the mortifications practised by
 the monkes and hermits of *Egypt, Palestina, Siria*, and other countries in
 the East parts: who shined, saith *S. Chrysostome*, like *Angels in mortall bodies*,
 in which respect he also calleth the deserts of *Egypt*, a *paradise of pleasure*,
 which he haue declared more amplie, in the *five and twentieth* chapter, where
 he treated of monastioal disciplin, and laid downe the opinions of *S. S. Chrysost.*
Chrysostome, S. Augustin, S. Hierome, and S. S. Augustin. concerning the per-
 secution of those who professed it. Whereby it may appeare, in what ve-
 neration the church of God held them at that time (which was the
 fourth, and fift age) and therefore I shall not neede to make a further
 deduction of mortification in monastical life, seeing from that time
 forwards, our aduersaries doe not denie it, and if they should, they
 might bee easilie conuincied by the experience thereof, which is most
 manifest, euen at this day, in the ancient rules, and religious orders of
S. Basil, S. Augustin, & S. Benet, who being at three religious men (the two
 former, within lesse then *four hundred* yeares after Christ, and the third
 in the age following) & liuing themselves in great austeritie, intituled
 the strict rules, which haue bene eue since obserued in those of their or-
 ders, and haue serued also for patterns of perfection, and mortification
 to the latter orders of religion, al which doe imbrace, and practise the
 chastisement of the flesh, and true abnegation of themselves, in imita-
 tion of our Sauour Christ, of his Apostles, and of the first christians
 in the primitiue church.

47 So that the continual custome of penitential life, and mortification, hath bene so euident in the church of God, euen from our Saviours time to this, and not onlie approued, but also practised by all the learned Fathers, and Saints of God, yea so confirmed also by almightie God himselfe, with infinit miracles, that no man can denie the necessitie and merit of it, without extreme impudencie and follie, especially seeing that I may also boldlie affirme, that no one example can be produced of anie Saint, or holie man in Gods church (that hath benne famous for sanctitie and holines of life) who hath not also excelled in the practise of mortification, and austeritie, seeing that the exteriour mortification, and chastisement of the bodie, is the special and ordinarie meanes, to attaine to the interiour mortification of the minde, wherein consisteth the perfection of christian life: and therefore no meruel, that the enemies of austeritie and penance, are so farre from deseruinge the fame or reputation of sanctitie, that they are commonlie infamous for vice and wickednes, as experience sheweth, and may be exemplified in those, who were the cheefe and first impugn-
Chap. 30. nu of mortification in our age, I meane, *Luther, Caluin, Beza*, and all the first
23. 24. &c. sectaries, of whose beastlie and ambitious liues, I haue spoken ample
usque ad nu in the thirtie chapter.
30.

48 Therefore I conclude, that seeing the catholike church, carefully recommendeth to al her children, the vse and practise of diuers sorts of mortifications, and that the same are speciall meanes for the repression, & conquest of sensuality, and for the obtayning of Gods grace (in which respect they are most necessary to good life) yt ys no meruall yf those catholiks which contemne, and neglect them, are no lesse loose, dissolute, and vicious many tymes, then *Luther, Caluyn*, and others of theyr crew, giuing all liberty to the flesh, and neglecting the meanes whereby theyr vicious inclinations, and habits may be repressed, and reformed: And this wilbe much more euident, if wee consider what manner of men those catholikes commonly are, who forsake theyr religion, to become *Lutherans*, and *Caluinists*, whereby yt will also appeare, what are the speciall motiues which draw them thereto.

49 For who seeth not by experience (yf he list to note yt, as I wish thee good reader, to do) that the most dissolute, and licentious Catholikes, are alwayes those, which embrace the doctrine of *Luther* and *Caluin*, such Catholikes I meane, as seeking liberty of life, and yelding themselues, as yt were, captyues to worldly, and fleshly pleasures, will no longer endure the straight disciplin of catholike religion: which *S. Ambrose* obserued notably in certayne loose Catholikes of his time

who beinge religious men, grew weary of their profession, and became flat heretikes, though they taught but some part of that carnall doctrine, which the sectaries of our dayes professe: & therefore marke, good reader, I beseech thee, how he painteth both the one, and the other in their proper collours, writting to the church of *Vercells*, thus as followeth.

So *Audio*, saith he, *venisse ad vos* &c. I heare, that some are come *S. Ambros.* unto you, who teach, that there is no merit of abstinence, nor grace of *ep. li. 3. ad* virginitie, that all men are to be valued, or esteemed alike (that is *Vercellens* to say, are of like merit,) and that those men are madd, or dote, who *eccles.* chastise their flesh to make it subiect to the spirit: which the Apostle *Paul* would neuer haue done himselfe, nor written for the instruction of others, if he had held it for dotage, or madness. For he gloryeth saying. *I chastise my body, and bring it into bondage, least whiles I reach to others, I may become, my selfe a reprobate.* Therefore they which preach to others, and do not chastise their owne bodies, are held for reprobats, and can any thing be more to be reproued, and reiected, then that which allureth to lasciuiousnes, to corruption, to wantōnes, and is an incitation to lust, a prouocation to pleasure and a nourishment of incontinencie? What new schole hath sent forth these Epicurians? No schole truly of philosophers, but of ignorant men, who preach pleasure, perswade delicacy, and say, that chastitie is to no vse or purpose. These were with vs, but they were not of vs &c. Yet whiles they were here, at first they fasted, they kept their cloisters, they had no place, or commoditie to liue riotously, or licence to iangle, or dispute idelly, but so delicat were they, that they could not endure this, and therefore they went from vs, &c. I admonished them, but I pretailed nothing, and they sowed abroad such doctrine, that being themselves inflamed, they became very fire brandes to kindle, and enflame other men to all kind of vice: Miserable men! who hauing lost all their former fasting, and continencie, doe now with a diuelish mind, enuy the good workes of others, whereof they themselues haue lost the fruit.

Thus saith *S. Ambrose*, of certaine *Iouinian* heretikes in his time, whose Epicurian doctrine impugning chastitie, and mortification of the flesh, our late sectaries haue reuiued, and added thereto, many other heresies of their owne, tending all to the libertie of the flesh, as may appeare in those, whom I haue named in the three and thirtieth chapter, to wit, *Luther*, *Carlostadius*, *Caluin*, *Beza*, *Oecolampadius*, *Bucer*, *Peter* *Martin*, *Ochinus*, *Miconius*, *Menius*, *Musculus*, *Pellicanus*, *Pomeranus*, and

Munsterus, with diuers others, who being votaries (I meane religious men) or Catholike priests at least, and therefore bound also by vow to liue single, and chaste) and not brooking the restraint that is vsed in Catholike religion, and especiallie in monasticall profession, became renegats, or (as *s. Ambrose* saith of those in his time) very fire brandes, to incense other men to lust and libertie, setting abroad that impure, and carnall doctrine, whereof I haue spoken before in the thirty chapter, to wit, a that it is as impossible to liue chaste, as to liue without meat: b that *Poligamy* (or the hauing of many wiues at once) is not

a *Ch. 30. nu.*

2. 3. 4. forbidden in the new law: c that it is not lawfull so much as to pray

b *nu. 16. 17.*

c *18.*

d *18. nu. 8.*

e *Chap. 35.*

nu. 54. & 55.

for the gift of chastitie, no more, then for the spirit of prophesie, or the gift of miracles: d that a man may be diuorced from his wife, and marry an other for many causes: finallie that Christ so suffred, e & satisfied for vs, that all our satisfaction, pennance, and mortification is superfluous, and vaine: besides all those other most absurd, and impious paradoxes, which I haue mentioned in the last chapter.

51 All which do giue so large a scope to sensualitie, and sinne, that no man needeth to doubt, but that the authors thereof, came (as *s. Ambrose* saith of their predecessors) out of the schoole of *Epicurus*, seeking nothing els but to liue in all libertie of the flesh, and to colour their owne wickednes, and apostasie, with some pretence of religion. In which respect, we may also with *s. Ambrose*, woorthilie lament the case of all such renegats and apostatats, as of most wretched, and miserable men, who hauing lost the fruit of their former holly labours, and endeouours (of fasting, pennance, chastitie, mortification, and good workes, which they exercised in the Catholike church) doe not only enuy the merits, and good workes of other men, as *s. Ambrose* saith, but also seeke to draw all men with them to damnation, by their pernicious example, and doctrine, which being plausible, and gratefull to flesh, and bloud, doth easely insinuat it selfe into the corrupt nature of man, no lesse then the detestable doctrine of *Mahomet* did, which (as I haue noted in the 14. and in the 30. chapter)

Chap. 14. &

Chap. 30.

num. 10.

Cicero. li. 2.

de finib.

hath by the same meanes easely ouerflowed a great part of the world, as also in like manner the sensuall, and beastly philosophy of *Epicurus*, not with standing the absurditie of it, found an infinit number of fauourers, and followers, not only in *Greece*, and *Italy* but also throughout all barbarous nations, as *Cicero* testifieth.

52 Therefore it is no wonder, that the worst sort of Catholikes, doe sometimes become *Lutherans*, and *Caluinists*, such Catholikes

I meane

meanes, as whole abandon themselves, to sensual, and worldie pleasures, and so liue in the profession of catholike religion, that they reape no more benefit thereof, then *Lutherans*, or *Caluinists*, vseing no more deuotion, penance and mortification, then they, or at least (if they vse anie at al (they doe it not for deuotion, but onlie for feare of the penalties, ordained by the ecclesiastical lawes. Besides that, it is to be obserued, that these loose catholikes, of whome I speake here, are commonlie such as neuer frequent the holie sacraments of confession, and communion, except perhaps once a yeare, and then onlie for fashion sake.

And therefore whereas almightie God, doth not ordinarilie vse to giue his grace to men by miracle, but by the vsual, and ordinarie meanes prescribed in his church, that is to say, by praier, penance, and the holie sacraments, which hee hath ordained to supplie the benefit of his passion vnto vs, for otherwayes, *Turkes*, and *Infidels*, should bee saued, as well as *Christians*, seeinge that hee died for al men alike, though all men doe not participate of the benefit, but those onlie, who vse the meanes which he hath least, & prescribed for that purpose, therefore I say, it is no meruel, that such catholikes, as vse no mortification, and doe not frequent the holie sacraments, with such diligence and deuotion, as is requisit, are not partakers of Gods grace, but fall into horrible sinnes, and manie times into schisme, heresie, and apostasie. And this will be most euident, when I shal treat of the admirable effects of the holie Sacraments of Gods Church, which for diuers respects I doe remit to the third part of this treatise, where I am to handle the question of the church, and diuers controuersies belonging thereto.

In the meane time, I conclude vppon the premisses, two things. The one, that the worst, and most dissolute catholikes, are commonlie those, which become *Lutherans*, and *Caluinists*. The other, that the bad liues of catholikes, cannot be attributed, to anie demerit of their religion, but to their owne negligence, in that they doe not obserue the rules thereof. And thus much for the first point, concerning the bad liues of catholikes.

And for the second point, touched by the way of obiection, in the end of the last chapter (to wit the laudable liues of some *Lutherans*, or *Caluinists*) it is to be vnderstood, that as al those, who profess a true religion, are not good men, so neither are al the professors of false religions, scadalous in life, though good christians they canot be, howsoeuer they may liue morally wel in the eye of the world. This I say for two

GG gg ij causes.

causes, the one, for that amongst such are found many times notable hypocrits, who by the very instigation of the deuill, doe seeke to authorize their bad, and hereticall doctrine, with the external shew of piety, and vertue, being (as *S. Hierome* saith of some such in his time) *Intus Nerones, & foris Catones, Neros within, and Caros without, or rather*, as our Sauour said, *rauening wolues, clad in sheepes skinnes*. Such were *Arrius, Pelagius, Vigilantius, Nestorius*, and diuers other Archheretickes, who by their pretence of piety, deluded the people wonderfully, in so much that many good, and holly men were abused with their dissembled modestie, grauitie, and counterfet vertue, as *S. Epiphanius* testifieth of *Arrius*, who, he saith, vsed to goe in the streetes, with a stole about his neck, and shewed such loue to religious chastity, that he assembled many virgins to liue together in religious discipline, as also many priests, vntill he had infected them with his heresie, who therefore were afterwarde expelled out of the city of *Alexandria*, together with him, as soone as his heresie was discovered.

56 We read also, that very many, and amongst the rest, the holly bishop *S. Polinus*, were for a while greatly deceiued in the Archhereticks *Pelagius*, and *Vigilantius*, by reason of their hypocriticall, and pretended deuotion, in so much, that *Pelagius* had for some time, the reputation of a very holly man. And *Theodore* testifieth of the Archhereticke *Nestorius*, that he drew all men to the admiration of him, with an affected grauitie, and an hypocriticall abstinence. And the like hath benne obserued more, or lesse in the most part of sects, especially in their ringleaders, and first progenitours, though (to say truly) in none lesse then in those of our time, who were so farre from dissembling, or couering their impietie, that they deuised all their licentious doctrine to defend it, which neuertheles, others of their followers, may perhaps practise with more modestie, and art, in which respect it may be presumed, that hipocrisie which is common to all other heretikes, or sectaries, may be a cause that some *Lutherans*, or *Caluinists*, are lesse scandalous in life, then their doctrine of it selfe permiteth.

57 An other cause, which I should to be more ordinarie, is the good disposition, and inclination, that many men naturallie haue to vertue, which may be, and is, no doubt, such in many, that they lead a commendable life, (exteriorlie in the sight of the world) of what religion soeuer they be, being naturallie inclin'd to piety, iustice, liberallitie, temperance, modestie, clemencie, and mercy, whereby they

*Hieron. ep. li.
2. ep. 13. ad
Rustic.
Matth. 7.*

*S. Epiphanius
de heret. li. 2.*

*D. August.
retract. li. 2.
c. 33.
Baron. an.
411. to 5.
Baron. an.
406.
Theodore ep.
ad Sporadii.*

merciful
the an
that the
mit (sa
myself
owne k
holike
honest
worthi
selfe.
Ar
seeing
time. I
Arheist
of some
evidence
vertuou
rallie w
fore vp
39 An
decides
very m
men an
Pagan
nished
saues
that m
60 A
delight
so muc
neuer
fect, w
their a
is so m
are said
said C
many h
with t
corrup
much n
exerci

exercise the acts of these vertues, with great promptitude, and facilitate and are not easely corrupted in manners, especially in such sort, that they cast of the naturall bridle of modestie, and shame, or commit scandals, and publike offenses. And of these kind of men, I haue my selfe knowne very many in our country, and diuers of them my owne kinsfolks, and deare friends, who though they were no Catholikes, yet were (and are no doubt if they be still liuing) of such an honest, and vertuous disposition, and cariage, that they were, and are worthilie beloued, and respected, as well of all other men, as of my selfe.

58 And it is no meruell, that there are such professing false religions, seeing that *Plato* obserued the like, amongst the very *Atheists* of his time. For where as he ordained seuerer punishment for three sorts of *Atheists*, or impious men (as he rearmeth them) he maketh mention of some, who though they held, that there was no god, or deuine providence, in the gouernment of humane affaires, yet were so well, and vertuouslie disposed by nature, that they liued very ciuilly, and morallie well, without hurt to the common welth, as I haue signified before vpon other occasions.

Plato de legib. dial. ii.

59 And of this sort of morall men (yea, and such as did many good deedes for the benefit of the common wealth) there were alwayes very many amongst the Paynims, as well *Greekes*, as *Romans*, and are now exten amongst the *Turkes*, notwithstanding that their religion, I meane Paganisme and Mahometisme, are most absurd in it selfe, and replenished with motiues to all vice, and wickednes, as appeareth in the *sauenth*, *eight*, *ninth* and *fourteenth* chapters, where I haue handled that matter at large.

60 Also *Epicurus* (who placed mans felicitie in sensuall pleasures, and delights) was for his owne person very ciuill, and morallie honest, in so much that *Cicero*, reprobuing, and reiecting his doctrine, confesseth neuertheles, that he was, *vir bonus*, a good man, and that many of his sect, were men of great modestie, and morall honestie, waighing all their actions in the balance of reason, and duty, and not of pleasure, in so much, saith he, that their life confuteth their doctrine, and as some men *Cicero* li. 2. are said to say better, then they doe, so they doe better then they say: Thus do *sinibus*. I said *Cicero* of some honest *Epicurians*: And the like may be said, of many honest sectaries, whose good nature, and disposition, seconded with the desire of a good name and fame, so farre ouerwaigheth the corruption of their doctrine, that they vse the libertie of it, with much moderation, and great respect of their reputation, and honour,

GGgg iij wheras

whereas others of a malignant nature, and bad disposition, are commonlie transported therewith, beyond all limits of modesty, and shame, and runne headlong to the extremitie of vice, whereto it tendeth.

61 So that *Lutherans*, and *Caluinists*, haue not in this point (I meane for the good liues of some of them) any aduantage at all of the very *Turks*, *Paynimes*, *Epicurians* and *Atheists*, nay I may bouldly say, that for some notable vertues, they come short of many of them. For where haue we seene in any of their profession, such a notable contempt, of riches, honours, pleasures, and delights of the world, as sundry pagan philosophers, both taught, and practised? Could euer any of them be compared for temperance, and abstinence, with the *Phitagorians*, who neuer did eat flesh or fish? Or for contempt of worldly welth, and honours, with *Antisthenes*, who hauing heard *Socrates* teach philosophy, sould, and gaue away all his goods, leauing himselfe nothing but a cloake? Or with *Crates* (who, as some write, cast all his goods into the sea, least they might corrupt and ouerthrow him? Or as others affirme, sould them and put the money into a bank, to the vse of the poore, if his children should become philosophers, or other waife, to their vse, least wanting both vertue, and riches they might perhaps perish? Or els with *Dugenes*, who dwelling in his tub, so litle esteemed the large offers, which *Alexander* the great made him, that he desired nothing of him, but to stand out of his light; and not to keepe the sunne from him? And seeing a poore boy drinke in his hand, cast away his dish, as superfluous? Or finallie, with all the other Cinick Philosophers, who professing a voluntarie and most exact pouerty, and liuing, as I may say, from hand to mouth, contented themselves only with that, which might suffice nature? Who if they had made their election of pouertie, for the loue of God, referring it wholly, or principallie, to his seruice, as Catholick Christians doe (I meane such as professe religious life) they had performed an act of singuler, and perfect Christian vertue: And although their intention, was no other, but to auoide the distractions, and temptations, which accompanie worldly wealth, to the end they might more freely giue themselves to the studie and practise of Philosophie, yer it cannot be denied, but that they farre excelled therein the *Lutherans*, and *Caluinists*, amongst whom no such practise of that morall vertue, (I meane the magnanimous contempt of the world) hath euer benne seene, for ought that I could euer heare, or read.

Suidas.
Dio. Laert.
t. iii.

Philostrat. in
vita Apollō.
Diocles.

Plutar. in
Apotheg.

But howsoever it may be sayd, that some of them doe lyue laudably, or morally wel, and consequently may be called good moral men (as I say manie *Painimes*, *Epicurians* & *Athists* were, and manie *Turkes* are at this day) yet I may boldlie affirme two things, which I wish they would consider. The one, that their good life, and moral vertue, be it neuer so commendable, shal auaille them nothing to their saluation, except they become members of the catholike church, as *S. Augustin* testifieth, saying. *Quisquis ab hac ecclesia catholica &c.* whosoever is seperat from this catholike church, how laudably soeuer he liueth, hee shal not haue life euerlasting, but the wrath of God remaineth vppon him, for this onlie sinne, that hee is deuided from the vnitie of Christ. And againe, in an other place. *Nemo*, saith he, *poterit esse iustus &c.* No man can be iust, so long as he is seperat from the vnitie of this bodie. And afterwarde declaring what bodie he meaneth, he saith, *Sola ecclesia catholica, corpus est Christi &c.* The onlie catholike church, is the bodie of Christ, whereof he is the head, and Sauour, and out of this bodie, the holie Ghost giueth life to none &c. Thus saith *S. Augustin*, with whome al the holie Fathers vniformelie agree, teaching, that there is no saluation out of the catholike church, though a man lyue neuer so wel, no, not though he suffer martirdome for Christ: for so say expressely *S. Ciprian*, *S. Augustyn*, *S. Chrysostome*, *S. Fulgentius*, and *Pacianus* in the places all edged in the margent.

And because some perhaps may doubt, what church is to be vnderstood by the Catholike church, I will add a word, or two concerning the same out of *S. Augustyn*, who sheweth it euidently, teaching that it is that visible church, which is called by the prophet *Esay*, the house of our Lord, set on the top of hills, whereto all nations shall flow: and by *Daniel*, a hill which shal fill the whole world: and by the roiall prophet, a tabernacle set in the sunn, *id est* saith *S. Augustyn*, in manifestatione, that is to say, in manifestation, or publike show to the world. And lastly by our Sauour him selfe, it is compared to a candell, which is not sett vnder a bushell, but vppon a candlestick, and to a citie built vppon a hill, which cannot be hid. *Quam facile est tibi*, saith *S. Augustyn* *attendere, & videre*. Which it is easy for thee to see, and behold *ipsa est enim ecclesia Catholica, unde Catholice grece nominatur &c.* for that is the Catholick church where vppon it is called *Catholice* in greeke, because it is disperfed, ouer the whole world. *Hanc ignorare nulli licet, &c.* *secundum verbum Domini, abscondi non potest*, Of this catholick church no man ought to be ignorant, and therefore according to the word of our Lord, it cannot be hid.

S. August. ca 152. ad Donatistas.

Idem. ep 50. ad Bonifacium cemit

Cyprian. de simplicitat pret August. ep 204 ad Donatum.

Chrysost. ho 12. in epist ad Ephes Fulgent. li. de fide ca. 34.

Pacian. ep 2. ad Simpron. Esay. 2.

Daniel. 2. Psalm. 18.

Mat. 5. Idem. li de unitate eccles. contra ep Petilianus

Idem. ep 170. ad Seuerinum

thus

64 Thus he: teaching expressly, as you see, out of the prophes, and our Sauours owne wordes, that the Catholike church is so visible, and vniuersall, that it can neuer be hid, or vnknowne. Which *s. Chrysostome*

*s. Chrysost.
ho. 4. de verb
Esaia. vidi
dominum.*

also doth seriously vrge, and inculcat to the *Ethnickes* of his tyme, willing them to learne, *vim veritatis*, the force of truth, *quomodo facilis est falsitas*, *extingui, quam ecclesiam obscurari*, that it is easier for the sunne to be extinguished, then the church to be obscured, or hid: wherupon it followeth evidently, that the Catholike church cannot possibly be the church of *Lutherans*, or *Caluinists*, which lay hid vnder the bushell, or rather was not extant at all, for many hundreth of yeares. Whereto I also add, that *s. Augustyn* sheweth in like manner, which is the Catholike church, by the continuall, and manifest succession of bishops in *s. Peters* chayre, saying to the *Donatists*. *Numerate sacerdotes &c.* Count the priests, euen from the very seat of *Peter*, and see who hath succeeded one an other in that order of fathers. That is the rock, which the proud gates of hell shal not ouercome. So he, which I might confirme by other most manifest places, as well out of him, as also out of *s. Irenaeus*, *s. Cyprian*, *s. Hierome* *s. Ambrose*, *Opratus Mileuitanus*, and diuers others,

*Ide, in psal-
mo contra
Partem. Do-
nati. ep.
160. & li. 2.
contra literas
Petiliani.
Irenae. li. 3.
Cyprian. ep.
55 ad Cornel.
& de simpli-
citate prelat.
or.*

*Ambros. in
ca. ep. ad. Ti.
Opratus lib. 2.
contra Do-
natis.
s. Hieron. ep.
ad Damasum.*

phane man, quicumque extra hanc domum agnum comederit, whosoever eateth the lambe out of this house, that is to say, out of the communion

of Peters charie. Which I wish may be well pondered, not only by Lutherans, and Calvinists, but also by all others, who being out of the vniuersal, and catholike Roman church, doe vaine-ly flatter themselues, with their owne good liues, if there be anie such.

And thus much for the first point.

65 The other, which I wish also to be considered of Lutherans and Calvinists, is, that how well disposed, or vertuous soeuer anie of them, many seeme to be, yet they are not, neither can be counted true vertuous, that is to say, good, & perfect christians, being al of them, professed enemies of those christian vertues, in the which consisteth, the perfection of christian religion, I meane the true imitation of Christ, by the perfect abnegation of our selues, the mortification of the flesh, compe-

menting the same, as the apostle saith, Gal. 2. 20. I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live, yet not I, but Christ liueth in me.

And thus much for the first point.

66 The other, which I wish also to be considered of Lutherans and Calvinists, is, that how well disposed, or vertuous soeuer anie of them, many seeme to be, yet they are not, neither can be counted true vertuous, that is to say, good, & perfect christians, being al of them, professed enemies of those christian vertues, in the which consisteth, the perfection of christian religion, I meane the true imitation of Christ, by the perfect abnegation of our selues, the mortification of the flesh, compe-

menting the same, as the apostle saith, Gal. 2. 20. I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live, yet not I, but Christ liueth in me.

And thus much for the first point.

67 The other, which I wish also to be considered of Lutherans and Calvinists, is, that how well disposed, or vertuous soeuer anie of them, many seeme to be, yet they are not, neither can be counted true vertuous, that is to say, good, & perfect christians, being al of them, professed enemies of those christian vertues, in the which consisteth, the perfection of christian religion, I meane the true imitation of Christ, by the perfect abnegation of our selues, the mortification of the flesh, compe-

menting the same, as the apostle saith, Gal. 2. 20. I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live, yet not I, but Christ liueth in me.

And thus much for the first point.

68 The other, which I wish also to be considered of Lutherans and Calvinists, is, that how well disposed, or vertuous soeuer anie of them, many seeme to be, yet they are not, neither can be counted true vertuous, that is to say, good, & perfect christians, being al of them, professed enemies of those christian vertues, in the which consisteth, the perfection of christian religion, I meane the true imitation of Christ, by the perfect abnegation of our selues, the mortification of the flesh, compe-

menting the same, as the apostle saith, Gal. 2. 20. I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live, yet not I, but Christ liueth in me.

And thus much for the first point.

69 The other, which I wish also to be considered of Lutherans and Calvinists, is, that how well disposed, or vertuous soeuer anie of them, many seeme to be, yet they are not, neither can be counted true vertuous, that is to say, good, & perfect christians, being al of them, professed enemies of those christian vertues, in the which consisteth, the perfection of christian religion, I meane the true imitation of Christ, by the perfect abnegation of our selues, the mortification of the flesh, compe-

menting the same, as the apostle saith, Gal. 2. 20. I am crucified with Christ, nevertheless I live, yet not I, but Christ liueth in me.

And thus much for the first point.

of the world for the pure loue of God, and the obseruation of the *Chap. 28. 19*
 angelicall counsells taught, and practised by our Saviour, and his *30. & 31.*
 apostles, & by infinit numbers of christians, euer since their time, vntill
 this day, though now reiected, and derided by *Lutherans*, and *Caluinists*: *Chap. 28. 19*
 all which I haue amply proued before, when I treated of the euan- *30. & 31.*
 gelicall counsells in particuler, where, I hope, I made it most manifest,
 that *Lutheranisme*, and *Caluinisme*, is vtterly void of Christian perfe-
 ction, and therefore I conclude, that the laudable, and good life of
 such as professeth that religion, neither arriueth to the perfection of
 christian vertue in any of them, nor can be any iustification of their
 doctrin, which, as I haue also sufficientlie declared, inuiceth, & draweth
 men to vice.

66 But now, perhaps some will object further, & aske how it chan-
 geth then, that in their bookes, and sermons, they exhort men to ver-
 tue, and greatly reprehend vice, as we see in the sermons before allead-
 ged, of *Luther* himselfe, *Andreas Musculus*, and *Iohn Andrew*, besides
 many other which might be also alleaded? Whereto I answer, that
 I cannot in this more fitly compare them to any, then to *Epicurus*, with
 whom they sympathize notablie in the deliery of their carnal do-
 ctin: for although *Epicurus* taught that mans felicitie doth consist in
 sensuall, and corporall pleasures, and his cheefe misery in paine, and
 sorrow, yet he greatly praised vertue, and namely contiency, and
 temperance, where vppon *Cicero* saith, *non id spectandum est, quid dicat* *Cicero li. 3. d.*
 &c. It is not so much to be regarded, what *Epicurus* saith, as what it is con- *offic. in fin.*
 uenient for him to say, who measureth all good with pleasure, and all euill
 with sorrow &c. For how can he praise temperance, who placeth his cheefe
 good in sensuall, and bodily pleasures, seeing that temperance is the enemy of
 sensuality, which hunteth after nothing els, but the pleasure of the body?

67 Thus he: who also in an other place saith, that *Epicurus* saith many *Tuse. quest.*
 things notably well, sed *quam constanter, conuenienterque dicat, non laborat, but li. 1.*
 he careth not how constantlie, or conuenientlie he speaketh, that is to say, how
 well he agreeth with himselfe. And againe, *laudar* saith he, *sepe virtut-* *Ibid. li. 2.*
tem &c. He praiseth vertue often, not vnlke to *Caius Gracchus*, who when he
 had spent all the treasure of the Romans, did in wordes defend the treasure, in
 much, saith *Cicero*, that if you read his orations, you would take him to be a spe-
 ciall patron of the treasure.

68 Finally *Cicero* obserueth also, that very many were deceiued with
 the doctin of *Epicurus*, and his disciples by many graue, and notable
 sentences contained in their workes: *Atque his*, saith he, *captiuntur im-* *Ibid. lib. 8.*
periti, & propter huiusmodi sententias, istorum hominum est multitudo. Hereby

many are deceived, and by meanes of such sentences, there is a great multitude of these men, that is to say, of *Epicurians*. Thus saith *Cicero*, discovering notably the deuclish sleight, that *Epicurus*, and his disciples vsed, to sophisticat their sensuall doctrin, not only with the collour, and name of philosophie, but also with some mixture of vertuous, and pious precepts, in so much, that (as *Cicero* also noteth els where) *Epicurus* wrote booke, *de sanctitate, et pietate*, of holines, and piety, with such shew of religion, that if you read them, saith *Cicero*, you would think that they were written by *Coruncanius*, or *Scauola* (two famous high bishops) and not by one that did utterly destroy all religion.

69 Lo then, what was the infernall inuention, and deuclish deuise of *Epicurus*, to intill the poison of carnall pleasure, euen into the best disposed minds, with the pious prættext of religion, and vertue. And the like may be obserued in *Luther*, and *Caluin*, and other Archsectaries of our time, in the publication of their *Epicurian* doctrin, which they honoured with the title of the Ghospell, and resperfed with exhortations to vertue, reprehensions of vice, and frequent allegations of holy scriptures, as though it were wholly conforme to the word of God, and that they sought nothing els but to reforme mens errours, and manners, to extirpat vice, and to plant true religion, and vertue in the mindes of men. Therefore it may be said of their pious prættexts, as *Cicero* said of *Epicurus*, and his like proceeding, to wit, that it is not so much to be considered what they say, as what is conuenient for them to say, according to their owne groundes, and how they agree with themselues in their doctrin.

70 For to what purpose doe they exhort to vertue, & cry out against vice, when their doctrin vndermineth all vertue, and establisheth vice? Not only depriuing men, of the meanes whereby vice is to be repressed (to wit of all kind of mortification, and chastifement of the flesh, without the which the Apostle himselve held not himselve secure (as

*Idem de natura deco-
rum li. 1.*

Cor. 9.

S. Ambros. S. Ambrose
ap. li. 3. ad
uerus. ecclesie.

noteth in the place before alleadged :) but also teaching all those points aboue mentioned, which as I haue declared, open a wide gappe to all sinne, and wickednes. For when men are perswaded, that only faith iustificeth, that good workes are not necessarie, but hurtfull to iustification, and saluation, that the best workes of the best men, are damnable sinnes: that mens actions proceede not of free will, but of an absolute necessitie: that God moueth, and compelleth men to synne: that our Christian libertie admitteth no obligation either of humane, or yet of deuine lawes: that therefore the tenne commandements are abrogated by Christ: that all things but faith, are indiffe-

gent to be vsed or left : that nothing can damne a man, but incredulitie: that chastity in the vnmarried, is neither possible, nor to be demanded of God : that the more wicked a man is, the more neere he is to Gods grace : and finally, that whatsoeuer our workes are, we are iustified, & sure to be saued, if wee apply the merits of Christs passion to our selues by only faith : when men I say, shall be thus perswaded, to what purpose, shall they be exhorted to vertue, or reprehended for vice, seeing that of this doctrine it followeth infallible, not only that vertuous, and good life is superfluous, fruitlesse, and impossible, when fate doth not force men to it, but also vice, and sinne, is gratefull to God, being his owne motion, and worke, yea fatal to all such as commit it, and therefore ineuitable, and remediless?

71 How ridiculous then, and absurd, are they, who teach this doctrine, and yet cry out against vice, and perswade men to vertue? Might they not keepe that wind (as men are wont to say) to coole their potage, and not loose it vaineley with such a fruitles labour? For may not the wickedst man in the world, iustly answer them according to their owne groundes, that he can doe no otherwaie, then he doth, because he hath no free will, and that God moueth, and compelleth him to sinne, & therefore cannot of his iustice punish him for it, and that though it were in his power to amend his life, and to doe all the good workes in the world, yet it were needelesse, seeing that the best workes, are no better then the worst, being all damnable synnes in the sight of God: and finally, that he is iustified by only faith, and sure to be saued, what soeuer he doth, if he trust wholly in Christs merits? May not, I say, the most desperat cutthroat in the world, stopp their mouthes with these their owne groundes?

72 Therefore the *Lutherans in Germany*, had great reason to excuse, & defend their bad liues (as you heard in the last chapter) by this very doctrine of their masters, which drew them, or rather droue them headlong, to all that liberty of the flesh, which *Luther*, *Musculus*, and *Iohn Andrew* so seuerely reprobued in them. Chap. 35. 246.

73 Haue we not then iust cause to say, that these their masters, and reprobours, are as ridiculous, as a phisitian should be, if he should counsell his patients, to vse all riot in diet, and yet still exhort them to haue care of their healths, yea, and chide them when they surfett? Or rather may they not be compared to one, that should cast a man headlong from the top of a tower, and not only call after him and bid him stay, but also exclaime, and cry out against him, for falling? For so doe they, who when they haue precipitated men by their doctrine, and example

to all synne, and wickednes, call vppon them to lyue vertuouslie, yea and be rate them, and rayle vppon them, for their vice.

74 This truly is so euident, that it cannot be denied, and therefore two probable, or rather most certaine causes, may be giuen, why they vsed in their bookes, and sermons, to exhort men to vertue, and dehort them from vice. The one is, that, which I haue already touched, when I spoke of the like proceeding of *Epicurus*, to wit, to make their doctrin more currant amongst wel disposed men. For if either *Epicurus*, had taught and published his licentious philosophy, or they their sensuall doctrin nakedly, without some cloake of religious piety, and of loue to vertue, and hate of vice, no honest mind would euer haue brooked, and much lesse embraced either the one, or the other, whereas now wee see, that many honest, and well disposed men, being deceived with the honourable title of religion, and of the gospell of Christ, and with the plausible pretence of holly scriptures, and some shew of vertue, and promise of reformation, doe as it were, in a goulden cup, drinke the poisoned dreggs of heresie, so much the more greedely, by how much more conforme, and agreable it is to mans corrupt nature, and sensualitie, by which meanes also, the carnall philosophie of *Epicurus*, and the beastly religion of *Mahomet*, were the more easely dispersed ouer the world, as I haue declared before.

75 The other reason that moued them, was also common to them with *Epicurus*, and his disciples, to wit, because they had iust cause to feare, that no wise prince, or magistrat, would admit, and endure their doctrin, if they should publish it without any maske, or visard of vertue, being otherwise of it selfe so licentious, and pernicious to common welth, as I haue signified: For which cause the Duke of *Saxony* (*Luthers* great patron) seeing after some time, the bad, and beastly fruites of *Luthers* new ghospell in his dominions, was forced to command a solemne visitation to be made, throughout all *Saxony*, where in it was ordained, that the ministers should preach pennance, the feare of God, and the necessitie of good workes: which was done with *Luthers* consent, though it were directly contrarie to that doctrin, which he had most constantly taught, in so many places of his workes, as you haue heard: so ready was he, to collour, dissemble, and contradict his owne principles, for the pleasure of a prince, and to saue the credit of his ghospell, when he saw it endangered: but of his contradictions, and other of his fellowes I shall haue occasion to speake more amply hereafter.

*Surinus in
comment an
1528.*

The

the conclusion of this treatise, devided into two chapters. And first, in this, a breefe recapitulation of the whole, with certaine considerations resulting thereon, concerning our union with God, christian perfection, & felicitie, woorthy to be well pondered of euery christian man: And next, certaine doubts are cleared, touching christian perfection: & how farre it may extend it selfe in this life.

C H A P. 37.

BEING now, good Reader, to conclude this second part of my treatise, I haue thought good to add these two chapters following, as well to refresh in thee the memorie of that which hath benne hitherto treated, as also to represent vnto thee, certaine considerations resulting thereon, right woorthy of thy due ponderation.

First then, I showed euidentlie (if I be not deceiued) the necessity of religion in common welth, by an argument deduced from the whole to the parts, prouing it to be so necessarie for the conseruation of the whole world (where of euery common welth is but a part) that the same could not stand with out it, in respect that the religion of man, is the special meanes whereby all creatures are reduced to their creator, receiuing perfection, & consummation by glorifying him, for whose seruice, & glory they were created. So that religion is nothing els but, as I may say, a sacred & holly bond, or knot, whereby the world is tied, knit, & combined with God, and thereby conserued: in so much, that if this link, or knot were dissolued, the world, & consequentlie all common welths (as well, as all other worldly things) must needs fall to ruine, and vtterly perish: the which I showed speciallie in the first, second, and third chapter.

Secondlie, I proued the necessitie of religion in common welth, by a more particular consideration of the proper end, and felicitie, as well of common welth, as of all mankind in general, and of euery particular man, prouing their felicitie to be all one, and to consist in vnion with God, which is obtained by religion. And this I performed in the 4. and 5. chapter, confirming it with the doctrin as well of the ancient philosophers, as of our deuines, whereby I clearely deduced, not only the necessitie, but also the supereminent dignity of religion in common welth, yea & that it must needs be the true rule, and touchstone by the which all policy is to be tried, & examined. And by the

HHhh iij way,

way, I breefely proued the natural subordination of the ciuill societie, (that is to say of common welth) to the religious, or ecclesiastical societie (which is the church) by the same reason & law of nature, that the body is subordinat, and subiect to the soule, earth to heauen, humane things to deuine, and man to God, by all which I conuinced the politikes of absurditie, error, ignorance, & impietie, in that they peruert the course of nature, preferring their false reason of state before religion, and this I speciallie debated in the 6. chapter.

4 Thirdlie I descended from the consideration of religion in general, to the discussion, what religion in particular is the end, and felicitie of common welth. And for as much, as there haue benne in the world, and yet are, 4. seuerall religions professed (all which, at least, beare the name of religion) to wit *Paganisme*, *Mahometisme*, *Iudaisme*, & the *Christian religion*, I discussed which of them is most conuenient for state, and proued that the christian religion is truly political, not only because the other three are most absurd, & ridiculous in them selues, & in many respects pernicious to common welth (breeding contempt of religion, Atheisme, vice, & all corruption of manners) but also because the christian religion being the law of grace, hath the only meanes to reforme mens manners, to repress vice, to plant vertue, and to vnite man & common welth with God (wherein consisteth their true felicitie) and that therefore the same, is conforme as well to true reason of state, as to the veritie of true religion.

5 And to the end this might more clearly appeare, I discoursed amply, as well of the admirable effects of christian religion in the conuersion of sinners, and the reformation of mens manners, as also of the unspeakeable dignitie, and excellencie of christian contemplation, and of the practise thereof, where by the soule of man is most admirably vnited with God, & man beatified, or made happy euen in this life. And all this I treated from the 6. chapter, to the 25. And by the way, not only showed how the prouidence of God in conseruing the empire of the Romans, concurred with his iustice in punishing the same, throughout the course of the Roman historie (whiles their common welth and empire was pagan) but also I answered certaine friuolous obiections of *Macchianel* against christian religion, namely in the 24. chapter, where I discovered his absurd ignorance, and malicious impietie.

6 Fourthly, whereas christian religion is, now at this day, diuersly professed in diuers parts, & cuntries of christendome, as by *Catholikes*, *Lutherans*, *Caluinists*, *Anabaptists*, and many other sectaries (in which

respect it may seeme doubtfull to some which of these professions are most conforme not only to the veritie of religion, but also to reason of state) I haue therefore from the 24. chapter hitherto proued, that the catholike Roman religion is truelie political, & geueeth true happines to man, & common welth, and that the professions of the sectaries (& particularly *Lutheranisme*, & *Caluinisme*) are most absurd, in respect as well of true policie, & reason of state, as of the veritie of christian religion. And to this end I proued, that the catholike Roman religion only, hath the true imitation of Christ, the perfect practise of the Euangelicall counsels, & consequentlie the highest degree of christian perfection, vnion with God, and the true felicitie of man, and common welth: and that on the other side, the aduersaries of the catholyke religion, and Roman church, haue none of these at all, & consequently neither the true felicitie of man, & common welth, nor the veritie of christian religion.

And this, I hope, I haue made cleare, not only by the holly Scriptures, and the ancient Fathers, but also by all the external and euident signes, that almightie God hath at any time vsed to show his internal vnion with his seruants, which I haue euidentlie proued, to be most manifest in the catholikes of these dayes, as they also were in the saints, & holly men of the primitiue church, and of all the ensuing ages vntill this time, whereas I haue also showed, on the other side, that the sectaries haue no participation at all of such deuine fauours, nor any external signes, of Gods internal vnion with them.

Lastly I haue proued my intent in lyke manner, by the doctrine and fruits of both religions, hauing showed euidentlie in ten points of controuerisie, that the Catholike Roman religion deliuereth the true meanes to mortifie the flesh, to restrayne the violence of the passions, to practise all vertues, to obtaine Gods grace, & consequentlie to make happy, as well the whole common welth, as euerie member thereof. And that on the other side, the religion of the Sectaries, namely of *Luther*, & *Caluin*, doth not only teach diuers absurd, impious, & blasphemous opinions and heresies, but also that it is an Epicurien doctrine, teaching all libertie of the flesh, fostering, & feeding sensualitie, withdrawing all men from vertue, and dryuing them headlong to vice, and to the ruine, as well of the whole common welth, as of euerie particular man that professeth it. And this I haue amply declared, as well in the 30. chapter (where I treated of the Euangelical counsel of chastity, and layed downe the absurd, and licentious doctrine of the sectaries, with their loose, and lewed liues) as also in the two last

chapters, where of I hope, good Reader, the contents are yet so fresh in thy memorie, that I shall not neede to trouble thee with any further recapitulation thereof, and therefore I will now proceede to draw some considerations out of all the premises, for thy further satisfaction.

9 The first consideration shalbe, that seeing I haue sufficientlie proved that the end, and felicitie of man, and common welth, consisteth in vnion with God, it infinitlie importeth euery man (be he priuar, or publik person) seriouſlie to ponder, and waigh speciallie two things. The one, the woorth & valew of this end: The other by what meanes, and by whom the same is obtained. And therefore to say some what breefelie of both points, and first of the former: What is there in the world that can haue any kind of comparisn therewith, whether we respect honour, & glory, profit, and benefit, or els pleasure, sweetnes, & delight? Is there any honour, & glory in the world comparable to that which we receiue by our vnion with God?

10 For put the case, that a man were the greatest friend, mignon, & fauorit of the greatest prince in the world, what were that in respect of friendship, and vnion with almightie God, who is Lord, of Lords, king of kings, and the authour and geuer of all true honour, glory, & happines? Where vppon S. Bernard saith. *Quam miseri sumus &c.* *Hic* 17. in psalm. *Wretched are we, that hunt after the glory which we haue one of an other, and neglect that which is only of God, and hath continuance, yea & replenisheth, & filleth the soule with true contentment, & delight?* Where as the other depending only on the vaine conceits of men, is not only mixt with infinit corosiues, & disgusts, but also subiect to so many dangers, crosses, checks, & changes, by practises of enemies, ielosies, suspicions, the inconstancie, and mutabilitie of the princes themselues, that it is many times sooner lost then had, and endeth very oft with lamentable disgrace, and remediles ruine.

11 Besids that, if we consider what true honour & glory is, as that is nothing els, but the publik voice (as Cicero saith) of men, which indubell and truely of excellent vertue, it is euident that where there is not solid, and true vertue (which cannot be had without vnion with God) there can be no true honour, & glory, though mens titles, fauours, power, & pompe be neuer so greate: in which respect the glory of wicked men, is woorthilie tearmed in the holly scriptures, *sterus*, & *vermis*, dung, & woormes, being lyke to the gloworme, or to a kind of rotten wood, which shyneth in the dark, & being brought, to the light appeareth to bee nothing els, but filth, and putrefaction: And euen so

S. Bern. ser.

17. in psalm.

qui habitat

Cicero Tusculan. 9. li. 3.

1. Macha. 2.

the honour, and glory of the world seeme neuer so glorious in the corrupt iudgement of worldly men (whose reason is obscured, and darkned with error, & passion) yet being vewed and considered with a cleare vnderstanding, illuminated with Gods grace, it presently discouereth the abiection, & basenes of it selfe, as that it is nothing els in verity, but a most miserable seruitud and bondage, masked with a vaine, and false opinion of honour, and glory: for who is such a slaue, or so infamous, as he that is tiranised by his owne passions, by the deuil, and sinne, as all worldlings, and wicked men are, be they neuer so honorable, & glorious in the sight of men?

Whereas he that is vnited with almighty god, & thereby not only his familiar friend, and fauorit, but also *vnus spiritus* (as the A. 1. Cor. 6. apostle saith) *one spirit with him*, is truely honorable, and glorious, triumphing ouer the deuil his owne passions, and sinne, contemning all the vanities of the world, and becomming euen in this life, a heauenly and deuine creature, as I haue declared sufficiently in my tract of contemplation: and therefore such a one, I say, is truely honorable, how abiect soeuer he seeme to worldly men. The due consideration whereof, hath moued those wise, potent, and worthy Emperours, kings, and princes (of whome I haue spoken before) to reiect, and renounce all their earthly glory, power, and dominion, to the end they might the more assuredlie and freely, enioye this other honour consisting in perfect vnion with God, without the which, they woorthilie esteemed all worldlie honour, to be no better then base bondage, and seruitud: Whereas on the other side, all worldlie contempt is to him that is truely vnited with God, the hyghest, and truest honour, & glory that may be, being that which our Sauour Christ, the king of glory, chose for himselfe, & for his dearest friends: whome by that meanes he glorifieth, not only eternallie in heauen, but also temporallie euen heere on earth.

This may appeare, both by the greate respect, and reuerence which the greatest princes haue in all ages and times borne to holly men, whiles they liued) though in the eye of the world they were otherwayse most contemptible) and much more by the honour donne

to them after theyr deaths, on theyr feastial dayes, & by the infinite miracles that haue benne from time to time and yet are wrought at their monuments, & memories, which are more triumphant then the thrones, & trophées of all earthly potentats, kings, & emperours, who become their suppliants, crouching, & kneeling vnto them, and reuerencing euery litle rag, or relick of them; so honorable, & glorious euery in this world is he, who contemneth worldly honour, & glory for the loue of God, to the end he may be vnited with him, and therefore the psalmist saith of such. *Mihi autem nimis honorificati sunt amici tui deus.* They friends, o God, as to me very honorable, and their principality is very strong, or potent: and our sauious also him self said of his seruants. *Si quis mihi ministrauerit, &c.* VVho soeuer shall serue me, my Father which is in heauen, will honour him, or make him honorable. And finally, of such a one the wise man saith in *ecclesiasticus*. *Collaudabunt multi sapientiam eius &c.* Many shall praise his wisdom, and it shall neuer be abolished, the memory of him shall neuer faile, & his name shall be required or sought after from generation to generation, nations, & people shall speake of his wisdom, & the church shall show forth, or declare his praise.

14 Neuertheles I wish it heere to be noted, that I doe not so separate these two kinds of honours, spiritual; & temporal (I meane by spiritual, that which consisteth only in mans vnion with God, and contempt of the world) as though they were incompatible, or could not stand together, but to show how they are truly to be distinguished, & how they may concur, & which of them is to be preferred: for there is no doubt but temporal honours, & dignities are the gifts of God, & being well vsed, & referred to Gods glory, as to their end, may not only well stand with mans vnion with God, but also may some way be the fruits, & effects thereof, as when almighty God bestoweth temporal honours vppon his seruants, or conserueth them in honour, & dignitie, for his owne greater glory, & seruice: which may be exemplified in all those famous, & holly emperours, kings, & Princes, which haue benne either canonised by the church for saints, or otherwaise knowne to be greates seruants of God, though they still retained their dignitie, & staves vntill their deaths, whose temporal honours receiuing soliditie, & stabilitie by their vnion with God, haue made their fame no lesse memorable to all posteritie, then theyr soules are, & euer shall be glorious in heauen: so that they may be counted truly honorable.

15 Whereas infinite other wicked princes, though no lesse potent in temporal dominion then they, yet are cyther buried in perpetual obliuion, or els remayne more infamous for their vices, then famous, or memorable

Psal. 113.

Iohn. 12.

Eccli. 39.

honorable for their power, and dignity, whyles also their soules are plunged in to the perpetual miserie of euerlasting damnation, and therefore of such the booke of wisdom testifieth, that. *Illos deridebit Deus &c. sap. 4.* God will deride them, and they shall fall with our honour, and be a very contempt, or shame amongst the dead for euer. Whereby it appeareth that true honour, whether we respect it, as it is temporal only in this life, or as it is eternal, proceedeth from mans vnion with God.

16 The like also is to be said of benefit, or profit, which if it be considered as it auaileth, or helpeth to the true felicitie or happines of man, can grow from no other roote, but the blessing of almightie god the geueer of all true happines (who as *Aristotle* himselfe teacheth) doth *Arist. eth. li.* speciallie loue, benefit, & cherish those, which are most vnited with *10.* him, whome therefore, he concludeth to be most happy, as I haue signified diuers times before: Besids that if we take benefit, and profit to consist in welth, & riches, is there any so ritch, & welthy, as he that enioyeth god, who is all in all, and geueth also abundance of welth, & all kind of temporal commodities to his friends, & seruants, when it is conuenient for them? In which respect the psalmist saith. *Diuites egue-*

rant, & esurierunt, &c. Rich men haue wanted, and benne hungry, but those *Psal. 33.* *which seeke God shall want no good,* that is to say, not so much as any temporal good, when it is not preiudicial to their euerlasting good.

17 Therefore we see that God hath blessed many of his seruants in all times, euen with temporal welth, to the end they may by the good vse thereof serue, & glorifie him, do good to others, and consequentlie increase their owne meritt: though otherwaise when he seeth in his deuine providence, that the same wold hinder the saluation of their soules, he eyther doth not geue it them, or mercifullie depriueth them of it, euen for their benefit: for as our sauiour himselfe, most deuinelie said.

Quid prodest homini &c. What doth it profit a man to gaine all the world, if *Matth. 16.* *he lose his soule.* In which case riches are so farre from being profitable, or beneficial; that they are most pernicious, being, as *Salomon* saith. *Conseruata in malum Domini. Conserued, or kept to the hurt of their maister,* *Eccles. 5.* & possessor, whereof also *S. Iames* admonisheth vs, saying, *your gold* *1ac. 5.* *and siluer is rusted, and their rust, shalbe a testimonie to yow, and shall eate your flesh like fire.*

18 Furthermore it is euident that al the benefit, & profit that groweth of worldly welth, & riches, proceedeth of the good vse thereof, for, as the comical poet saith, *the goods of fortune ar good, or bad, according to the* *Terent.* *mynd of him, that possesseth them: Quæ uti scit, illi bona, illi, qui non utitur recte,* *malâ: they are good, or beneficial to him that useth them well, but to him that abu-*

seth them they are pernicious, Whereof we daily see the experience in those, who vse their owne goods, & welth, no otherwise then as kniues to cut their owne throtes, purchasing to theiues thereby, nothing els but infamy, hatred, & destruction both temporal, & eternal. And therefore seeing the good vse of all things in this world, principally dependeth on Gods grace, & direction (which inseparablie accompanieth his vnion with man) it is manifest that all temporal goods, & commodities are most beneficial, & profitable to those who are vnited with God.

19 And what neede I speake of the incōparable pleasure, & delight that mans vnion with God doth yeeld him, I meane such a vniō, & in such a degree, as I require to the felicity of man in this life, whereby he liueth, & perseuereth in the grace, fauor, & frendship of God, free from the tyrannie of the deuil, & mortal sinne, enioying true repose & peace of conscience, cōmanding his owne passiōs, & affectiōs, contēning the world, & al the vanities thereof, abounding in seruor of foule, swimming, as I may say, in a sea of swetnes, ioy, & exultation in the loue of God: & finally participating now & then of those extraordinarie visitations, and deuine consolations which almightie God, out of his infinit bounty, is wont euen in this life to impart sometimes to his dearest seruants, and friends, whom (as we read in the canticles) he leadeth. In *cellam vinariam*. In to his wine cellers, where *inebriatur ab ubertate domus Dei*, they are, out of the plenty of Gods house, made drōk as it were, with an inundation, & torrent, (as the psalmist saith) of heauenly pleasure & delight, hauing euen in this our mortal & miserable state, a true tast, or assay, of immortalitie, & eternal felicitie: what need I, I say, treat further of this, in this place seeing that I haue most amply discoursed vpon the same in diuers parts of this treatise, not only out of the doctrin of our christian deuines, confirming it by the examples of holly men in all ages, & times, but also out of the opinion euen of the philosophers themselues, who though for want of Gods grace, & true vnion with him, they could neuer arriue to the experience of the true pleasure, & delectation of it, yet saw by reason, & seriously taught, that all earthly delites, & contentmēt, are but as it were, trash, & trumpery in respect thereof, for which cause they placed therein the end, and felicitie of man in this life, no lesse then the wisest, & most learned christians doe.

20 Therefore I cōclude, that whether we respect honour, proffit, or pleasure, nothing in this world is cōparable to mā's vniō with God, in which respect the Psalmist saith. *Quid mihi est in calo, & a te quid volui super terram?* &c. what is there for me in heauen, or what wold I haue of thee, O Lord, vpon the earth? my flesh, & my hart haue fained, or failed in me, for the seruent desire I haue

Cant. 1. &

2.
Psal. 35.

ibid.

Psal. 72.

have to be vnited with thee. *Deus cordis mei pars mea Deus in aeternū.* Thou, o Lord, who art the God of my hart, shalt be my part, or portion for euer: for those which goe away fro thee shall perish, & thou destroyest all those which following their own lusts, & desires, doe deuide themselues from thee, & therefore, *mihi adhaerere Deo bonū est* &c. It is good for me to be vnited with God, & to put my hope in him. Th^e said this royal prophet, who though he abounded in all worldly honour, welth, power, & prosperity, yet placed his delite, & felicitie in nothing but in his vniō with almightie God: which the Apostle also signified of himselfe when he said. *Omnia arbitror ut stercora, ut Christum lucrī.* Philip. 3. *faciam.* I hold all things to be no better then dung, to the end I may gaine Christ.

21 And of this vnion with God, s. Bernard saith notably thus: *caro & s. Bern. de sanguis, was luteum quando* &c. when is our flesh & blood, our vessel of clay partaker of this? mary, when the soule feeleth in it selfe such affection, that it is dronke Deo s. Felice with a deuine loue, and forgetting wholly it selfe, becommeth as a lost, & broken vessel to it selfe, & passeth wholly into God, & adhering, or cleauing fast to him, is made one spirit with him, saying with the psalmist, my flesh, and my hart haue failed. Thou o Lord who art the God of my hart shalt be my part, or portion for euer: & I will count him, saith S. Bernard, a happy, & holly man, whose euer he is, in whome God hath granted the experiēce of this, in this mortal life, though it be but seeldome, yea but once, & that for neuer so short a time, euen for one minut of an houre. Thus saith this holly & contemplatiue Father, of the ineffable woorth, & delectation of mans vnion with God.

22 This thē is that vniō which, as our sauiour said to Martha, is absolutly necessary, for that all other things doe by their, multiplicitie, rather distract, thē delite, rather deuid then vnite, rather encūber, then come fort: This is that *margarit*, or precious stone, which the wise negotiatour, or marchant seeketh, & finding it, geeueth all he hath to buy it: this is that inestimable sweetenes, whereto the royal Prophet inuitheth vs, saying. *Gustate & videte quoniam suauis est Dominus.* Taste and see, for our lord is sweete: whereof the wise mā also speaketh, whē treating of a deuout soule, vnder the parable of a wise, & valiant womā, he saith. *Gustauit, & vidit, quod bona est negotiatio eius.* She tasted, & saw, that she had made a good bargaine. For so incomparable is the valew of this vnion with God, that no man can conceiue it, but he that possesseth it, & therefore when S. Peter enioyed it vpo the mount with our sauiour, he said, *bonū est nos hic esse*, it is good for vs to remaine heere: This is the goale whereto euery man ought to runne, & the marke whereat we all ought to shure, the treasure of treasures, the fountaine of all true honour, benefit, and pleasure, the heauenly reward of all our earthly labours, heauen on earth, and eternall happines in heauen: finallie, this is the end whereto all

mankind was ordained, and consequentlie the true felicitie of man, & common welth. And therefore I leaue it to the consideration of any man, who tendereth, & desireth his owne good, how much it importeth him to seeke, & procure it by all possible meanes, & what an extreame folly it is, to preferre any worldly honour, proffit, or pleasure before it. Thus much concerning the woorth and valew of the end of man consisting in his vnion with god.

23 And now to say some what also of the other point, to wit, of the meanes how it is to be obtained, & who they are that arriue vnto it, I haue made it manifest, as I think, through out all this discourse, that the only meanes to attaine to this end, & true felicitie, is the christian religion, wherein the true imitation of our Sauour Christ is taught, & practised, by a perfect abnegation of our selues, the mortification of the flesh, and the exercise of all vertue: so that it is not to be vnderstood that all those which professe, and hold the christian faith, arriue to this felicitie, but those only who practise the same in perfection, as I haue shewed amply in the 22. & 25. chapters; where I haue also declared, that although the hyghest perfection of Christian religion, consisteth in the perfect imitation of our sauour Christ, by the obseruation of the Euangelicall counsels (which in their hyghest perfection, are not compatible with the profession of seculer men, such I meane as are married, & haue proprietie in goods, lands, or possessions) yet every christian man professing any lawfull state, or condition of life, may be a perfect contemplatiue, & vnited with God in greate perfection, which I exemplified in many kings, & princes, who albeit they flowed in welth, honour, & prosperitie, yet were of such rare vertue, mortification, & contemplation, that they were hyghly fauored by almighty god, not only with internal graces, & vertues, but also with external, & euident signes of his internal vnion with them.

24 And this, I say, I haue sufficiently signified before: And therefore for as much as there are three sorts of christians, who neuer arriue to that happy vnion with God in this life whereof I treat heere, I think good first to say some what of them, as wel because the due consideration thereof, seemeth to me very necessarie, & important for every christian man, as also because the same being declared, it will more clearelie appeare, who they are that do attaine thereto.

25 The first sort of those, whom I exclude from it, are such, as belceuing all that which the christian religion teacheth, & being free from all heresie, or errour in matter of faith, doe neuertheles wholly abandon and geue ouer themselves to the world, the flesh, & the deuill, in such sort

that they haue no more practise of christian precepts for good life, then the very worst sort of heretikes, or infidels haue.

26 These are they, whome our Sauour himselfe compared to one, *Matth. 22.* who being inuited to the banquet of the greates king, at the mariage of his sonne, late doune amongst the rest, without his wedding garment (that is to say with out charitie) whome therefore the king commaunded to be taken, & bound hand and foote, and cast in to the exterior darknes. *Vbi est fletus, & stridor dentium.* *VVhere there is weeping, wayling,* ^{*ibid.*} and gnashing of teeth.

27 These are they of whome the Apostle spake, when hauing recommended that *faith which worketh by charitie*, and afterwards declared the *works of the flesh*, he concluded that, *qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non consequuntur.* *Those which doe such works, as these, shall not obtaine the kingdome of God.* Finallie, these are they of whom I spooke in the last chapter, who not brooking the restraint of Catholike religion, but hunting after a licentious libertie, doe many times become *Lutherans, Calvinists, yea Turks, or Infidels:* and therefore these are so farre from all vnion with God, that they are rather members of the deuill, not with *1. Cor. 13.* standing their faith, though it be neuer so greates, yea able to remoue mountaines, as the Apostle witnesseth.

28 The second sort of christians which doe not arrive to this vnion, is of those, who though they are not altogether careles of their liues, but willing to serue God, and to saue their soules, yet their care, & diligence commonlie extendeth no further, then to conserue themselves in one state, with out seeking to proffit, or proceede in vertue, and true mortification: and therefore, where as there are three degrees of good Christians, the first of beginners, the second of such as proffit in the way of vertue, and the third of those which arrive to perfection (to which three sorts of men, I applied the three waies of contemplation, whereof I haue amply treated before, to wit, the *purgative*, the *illuminative*, & the *vnitive way*) these of whome I now treat, are to be ranked with the first sort, to wit, with beginners who neuer passe further then the *purgative way*.

29 For, al be it they doe many good deeds, and are now & then, yea perhaps for the most part, in the state of grace, & consequentlie vnited with God in some degree, yet for as much as their fall into mortal sinnes, is also frequent, whereby they loose all vnion with God, and become his enemies for the time (I meane vntill they rise againe) therefore such men, vsing no other endeouour, then only to rise when they are fallen, & rather to purge, & cleanse themselves from sinne, then to furnish and

and adorne themselves with vertue (seruing God rather for feare, then for loue, & louing him so, that they may also loue the world with all) such, I say, are so farre from being partakers of that happy vnion with God (wherein I place the felicitie of man in this life) that they are in more danger dayly to fall cleane a way from him, and to loose his grace altogether, then to receiue those fauours which he bestoweth vpon his deare seruants, and friends, who liue in continual mortification of the flesh, contemning, and hating the world, yea themselves for the loue of him, whom therefore he woorthilie loueth cherisheth, & espouseth, communicating himselfe vnto them in such sort, as I haue signified a litle before, and much more at large when I treated of christian contemplation, and of the admirable effects thereof.

Chap. 22.

30 Therefore I wish these kind of men for their owne special good, to consider, how farre they are from performing the obligation, and duty of perfect christians, which what it is I showed amply in the 12. chapter, out of our sauiours owne doctrine of the 8. christian beatitudes, and his other admirable precepts of *pouerty of spirit, mansuetud, patience, the loue of our enemies; contempt of the world abnegation of our selues, and the continual cariage of our crosse*, in imitation of him, from the which no man professing the faith of christ is exempted, as I declared at large in the place aboue mentioned, where vpon it followeth, that seeing all these vertues are most necessarie to the true imitation of Christ, and that no man can in this life arriue to such perfection therein, but that he ought to endeouour to be more perfect (in which respect *s. Iohn* saith in the

Math. 5.

Apos. 22.

s. Bern. ep.

253.

Apocalips. Qui iustus est iustificetur adhuc: he which is iust, let him be iustified still. And *s. Bernard: Numquam iustus arbitratur se comprehensisse &c.* The iust man neuer thinketh he hath comprehended, he neuer saith he hath ynough, he is alwaise hungry, & thirsteth alwaise after iustice, so that if he shuld liue euer, he woold euer strue to be iuster, and endeouour with all his force to proceede from good to better: for that he is not bound to the seruice of God for a yeere, or for a certaine time, like a hyeling, but for euer: heere vpon, I say, it followeth, that those which content themselves to arriue but to a certaine degree of vertue, & do not seeke daily to encrease, and profit therein, do not performe the duty of perfect christians.

Psal. 83.

31 This may further appeare in the royal prophet, who foretold the continual progresse that christians should make in vertue through the grace of Christ, their law maker: *etenim benedictionem*, saith he, *admirabilis* legislator &c. For their law maker shall geue them, his benediction, or grace, they shall goe from vertue to vertue, & so the God of Gods in sion shall be seene.

32 This

This is also signified in many places of scripture, where we are exhort-
ed to vertu, by words importing mocion, & proceeding, or going
forward, as to *goe, to comme, to walke, to runne*: *Qui vult venire post me*, saith Luc. 9.
our Sauour, he which will come after me, let him deny himselfe, and
take vp his crosse, and follow me: signifying that he which will be
a perfect christian & follower of Christ, must stil goe forward in the
imitation of Christ, that is to say, neuer stand at a stay: *Ambulate*
saith he also, *dum lucem habetis*, walke whiles you haue light: & S. Iohn, Ioan 12.
to the same purpose, saith, that he which saith he remaineth in Christ, 1. Ioan. 2.
ought to walke, as be walked.

In like manner the Apostle vseth the same manner of speech very
oft, exhorting vs, to *walke in the newnes of life, to walke woorthy of our vo-*
cation, & to walke woorthy of God, which he expoundeth to the Thessalo-
nians, saying. *We pray, & beseech you, that as you haue receiued of vs, how*
you ought to walke, & please God: sic & ambuletis, vt abundetis magis: you walke
sic, that you may abound more. And agayne to the Colossians more plainly:
We doe not cease saith he, *praying for you, vt ambuletis dignè Deo, per omnia*
saecula, in omni opere bono fructificantes, & crescentes in scientia Dei. That you
may walke woorthy of God, in all things pleasing, fructifying in euery good woor-
ke, & encreasing in the knowledge of God &c. Geecuing to vnderstand, that
then we walke woorthy of God, & our vocation to the faith of Christ,
when we goe forward, & proceede still fructifying, & encreasing in
good woorks, & the knowledge of God.

Therefore S. Augustin saith, *Quid est ambulare? &c.* *What is it to* S. Aug. de
walke, I say breefely, it is to proffir, lest perhaps you doe not vnderstand it, & verb. Aposto.
walke more slowly then you shuld doe. So he. ser. 15. c. 15.

This also the Apostle expresseth yet more fully to the Corinthians,
comparing the course of a christian mans life, to a race wherein we are
to runne continuallie vntill we arriue at the goale: *An nescitis*, saith he,
quod hi qui in stadio currunt &c. *Doe yee not know that those which runne in*
the race doo all runne, & yet but one winneth the prize? therefore so runne that
you may obtaine.

Here vpon S. Bernard maketh a notable discourse, which I thinke Sanctus Ber-
good to sett doune here, though it be some what long, for it containeth nard ubi
most excellent doctrin concerning this matter. *Ibi tu christiane*, saith supra.
he, *fige tui cursus profectusque metam &c.* Q Christian, fixe thou the
bounds of thy course & progresse there, where Christ fixed, and settled,
his, who became obdient euen vntill death: therefore how much, or
how well soeuer thou runnest, if thou doe not runne vntill death, thou
canst not reach, or arriue at the goale, & winne the prize, which is,

K K k k

Christ:

" Christ; for if whiles he runnes, thou standest still, thou dost not come
 " neare to him, but goest further from him, & therefore art to feare that
 " which *Dauid* said. *Ecce qui elongant se a te peribunt: Behold all those which*
 " *doe separat themselves from thee, O Lord, shall perish: therefore if to profit,*
 " or goe forward in vertue be to runne, thou ceaseest there to runne, where
 " thou dost cease to profit, & where thou beginnest no longer to runne,
 " there thou beginnest to faint, & faile: where vpon it is euidentlie to
 " be gathered, that *nolle proficere, non nisi deficere est, not to seeke to profit, is no-*
 " *thing els but to fayle, or decay.* *Iacob* saw the ladder & angels vpon it,
 " of whome none appeared resting, or standing still, but all of them
 " either going vp, or comming doune, to the end we may plainelie vn-
 " derstand that in the state of this our mortal life, there is no meane to be
 " found betwixt profitting & decaying, but that as our bodies are alwaie
 " either encreasing, or decreasing, so also of necessitie our spirit, or soule,
 " doth either profit or decay.

37 Thus farre *s. Bernard*, who also els where saith further thus. *Quis-*
 " *quis in schola Christi non proficit &c.* Whosoever doth not profit, or goe
Idem ep. 34. forward in the schoole of Christ, he is vnwoorthie of such a maister,
 " especially seeing our case is such, that nothing remaineth in one state,
 " & therefore let no man say vnto me, I will remaine as I am, it sufficeth
 " me to be this day, as I was yesterday: for such a one sitteth doune in
 " the way, and stayeth vpon the ladder, where *Iacob* the Patriarck saw
 " none but those, which either went vp, or came doune, and therefore I
 " say, *qui existimat se stare, videat ne cadat, he which thinkes that he standeth, let*
1. Cor. 10. " *him take heede lest he fall: the way is hard, and narrow, and the many*
1. Ion. 14. " *mansions, or resting places (where of our sauiour spake) are not heere,*
 " but in the house of his Father: therefore he which saith that he remain-
 " es, or rests in Christ, ought to walke as Christ walked, for Christ, as the
 " Euangelist witnesseth, *increased, and profited in wisdom, & age, & grace,*
1. Ion. 2. " *both before God and men,* therefore he rested not, *sed exultauit ut gigas, ad*
Luc. 2. " *currentem viam suam, but exulted like a giant to runne his course, & so also*
Psalm. 18. " *we, if we be not mad, will runne after him.*

38 Thus he addeth further after a while: *let vs be moued hereto with*
 " the example of our owne secular desires, for when doe we euer see an
 " ambitious man content himselfe with the dignities that he hath got,
 " and not aspire to hygher? Or when is the curious mans eye, and care
 " satisfied? And what shall I say of couetous, and voluptuous men, or of
 " those that hunt after vayne praise? Doe not their insatiable desires ar-
 " gue vs of negligence, and tepiditie? Therefore let vs hold it for an
 " infamous thing to be lesse desirous of spiritual goods, then they are of
 " temporall.

temporal: and let a soule that is conuerted to God be a shamed to seeke
 righteousness with lesse affectio, then it sought iniquitie, & sinne, seeing Rom. 6.

that the reward of sinne is death, and the fruit of the spirit is life everlasting:
 in which respect we may be a shamed, to goe now more negligent

towards life, then before we went towards death, and now to seeke the
 increase of our saluation with lesse diligence, then before we sought

to augment our perdition, and damnation, wherein we shall be altoget-

her inexcusable, considering that the faster we runne in the way of li-

fe, the more easilie we runne, and the greater that the light burden of

our sauour is, the more portable it is: Doe not the very number of

sinners, rather ease, and lift vp the byrds that beare them, then burden,

or depresse them? For take the setters away, and the rest of the body

falleth doune to the ground: euen so also the light burthen, the sweete

poke, & disciplin of Christ, doth rather beake vs, then is borne by vs,

in so much that in laying it a syde, we presentlie fall to the ground.

Thus saith this holly, and deuout Father: which is right woorthie

to be duly considered of euery christian man (of what condition vocation,

or state, or of what perfection soeuer he be) but speciallie of

those, of whome I treat principallie at this present, I meane such idle,

slouthfull, & vnprofitable seruants, as do not continuallie employ the

talents, which their Lord, and maister hath geuen them to be put to

use, and encrease, & therfore they may well feare, that when the dread-

full day of account, and reckoning shall come, they shall (as our sauour

himselfe testified of such) be worthilie, cast in to the exterior darkenes, Matth. 25.

where there is weeping, and gnashing of teeth.

For if the iustest, and most perfect man, be bound still to tend to

perfection, or otherwayse fainteth (as S. Bernard saith) and faileth in

the course of christian life, or rather (as he saith in an other place) Vbi supra.

goeth backward, for non progressi in via vite, saith he, regredi est, not to goe S. Bernard

forward, in the way of life is to goe back ward. And if the Apostle himselfe, serm. 2. de

who gloried in nothing but in the crosse of Christ, & was crucified, & purificatio.

wholly dead to the world, and therefore had alreddy obtained an in- B. Virg.

comparable perfection of vertue, yet did not think that he might stay

his course there, but saith 3 Philip. 3.

Brethren I doe not thinke that I haue comprehended, yet one thing: forgetting

the things which are behynd, & extending my selfe to those that are before, I doe

still present my course towards the marke: If he, I say, not only said this of

himselfe, but also seriousslie aduised it to all others, how perfect soeuer

they be (adding, Quicunque ergo perfecti sumus, hoc sentiamus, let vs there- Ibid.

fore as many of vs, as are perfect think, or perswade our selues thus) what shall

we say of those who soe litle care for perfection of vertue, that they either sit doune, and rest in the beginning of their race, or goe one steppe forward, & two or three backward, and get no ground of the enemy, but rather runne round about, (as the psalmist saith of wicked men, *Impij in circuitu ambulans, wicked men walke in a circle* as in a labyrinth or a maze, ore els being entred in to the christian combat against such suttle, and potent enemies (as are the world, the flesh, and the deuill,) they fight so lasillie, & cowardlie, that they continuallie receiue many mortal wounds of them? Can such euer hope to arriue at the goale, to winne the prize, or to get the victorie, and croune, which is reserved for those that perseuer to the end, consummat their course, and fight manfully in the meane time? Nay, may not such cowardlie souldiars rather iustly feare, that they shall not only loose the croune of euerlasting life, which they might haue gained, but also die eternallie of the deadly wounds, which they receaue oft times, if God doe not extend extraordinarie mercy towards them?

41 And whereas, men are most commonlie the more negligent in this behalfe, for that they presume ouer much, either of themselves, or els of Gods mercy, I will breiefely touch both kinds of presumptions, following *S. Bernard* in his notable treatise vpon the psalme. *Qui habitat in psal. qui bitat in adiutorio altissimi, &c.* where he excludeth from Gods helpe, & protection three sorts of men: The first are those (saith *S. Bernard*) that doe not hope: The second, those that despaire: And the third, those that hope in vaine: of which three, the first, & last are those of whome I am to speake at this present.

S. Bernard
in psal. qui
bitat in
adiutorio
Ser. 1.

S. Bernard
in psal. qui
habitat in
adiutorio.
Ser. 1.

42 Of the first, *S. Bernard* saith, that there are some which may well be saide not to hope in God, because they confide in themselves, who hauing had, saith he, greate seruour in deuotion, in watching, in fasting, and such like, or perhaps stored themselves (as it seemeth to them) with the ritches of many merits, become so confident therein, that they grow remisse, and slack in the feare of God, & being drawne away with pernicious securitie, doe decline to Idleness, and curiosities, and soe by degrees fall at last in to greuous sinnes: These, saith *S. Bernard*, doe not dwell in the helpe of the heighest, neither doe hope in him, because they trust to themselves, where as they ought soe much the more to feare, and to be the more solicitous, and carefull, by how much greater the gifts, and graces are which they haue receiued.

Ididem.

43 And therefore, he which is timorous, careful, and seruorous for a while, vntill he haue made some good progresse in vertue, & haue had some tast of Gods goodnes, and then groweth more cold, and careless

when
dealeth
any lon
saith
in which
me con
men o
in God
&c? W
begun
summa
an end
house
then in
44 T
haue b
presum
former
selues,
still to
mour,
their st
aduise
tion. &
let him
uours
and pra
me est,
cheefe
wante
which
Thus m
fore do
45 T
God (sa
selues
they ar
prophet
sinners
in vaine

when his care, and seruour shuld encrease: such a one, saith *S. Bernard*, *Ibid.*
lealeth no otherwaife, then as if he should saye, what neede I now serue God,
any longer, seeing I haue that alreddy which he was to geue me: But, *ô si scires,*
saith he, quàm parum est quod habes &c. ô I would thou knewest, how little is
which thou hast, and how soone thou shalt loose it, if he who gaue it thee, doe
not conserue it in thee: And after a while admonishing these kind of
 men of their folly, and danger, in that they make not their habitation
 in God, but in their owne merits, & strength, he saith. *Quid stultius est*
&c: What greater folly is there then to dwell in a house that is yet skant
 begunne: dost thou think that thou hast made an end? *At cum con-*
summaueris homo (saith the scripture) *tunc incipit*, when a man hath made *Eccles. 18.*
 an end, then he beginnes. Finallie, it is a very ruinous habitation, or
 hause which hath more neede to be vnder-propped, and vpholden,
 then inhabited.

44. Thus discourseth *S. Bernard* elegantlie, to moue those, which
 haue begunne well, & receiued store of Gods gifts, and graces, not to
 presume soe much on their owne strength, and merits, as to slacke their
 former care, and endeouour (as though they had any goodnes of them-
 selues, or could conserue it with out Gods grace, who gaue it them) but
 still to proceede and goe forward with humilitie, diligence, and ser-
 uour, acknowledging alwaise their owne infirmitie, & whence is all
 their strength, and sufficiencie, and to worke their saluation, as the Apostle *Philip. 1.*
aduiseeth, with feare, and trembling, remembring also his other admoni-
 tion: *Qui existimat se stare, videat ne cadat:* he which thinks that he standeth,
 let him take heede lest he fall: And finallie to practise carefullie our sa-
 uours important precept, *vigilate, & orate, ne intretis in tentationem,* watch, *Matth. 26.*
and pray, lest you enter into temptation, for, as *S. Bernard* saith, *magna vir-*
tus est, & summa securitas &c. It is a greate vertue, and the heighest or *psal. qui ha-*
bitat.
 cheefe securitie to liue well, and yet to be more attent to what thou
 wantest, then what thou seemest to haue gott, forgetting those things
 which are behind, & extending thy selfe to those, which are before.
 Thus much concerning those wiche presume of them selues, and there-
 fore doe not hope in God.

45. The other sort of presumptuous men, is, of those which hope in
 God (saith *S. Bernard*,) but in vayne, because they doe soe flatter them-
 selues with the confidence, or rather presumption of his mercy, that
 they are the lesse carefull to auoide sinne: And agaynst these, saith he, the
 prophet pronounceth, *maledictus homo qui peccat in spe,* cursed is the man, who *Idem.*
 sinneeth in hope: soe hee, and after a while he addeth further, that he hopes *Ibid.*
 in vayne, who by contempt reiecteth Gods grace, and by that meanes doth exauat.

and frustrat his owne hope: and finallye he concludeth, that thofe kind of men, dwell not in the helpe of the higheft, but in their owne finne. Thus teacheth this holy Father.

46 Such therefore are to confider, that God is no leffe iuft, then mercifull, and that as he extendeth his mercy to fome, fo alfo he executeth his iuftice vppon others, forfaking many (moft iuftly no doubt) for their negligence: And therefore feeing no man knoweth whether God will extend mercy, or iuftice towards him: and that euery man maye iuftly feare, that the more negligent he is, in hope of Gods mercy, the more he abufeth the fame, and deferueth the rigour of his iuftice, is it not extreamely folly in men by their negligence, to put in hazard their eternal

S. Bern. in faluation, rather then to redeeme (as *S. Bernard* faith) endles, and incomprehenfible torments, *breuiffimo, & leuiffimo labore*, with a moft short, & eafy labour?

47 And although God be mercifull to finners, yea and out of his infinite mercy, doth fome times faue the woofte, and moft wicked men from euerlafting damnation, yet we are not to think, that either they, or yet good men, shall be, by his mercy wholly exempt from his iuftice (*qui iuftitias iudicabit*, as the *psalmift* faith, who will iudge, or examine the righteousnes of the iuft) but that they shall yeeld a ftraight account for euery idle woord, and pay the penaltie, and detts of their negligences, *denarium quadrantem*, euen to the laft farthing, either in this world, or in the next: where (faith *S. Bernard*) all thofe things, which haue bene here negligentlie omitted, shall be payed in *purgabilibus locis centupliciter*, a hundred fold, in places appointed for purgation: for that, although they be finallye faued, yet it shall be (as the apofle faith) *quafi per ignem*, as by fyre, when all the wood, hay, and stubble which they haue built vppon, the foundation of the chriftian faith, shall be confumed: where vppon *S. Auguftin* geueth a notable aduertifement, concerning the fyre of purgatory, by occafion of thofe woords of the apofle. *Ipfæ autem faluæ eris, fi tamen quafi per ignem*: he shall be faued, yet fo as by fyre.

48 Becaufe (faith *S. Auguftin*) it is faid, he shall be faued, that fyre is contempned: yea truly, though faued by fyre, yet that fyre shall be more greuous, then any thing that can be fuffred in this life, and you know how greate torments malefactors haue fuffred, or may fuffer, & yet they haue fuffred no greater then goodmen haue alfo endured, for what hath any malefactor fuffred by the law, that martyrs haue not fuffred for the confeffion of Chrift: Thofe euils therefore that are here in this world, be much more eafy, and yet you fee that men will doe what fo euer you commaund them, rather then endure them: therefore

how

Pfal. 74.
See S. Bern.
fer. 55. in
cantica.
Matth. 12.
Matth. 5.
S. Bern. in
fer. de obitu
Humberti.

1. Cor. 3.

S. Aug. in
Pfal. 37.

much better doe they, in performing that which God commaundeth, to the end they maye auoide those torments which are greater. Soe he. And againe in an other place, he which will not, saith he, cultivate his field, but will let it be filled with bryres, & thornes, shall feele the malediction of his ground here, and after this life, he shall either endure the fyre of purgation, or shall suffer eternal payne: for no man escapeth this sentence, therefore it behoueth vs soe to deale, that we maye feele paine only in this lyfe. Thus saith s. *Augustin*, & the lyke also he teacheth expresselie in a diuers other places, agreeing with al the fathers of the church greeke, and latin concerning the paynes due after this lyfe for humane negligences, and sinnes vsatisfied heere, as it may appear by the places b cited in the margin: wherebie we may see how vnaduised they are, who wil rather expose themselves to such vspeakeable, though temporal torments, then take a litle paynes to doe their duty heere, being with all vncertaine, whether their negligence maye prouoke the iustice of almightie God, vterlie to forsake them, and to cast them into euerlasting fyre, as it falleth out with many, who hauing made greate progresse in the seruice of God, become negligent at the first, and after a whyle geue themselves ouer, to all wickednes.

Therefore I wish all men, no lesse then my selfe (for I write this for my owne instruction, as well as for other mens) continuallie to remember a notable admonition, geuen by s. *Chrysostome* to all christians. *Tu christiana*, saith he, *delicatus es miles*, &c. Thou o christian, art delicat souldiar, if thou thinkest to ouercome with out fight, or to triumph with out combat, show thy strength, & valour, fight manfully, & arcliclie, consider the couenant, waygh the condicion, know the warrefare, the couenant that thou hast made, the condicion, which thou hast admitted, and the warrefare, where to thou hast bound thy selfe. So he, wherein he admonisheth vs of three things, which importeth euery christian man to haue continuallie before his eyes.

The first our couenant with God, when we were made christians, to wit, the promise we made in our Baptisme, which was to renounce the world, the deuil, and the flesh, and to serue God in the profession of the christian faith, during our liues: in which couenant we promised, not only to belecue in God, but also to obay and serue him, in keeping his commandements, in which respect the apostle saith, that *saue causa salutis aeterna omnibus obtemperantibus*. Christ was made the cause of eternal saluation, to all those which doe obay him, and therefore we ought to, & duly to consider, how well, or euill we performe this couenar.

51 The

33
idem libi. 2.
de Genes.
c. 20.
33
ali. 21. de ci-
uit. ca. 13.
ser. 41. de sa-
tis G. li. 50.
homil. ho. 16
b Orig. ho.
6. in ca. 13.
exod. ho. 14.
in ca. 24. le-
uit. ho. 13. in
Hierim. G.
ho. 25. in nu-
mer. Greg.
Nissen. in
orat. de mor-
tuis. S. Am-
bros. in 1.
Cor. G. ser.
20. in Psal.
118 S. Greg.
li. 4. Dialog.
ca. 39. G. in
Psal. 3. peni-
tent. Tertull.
li de anima.
ca. 39. S. Cy-
prian. ep. 52.
S. Bernard.
ser. de obitu
Humberti.
S. Chris. ser.
de martyri-
bus G. 1.
To. 3.

Hebra. 9.

51 The second point is, the condicon of this bargaine contracted betwixt God, and vs, which is no other, but cyther vnion with God, (first by grace in this world, and after eternallie in heauen) for the performance of the couenant, or els eternal damnation in hell for the breach of it: except we satisfy the Iustice of God, by doing the worthy frutes of penance in this life: which if we duly ponder, and haue any care of our eternal good, or euil, we must needs be moued to looke about vs, and to endeouour to discharge our duty, if not for the loue of God, and regard of his benefits (or in hope of the euerlasting reward, which he on his part hath couenanted to geue vs) yet at least for feare of the vnspeakable torments, prepared for such as doe not accomplish the bargaine on their parts.

Iob. 7.

52 The third point touched by *s. Chrysostome*, is the warrefare, where to we haue geueen, and enroled, our names: whereby we are to vnderstand, that the life of a christian man, is no other then, as *Iob* saith, *militia super terram*, a warre fare vpon the earth, that is to say, a continual fight against the three enemies before named, the world, the flesh, and the deuil, vnder the banner, and conduct of our captaine, and sauour *Iesu Christ*, who guideth vs in the battaile, fighting together with vs, and for vs, and will assuredly geue vs both the victorie, and the croane, if we follow him, and fight vnder him with perseuerance to the end: to which purpose it is to be considered that three qualities, or vertues are no lesse requisit in a christian to his victorie in this spiritual warre, then in a comon souldiar in his temporal, or secular warre.

53 The first is, true christian valour, and magnanimitie in the contempt of the world, and of all the transitorie pleasures, and delites thereof, as of things vnwoorthie of him whome God hath ordained, and called to euerlasting ioyes, of ineffable, and incomprehensible value, which therefore are obiects woorthy of the noble mynd of a true christian, who shuld say with the Apostle, *conuersatio nostra est in calu*, in

Philip. 3.

S. Bern. in

Psal. Qui

habitat in

adiutorio

Eccl. Ser. 16.

conuersation is in heauen. *quia sub celo*, saith *s. Bernard*, *omnia labor et* For vnder heauen all things are but a labour, sorrow, vanity, and affliction of spirit.

54 The second vertue, requisit in a souldiar, as wel spiritual as temporal, is fortitud, and patience, not only in the valiant resistance of the assaults of his enemies, and in manfullie assailing them, as occasion shall require, but also in suffering, and enduring patientlie the labours, and trauales incident to their profession, and necessarie to the obtaining of the victorie: for as the delicat carpet knight, who cannot endure hunger, cold, thirst, watching, hard lying, and such other bodilie afflic-

tions.

tions, is not fit for the temporall warre: so also he is vnfit for our christian campe, and vnwoorthy the name of a christian souldiar, who hampereth himselfe with pleasures, and delytes, and refuseth to carry his crosse, and to endure the afflictions of bodilie penance, which is the speciall meanes to ouerthrow his enemies, and especiallie his most domestical, and dangerous enemy the flesh, in which respect the apostle (as I haue signified diuers times before, and cannot repeat to oft) speaking of his owne fight, and combat, said, *non sic pugno tanquam aërem* *vibrans* &c. I doe not fight so, as a man that beatech the ayre, but I chastise my body, and bring it into seruitud, lest whyles I preach to others, I become my selfe a reprob: so that according to the doctrin of this holly apostle, the christian souldiar which doth not chastise his body, fighteth no otherwaile then he that shuld make warre with flyes, beating the ayre all the day: and which is more to be considered, is in danger to become a reprob, as I haue more amply signified in the last chapter.

§§ The third condicion or qualitie in a christian souldiar, is an exact obedience to the commaundment, and will of his captaine, with a true conformitie to his actions, and imitation of his industrie, valour, and vertues: for euen as a temporal souldiar ought not (according to *Plutarch* in *the rule and aduise*) to haue any mocion at all of himselfe, but such only, as he receiueth from his captaine: so ought also the spiritual souldiar much more to be guided, and conducted wholly by the will of his captaine, and general, our sauour *Iesus Christ*, who hath left vs sufficient direction for our conduct in his warrefare, not only by his woord, but also by his example, which therefore we ought exactlie to follow. For what a shame were it for a souldiar, to see or vnderstand that his captaine keepeth watch, and ward, that he lyeth allnight in the trenches, that he endureth hunger, raine, and cold, and exposeth himselfe to all the dangers, and labours, that militarie profession requireth, and yet he (I meane the souldiar) in the meane time, to lie warme on a fetherbed, to feede well and delicatlie, and to take his ease, and pleasure: can such a souldiar hope for any other, but the vtter disgrace of his captaine, and to be casht for a cowardlie and lazy companion?

§§ And so in like manner, seeing we haue before our eyes both the doctrin of our maister and Captaine *Iesus Christ*, and also his example, inniting, and leading vs to the abnegation of our selues, contempt of the world, and cariage of our crosse, as the only meanes to obtaine his fauour, and to subdue his, and our enemies in this our spiritual warrefare: were it not a shame for vs, not only to reiect his heauenlie counsell, and instructions, but also to be more dainty and delicat then he?

And what excuse can we haue for our sloth, seeing that besides his owne doctrin, and exemplar practise, we haue also the manifest example of an infinit number of his seruants in all ages, who haue exactlie followed his steps in the continual cariage of their crosse, and mortification of themselves (as I declared amply in the last chapter:) besides that he hath also geuen vs sufficient assurance, that he will assist our endeouours, and not only enable vs to beare his yoke, and burthen, but also make the same light, and pleasant vnto vs: in so much that it may be truly said, that many souldiars, and men of diuers trades, and occupations, take more paines to earne a poore pay, or hyre, then many good men doe to obtaine an eternal crowne, yea and which is more, many wicked men, endure more miserie many times to procure the accomplishment of their filthy pleasures, and consequentie to purchase hell, and endles damnation, then we are bound to take for the purchase of heauen, and euerlasting saluation: and therefore what else can we expect, if we neglect our duties (not with standing all these considerations) but that we shall be deprived of the reward, and crowne prepared for vs, and also punished eternallie for our disobedience, and ingratitude?

57 Thus then we see, how necessarie it is for euery christian man duly to ponder, and considere those three things a-boue mecioned by *s. Chrysostome* (to wit, his couenant with almightie God, the condition, and the warrefare, or continual combat where to he is bound) to the end that the remembrance, and consideration thereof, may moue, and incite him to show his vallour, there by to winne the victorie, and crowne, which is in effect that vnion with God wherein consisteth mans end and felicitie, first to be obtained in part by grace in this life, and after fully to be enioyed in eternal glory. And thus much I haue thought good to say by the way of aduise, and admonition to such as doe not labour dayly to proffit in vertue, and good life, but hauing alreddie well, and comendable played their first prize, in this spiritual combat, and behaued themselves valiantlie for a while, doe afterwards relent, and seeke not so much to obtaine the victorie, as only to maintaine the combat in some sort, and so weakelie, that they receiue many greuous, and deadlie wounds, whome therefore I place in the second ranke of those that sceldome, or neuer arriue to that vnion with God, which I haue described before, to be the felicitie of man in this life, and consequentie of common welth.

58 The third sort, is of those who are cut of from the church of Christ, be they heretikes, schismatikes, or excommunicated persons: for

such being separated, and deuided from christis mystical body, can haue no influence of his grace, nor participation of his holly spirit, and consequentlie no vnion with him. And this being so euident, that no christian man will deny it, of what religion soeuer he be, I shall not neede to produce an further proofes thereof in this place: (especiallie, for as much as I haue made it manifest in the last chapter, out of the vniforme doctrin of the most learned, and ancient Fathers, that though they should liue neuer so well in the sight of men, yet being out of this arke of Noe, and house of God, (that is to say, being separated from the vnitie, & communication of this Catholike Roman church) they cannot possiblie be saued: And this shall suffice concerning the 3. sorts of Christians, whome I affirmed neuer to arriue to perfect vnion with God.

Now therefore, I will next proceede to speake of the other point, mentioned by me in the end of the 24. number, to wit, who they are that doe attaine to this vnion. For seeing those only are excluded from it, who are either deuided from the vnitie of the Catholike Roman Church, or contaminated, and defiled with mortal sinne, or els careles to proceede, and proffit in vertue, it followeth that such as are members of the said church, and with all doe not only liue in the obseruation of the commaundments of God (that is to say free from mortal sinne) but also daily tend to perfection (such perfection I meane, as may stand at least with their state and vocation) those, I say, do attaine to the perfection of Christian religion, and consequentlie to a perfect vnion with almightie God, and to the felicitie which God hath ordained for man in this life.

60 Wherein neuertheles it is to be obserued, that although euery one, that is iustified, or in the state of grace, is vnited with God, yet all such doe not arriue to that degree of vnion with God, wherein I place the felicitie of man in this life, because euery sinner, be he neuer so wicked, if he truely repent, is presently iustified, & in the state of grace, though, being yet but in the first steppe, as I may say, towards christian perfection, and felicity, he deserueth not the name of a perfect, & happy christian, except he perseuer in iustice: it being requisit to the christian felicitie, and perfection, whereof I treat heere, not only to beleue, and liue well for a while, but also to continue in true beleefe, and in the exercise of vertue, *esuriendo & sitiendo iustitiam, hungering, and thirsting after iustice* (as our Sauour speaketh:) which who soeuer doth, he is a perfect christian, and may truely be called a iust, yea, and a happy man, being continuallie vnited with God, and therefore dwelleth as the Psalmist saith) *in adiutorio altissimi &c. in the helpe of the heyghest, and* Psal. 90.

in the protection of the God of heauen.

61 And no meruel though continuance, and perseuerance is requir'd to our christian, and supernatural felicitie, seeing the philosophers requir'd the same to theirs, which was only natural, consisting in the continual exercise of the moral vertues, as appeareth in *Aristotle*, who therefore defined it to be an operation, or working according to vertue in a perfect life, that is to say in a continual course, and progresse of vertue: for as one swallow, saith *Aristotle*, maketh no summer, so neither one, nor yet many iust, and vertuous acts, make a man truely happy, but the continuance thereof.

Arist. ethic.
1. c. 7.
See S. Tho.
upon the
ethicks li. 1.
lec. 14. & in
epito. ethic.

62 And the same is with much more reason required to the perfection of our christian felicitie: for though it be but temporal, and imperfect in respect of the eternal, yet being the high way, and special meanes to lead vs thereto, yea and a resemblance, or rather some beginning, and participation thereof in this life, it must needs be so much the more perfect, by how much more it resembleth, and approacheth to the eternitie, and perfection of that other, which is the end, and consummation of it: And therefore the more continual, and durable it is, the more perfect it is, and the more deserueth the name of felicitie: to which purpose it may also be noted, that when our sauour taught the 8. Beatitudes (consisting in *poverty of spirit, mansuetud, purity of hart, mercy, hunger, and thirst of iustice*, and the rest) he meant not that those are happy who exercise the acts of those vertues for a daye, or two, or for a while, but those who hauing the habits of them infused by the holy ghost, doe conserue the same, and eagerlie persecut, and performe the acts thereof, whensoever occasion requireth: for such doe truely enioye that repose, and peace of mynd, that light of soule, that seruour of spirit, that abundance of Gods grace, and sweetenes in his loue, and finally those heauenlie visitations, and deuine fauours, by the which he maketh his seruants happy euen in this life, as I haue often signified before.

Math. 5.

63 Therefore for as much as true iustice, or righteousness, where in consisteth christian perfection, & felicitie, is lost, and extinguished by mortal sinne, (which maketh vs enemies of God, members of the deuil, and consequentlie most miserable) it followeth that our perfection, and felicitie, cannot stand with mortal sinne, but requireth perseuerance in vertue, and true iustice: whereby it may appeare, that I did not with our greates reason exclude from our christian felicitie, all those who doe not labour to proceede, and profit in the waye of vertue, but content themselues with a certaine mediocritie thereof, and ayme ab

ther m
smallie
for alth
they ar
with G
my tym
also in
damna
declare
64 B
to satis
perfect
to perf
he oug
that th
fect, w
therefo
seeke
still be
meth
65 F
christi
in wh
as tha
as I ha
and ch
want
were
fully p
vs by
66 I
righte
fice, i
saith
our s
which
loue h
our s
truel
were

other marke, but to ryse when they are fallen, and therefore goe contrary to allie stumbling, ryling, and falling, comitting many mortal sinnes: for although such be sometimes vnited with God (as I haue said) when they arrise from sinne, yet they are farre from that degree of vniō with God, which is requisit to Christian felicitie, seeing they are many tymes not only most wretched, and miserable for the present, but also in greate danger of eternal miserie, that is to say of euerlasting damnation, whereinto many such doe daily fall, as I haue sufficientlie declared before.

64 But heere now, there may be moued a dout which I thinke good to satisfie by the way, to wit, whether there is, or can be any christian perfection, seeing I haue made it euident before, that no man can be so perfect in this world, but that he may be more perfect, yea and that he ought still to tend to perfection, where vpon it seemeth to follow, that there is no true christian perfection, seeing that what soeuer is perfect, wanteth nothing to perfection, for if it doe, it is not perfect, and therefore if any christian man were perfect, he shuld not neede to seeke further perfection: Seeing then the most perfect christian, is still bound to tend to perfection, and consequencie is vnperfect, it seemeth that there is no christian perfection.

65 For the satisfaction of this dout, and to show with all, how farre christian perfection may extend it self in this life, it is to be considered, in what it consisteth principallie (or essentiallie, as *S. Thomas* speaketh) *S. Tho. 2. 2. q. 184. ar. 3.* as that it principallie consisteth, in the obseruation of the law of God, as I haue signified before, where by man is truly made the seruant, fréd, and child of God, inheritor of his kingdome, and a perfect christian, wanting nothing that is necessarie to his saluatiō: for otherwaile *Christ* were not a good, and perfect lawmaker, and a sauour, if his law being fully performed, suffized not to make vs perfect christians, and to saue vs by the helpe of his grace, and merits of his passion.

66 Now then this obseruation of the law of God, is true iustice, and righteousness, where of *S. Iohn* speaketh, when he saith, *he which doth iustice, is iust, as he also* (that is to say *Christ*) *is iust, and the doers of the law,* *Rom. 2.* saith the Apostle, *shall be iustificed before God: Also you are my friends,* saith our sauour, *if you doe those things which I commaund you:* and againe: *he* *Iohn. 15.* *which loueth me,* saith he, *will keepe my commaundments, and my Father will laue him, and wee will come unto him, and make our abode with him:* whereby our sauour signifieth, that those which keepe his commaundments, are truly vnited with his Father, and him, which they could not be if they were not iust, and therefore he also said to the same purpooe, *if thou wilt* *Matth. 19.*

Psal. 118.

Item Psal. 1.

enter into life keepe the commaundments, which in like manner the holly Ghost teacheth expresselie, by the royal prophet, saying, *beati immaculati in via* &c. happy are the immaculat, or the vnspotted in the way, who walke in the law of our Lord.

Luc. 1.

Eccles. ca. vii.

67 Also the holly scripture testifying that *Zacharias* and *Elizabeth* were both iust before God, sheweth the cause, adding, *incedentes in omnibus mandatis, & iustificationibus domini, sine querela*, going in all the commaundments, and iustifications of our Lord, without blame. Finallie *Ecclesiastes* geueing this golden lesson. *Time Deum, & mandata eius obserua*, feare God, and keepe his commaundments, addeth *hoc est omnis homo*, this is euery man, that is to say, this is the end, and perfection of euery man. So that in the obseruation of the law, and commaundments of God, consisteth both maner iustice, and his perfection, in which respect it is sayde of *Noe* in the holly scripture, that he was *vir iustus, & perfectus*, a iust, and perfect man, and almightie God said to *Abraham*, *ambula coram me, & esto perfectus*, walke before me, and be perfect. And againe: king *Ezechias* praying to almightie God for health in his sicknes, said, that he had walked before him in veritate & in corde perfecto, in truth, and in a perfect hart, which almightie God approued by granting him his request and restoring him to health. In all which I wish it to be noted by the way, not only that true iustice, and perfection consisteth in the performance of Gods law (whereof I speciallie treat for the present) but also that the commaundments, and law of God, are possible to be kept, which our aduersaries do absurdlie deny, as shall further appeare in the next chapter.

Deut. 18.

2. Reg. 12.

Matth. 5.

2. Cor. 13.

Philip. 3.

2. Tim. 3.

Iac. 1.

1. Ioan. 2.

68 Of this perfection *Moyse* spoke, when he saide to the people, *perfectus eris, & absque macula*, thou shalt be perfect, and with out spot. And the Royal prophet, *perfectus ero coram te* &c. I will be perfect before thee, O Lord, and I will keepe my selfe from my iniquitie. And our sauour to his disciples, *perfecti estote*, &c. be you perfect, as your heauenly Farther is perfect. Also the Apostle speaketh thereof in diuers places, as *Gaudete, perfecti estote* &c. reioyce, be perfect, take exhortations, be of one mynd &c. and *Quicumque perfecti sumus* &c. let vs all that are perfect, be of this minde. And againe, all scripture, saith he, inspired of God is profitablie &c. *ut perfectus sit homo Dei, ad omne opus bonum instructus*, that the man of God may be perfect, instructed to euery good woork. Also *S. Iames*, *patientia*, saith he, *omne perfectum habeat, ut sitis perfecti, & integri* &c. let patience haue a perfect woork, that you may be perfect, and entyre saying in nothing. Finallie *S. Iohn* saith also of this perfection. *Qui seruat verbum eius in hoc verè charitas Dei perfecta est*, he that keepeth his word (or commaundment) in him the charity

God is perfect in very deede.

Neuertheles I wish it to be vnderstood, that I doe not assigne here a perfection voide of all frailties, or imperfections, that is to say, free from all venial sinne, without the which no man passeth the course of this our mortalitie (as *s. Iohn* witnesseth, saying, *Si dixerimus &c.* *1. Iohn. 1.* if we shall say that we haue no sinne, we seduce our selues, and the truth is not in us; & *s. Iames*: in multis offendimus omnes, we doe all offend in many things: and lastly *Salomon*, septies in die, saith he, cadit iustus, & resurget, the iust man shall fall seuen times a day, and rise a gaine.) but I exclude from our christian perfection, all mortal sinnes, because they doe directlie impugn the law of God, in so much that our iustice, and righteousness is lost, and abolished thereby, and we seperated from all vnion, & friendship with God, made members of the deuill, and deputed to eternal damnation, except we repent.

Whereas the other sort of sinnes, which I call venial, because in respect of their lightnes, and our frailty they deserue pardon, are not directlie contra legem Dei, against the law of God as *s. Thomas* teacheth, but pater legem, besyd the law, not hauing (saith he) perfectlie and absolutly the nature of sinne, but being a disposition thereto, in which respect he also compareth venial sinne to sicknes and mortal sinne to death, and therefore such humane frailties, as the iustest men doe now, and then commit do not exclude charitie, nor deuide them from the vnion, and friendship of God; nor abolish their iustice, and perfection, but may well stand there with, according to the doctrin of *s. Augustin*, *s. Aug. li. de serm. &c.* because sinne doth creepe in oft times in very light, or smale matters, & sometimes at vnawares they were iust, and yet not without sinne, so he: teaching that light & litle sinnes, commonlie called venial, doe not exclude iustice, or righteousness, where of there can be no doubt, for otherwise no man could be iust in this life, which were flat contrarie to the holly scriptures, as it may appeare by that which I haue already touched a litle before, and shall appeare more amply in the next chapter, where I meane to confirme our Catholike doctrin concerning a true, real, and inherent iustice.

Therefore the Christian perfection, whereof I speak here (and whereto I doe so much exhort euery christian man) is to be vnderstood to be no other, but such, as God doth expect, and exact of vs in this life, perfectio, saith *s. Hierome*, quam capere potest humana natura: a perfection, which humane nature may receiue, that is to say, such a perfection as may stand with our frailty: such I meane, as though it be grounded

vppon

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

1. Iohn. 1.

2. Cor. 3. vpon the obseruation of Gods law, through the helpe, and assistance of his grace, (with out the which no man can think so much as a good thought, and much lesse ariue to any degree of perfection) yet, it is not free or exempt from humane imperfections, and therefore it may be daily refined, encreased, and grow more perfect, vntill it come to be consummated, and perfected, in euermlasting glory, as the wise man signifieth, saying, *infortum semita, ut lux splendens &c.* The way of the iust, is a shyning light, proceedeth, and groweth continuallie, vntill it be perfect day, meaning by perfect day, the perfection of the next life: where (saith the Apostle) *cum venerit quod perfectum est, euacuabitur quod ex parte est*, when that shall come which is perfect, that which is of a part, or vnperfect, shall be euacuated, or made void.

72 And therefore, as there are diuers degrees of iustice, or righteousness (for no man is so iust in this life, but he may be more iust, as I haue a sufficientlie proued alreddy:) so also, there are diuers degrees of perfection, and in euery degree a man may be said to be both perfect, and vnperfect: perfect, in respect of those that are not so perfect as he: and vnperfect, in respect of others that excell him in perfection: As for example, he that obserueth the commaundments, (that is to say liueth without mortal sinne) is perfect, (hauing attained to the first degree of christian perfection) and yet not so perfect as he, who doth with all, obserue the Euangelical counsel of voluntarie pouertie, and therefore our sauour saide to the yong man, who affirmed that he kept the commaundments. *Si vis perfectus esse &c.* If thou wilt be perfect, goe, and sell all thou hast, & geene it to the poore, and yet he that shuld soe doe, shuld not be so perfect, as he that shuld adde thereto continencie, and chastitie for the pure loue and seruice of God, as may appeare by that which I haue amply discoursed in the 29. chapter, to proue that virginitic, and chastitie is a special point of christian perfection.

73 Also such a one, as liueth out of mortal sinne, and with all obserueth those two Euangelical counsels of pouertie, and chastitie, is not equal in perfection to him, who addeth thereto the third counsel of perfect obedience, and abnegation of himselfe in religious discipline: where by he maketh a perfect sacrifice, and holocaust of himselfe to almightie God, as I haue amply proued in the 31. chapter, where I also showed the greates dignitie, and high perfection of religious life, out of the most ancient, holly, and learned Fathers, who call it *vitam perfectissimam*, a most perfect life: *perfectionis culmen*, virtutisque fastigium, the height of perfection, and topp of vertue, a most hygh, and excellent profession, but to the purity of Angels, wherein is vowed not only all holiness, but also all perfe-

S. Dionis. ecclesiasti Hierar. c. 6. par. 2.

S. Basil. de monast. constit. c. 18.

S. Greg. Nazianz. de obitu. Basil.

S. Chrysost. li. 3. aduers.

vitup. vita monast.

of holiness, yea and the very end; and consummation of all perfection, for so saith *s. Bernard*, meaning only such a perfection as may be obtained and had in this life: which also may be continuallie augmented and increased, as I haue signified before.

For no man in religion is so perfect, but he may be more perfect, charis to saue, more feruent in the loue of God, more refined to his will, more humble, more patient, more meeke, and more pure of hart if he keepe continual watch vppon himselfe, duly examine his conscience, combatt daily with his passions, and bad inclinations, and mortify, or chastise his flesh to make it subiect to the spirit, whereby his inward man as the Apostle speaketh, may be renewed from day to day. And yet when he hath all donne, he shall be vnperfect in respect

*s. Bernard
de vita soli-
tar. ad fra-
tres de mōre.*

of the Angels, and saints in heauen, in whome also there are degreese of perfection, no lesse then of glory, and therefore the Apostle saith that, as one star differeth from another in brightnes, so also shall it be in the resurrection of the dead. Finally the most perfect angel, or saint or rather the perfections of all angels, saints, and other creatures, if they were all ioyned in one, yet shuld be vnperfect in respect of the infinite perfection of almighty God, who is perfection it selfe, and imparteth his owne excellencies, and perfections to his creatures, diuidens singulis prout vult, deuident the same to euery one as it pleaseth him.

2. Cor. 4.

1. Cor. 13.

1. Cor. 12.

Thus then we see, that there are diuers degrees of perfection, and that the best men, are both perfect, and vnperfect, which *s. Augustin* obserueth very well in the words of the apostle, who hauing signified how much he contemned the world, being configured, (as he saith) in the death of Christ, acknowledged his owne imperfection, adding, non quod iam acceperim, aut iam perfectus sim, not that I haue already receiued, or that I am now perfect; and yet neuertheles saith *s. Augustin*, he saith shortly after. Quicunque ergo perfecti sumus, hoc sentiamus, let vs therefore, Ibidem. as many as are perfect, be thus minded.

Philip. 3.

Here vppon *s. Augustin* saith, that although the apostle was, perfectus viator, a perfect traualer, yet he was not, ipsius itineris perfectione perfectior, a perfect arriuer at the end of his journey; as also els where he saith to the same purpose that we may be heere, perfecti viatores, nondum perfecti possessores, perfect traauylers, but not yet perfect possessors, getting to vnderstand, that all human perfection is no other, but, as it were, a continual journey, or peregrination towards our cuntry, which is heauen, and that (if we proceede from vertue to vertue in this life) we shall haue there an eternal possession of true perfection in euerlasting glory: in which respect *s. Bernard* also saith, that the perfection of this life, is

*s. Aug. li. 2.
de peccator
miss. ca. 13.
Idē de verb.
Apost. ser. 15.
ca. 15.*

*s. Bernard.
in psal. qui
habitas.*

M M m m

but

S. Aug. in
Psal. 38.

but imperfecta perfectio, an imperfect perfection, which shall be perfected in the life to come, and in the meane time (saith S. Augustin) *aliter non potes esse perfectus, nisi scias hie te non posse esse perfectum*, thou canst not otherwise be perfect, except thou knowest, that heere thou canst not be perfect, signifying that nothing is more requisit, on our partes, to christian perfection, then a true, and profound humilitie, which can neuer be without perfect charitie, from whence proceedeth the obseruation of Gods law, and consequently all christian perfection, as shall further appeare in the next chapter.

Idē de verb.
apost. ser. 15.
ca. 15.

77 Therefore I conclude for the present concerning this point, with a breefe, and graue aduise of S. Augustin: *proscire* (saith he) *fratres mei* &c. *Goe forwards my brethren*, and profit in the way of vertue, *discusse*, examine your selues, *alwaise with out deceit, flattery, or partialitie*, &c. *ser. 15.* *which thou art displeased thee, if thou wilt attaine to that which thou art not: first thou dost please thy selfe, or stand in thy owne conceit, thou remainest by the way, if thou sayest, it sufficeth* (that is to say, if thou perswadest thy selfe, that thou hast ynough, or needest no more) *thou art utterly lost, therefore alwaise adde more, alwaise walke, alwaise goe forward, or profit, doe not maine, or stay by the way, doe not goe backward, doe not goe out of the way: he stayeth which doth not profit; he goeth backward, which returneth to those things, that he had left before: and he goeth out of the way, who becommeth an Apostata*, that is to say, who forsaketh his faith or his practise of perfection, *for better goeth the halt, or lame man in the way, then he that runneth out of the way*, Thus saith this holly Father.

78 And for as much, as I haue in my tract of contemplation, laid downe the particuler meanes, how a man may daily profit in vertue, and arriue to that perfection, whereof I haue heere treated, I shall not neede to enlarge my selfe further therein: and therefore I remit thee, good reader, therto, desiring thee to be mindfull thereof, for thy owne especial good, seeing that our sauour Christ proposed the perfection of his law to all men without exception, (as I haue also signified before) and that therefore euery christian man, is so bound to tend, yea and to attaine thereto (at least according to his vocation, and state) that whatsoever he shall want thereof, and leaue vn-satisfied at the houre of his death, it shall be supplied by the iustice of God, in the next life, with vn-speakable torments, either temporal, or eternal, for no man, saith, Fathers, more particulerlie a before, which I leaue to thy pious, and serious consideration.

S. Aug. de S. Augustin, escapeth this sentence, as I haue declared out of him, and others
Genes. contra
Manich. li.
2. c. 20.
ann. 48.

An objection of our aduersaries concerning christian perfection, is fully answered, whereby their doctrine of imputatiue iustice is confuted: with an application of all the former discourse to common welth, by the consideration of 4. notable effects of charitie, by the which it is proued, that the Catholike Roman Religion only, geueeth true felicitie to common welth.

C H A P. 38.

HO w hast seene good reader, in the last chapter what christian perfection is, to wit, that it is nothing els but true christian iustice, or righteousness, whereby man remaineth vnited with God, and most happy, according to the happines that may be had in this life.

But perhaps, our aduersaries will demaund heere, what perfection can be said, or imagined to be in our iustice? seeing that the same is (as they teach) continuallie stained, and soiled with sinne: and that our iustice, or righteousness is not in vs but in *Christ*, whose iustice is only imputed vnto vs: & that our sinnes are not remitted, and taken a way thereby, but only couered, and hid: soe that we remaine alwaies not only vnperfect, but also wicked, and abominable before God, soe farre worth as concerneth our owne actions, especially seeing that our very best woorkes are impure sinfull, and damnable, for so teach our aduersaries. And if this be true, then all the christian perfection, (where to I haue soe seriously exhorted my reader) is but an Idle conceit, and needeles to be sought, or procured, and consequentlie all my former discourse, which hath speciallie tended thereto, hath benne built vpon a false foundation.

Therefore, good reader, I must craue thy patience, whiles I extend my selfe a litle vpon this point, as well to confirme, and establish all my former discourse, and doctrine concerning christian iustice, and perfection, as also to discouer vnto thee, the absurditie of these opinions of our aduersaries, which are not only blasphemous against God, but also most pernicious to man, and common welth, as I haue alreddy shewed in part, in the 35. chapter, where I haue debated this matter by way of state, and therefore this occasion being now offred, I can not forbear to treat it also by way of religion, which neuertheles I will doe with as conuenient breuitie, as the importance of the matter may permit.

Now then: that which I vndertake heere to proue, is, that our iu-

M M n m ij

stices

a Luther. in artic. à Leone 10. damnatio, art. 2. & in assert. ar. 31. 32. & 36. Calvin. in Antidoto Concil. sess. 5. & li. 4. Institut. c. 15. §. 10. & 11. Item libro secundo ca. 1. sect. 8. b Calvin. li. 3. Institut. ca. 11. §. 2. 3. 21. & 22. Item li. 3. ca. 3. & ca. 14. §. 9.

stice or righteousnes, whereby we are iustified, is a gift of good communicated, and infused in to our soules, by the which we are inwardly, or in spirit changed, renewed, and sanctified, our sinnes truly remitted, and we consequentlie of wicked men, made truly iust: This the apostle signifieth when he saith, *cum apparuit benignitas & humanitas saluatoris nostri* &c. When the benignitie, and humanitie of our sauour appeared, not by the works of iustice which we did, but according to his mercy, he saved vs by the water of regeneration, & renovation of the holly ghost, whome he powred abundantly in to vs by Iesus-Christ our sauour, to the end that being iustified by his grace, we maye be heyres according to the hope of life everlasting. Thus farre the Apostle who describing the manner of our iustification, as you see, sheweth with all as well the principal causes thereof, as the effect.

4. For he signifieth, that the efficient cause of our iustification, is the benignitie, and mercy of God, the meritorious cause, our sauour Iesus-Christ, the instrumental cause, the washing of baptisme, the formal cause the infusion of the holly ghost abundantly communicated vnto vs: and finally that the effect resulting of these causes, is a regeneration, and renovation, which must needs import an inward change in our soules, wrought by the holly ghost, and not a bare imputation of an extrinsecal iustice: & therefore the apostle yeelding the reason why, almightie God doth regenerate, and renew vs by the infusion of the holly ghost, addeth, *iustificati gratia ipsius, heredes sumus* &c. That is to saye, to the end that being iustified by his grace, we maye be heyres &c. geueing to vnderstand that our iustification consisteth in the regeneration, and renovation, which the holly ghost worketh in vs by his grace.

2. Cor. 6.

5. This maye also be confirmed out of the same Apostle, when he saith to the Corinthians, *& hac quidem fuitis* &c. These you haue benne, (to wit fornicators, and Idolaters,) but you are washed, but you are sanctified, but you are iustified in the name of our Lord Iesus Christ, and in the spirit of

s. Chrysost.
& s. Ambr.
& Theophrastus.
in hunc locum.

s. Chrysost.
ad Baptizandum.
s. Hieron. ep. ad Oceanum.

s. Chrysost.
ad Baptizandum.

God; that is to saye, (as the ancient Fathers expound it) they were purged, and sanctified in baptisme, by the inuocation of the name of Iesus Christ, and by the operation of the holly ghost, in so much that s. Chrysostome, and s. Hierome doe proue out of these woords of the Apostle, that all sinnes are fully forgoeuen in baptisme: where vpon it followeth, that our iustification consisteth, not in that our sinnes are only couered, or hid, and Christs iustice imputed vnto vs, (as the sectaries teach) but in that they are washed away, and cleansed, yea and that we are (saith s. Chrysostome) made not only pure, and cleane, but also holly, and iust, *non enim dixit, lauari tantum estis* &c. for the apostle said not only, you are washed, but you are also sanctified, and iustified: behold then

How

how this ancient, and learned Father vrgeth the woords of the apostle to the same purpose, that the catholikes now doe, to wit, to proue a real iustification, consisting in a true remission of sinnes, and a true sanctification whereby we are, saith he, *made holly, and iust.*

This the Apostle also proueth in his epistle to the Romans by an inuincible argument, grounded vpon the plenitud, and fulnes of Christs merits, and the abundance of grace, which we receue thereby.

Scienim vnus delicto, saith he, mors regnauit per vnum &c. if by one mans fault, death hath reigned by one, much more those which receiue abundance of grace, and of the gift, and of iustice, shall reigne in life by one Iesus Christ: in which woords it is to be noted, that the Apostle speaking of iustification, doth plainlie exclude, and reiect the imputation of iustice, making expresse mention of a righteousness, which we receiue abundantly

with grace, and a gift geuen vs by almightie God: which abundance of grace, and iustice being geuen vs, and receiued by vs, must needs be really in vs, and make vs truely iust: and this is much more euident by that which followeth. Sicu enim, saith the Apostle per inobedientiam vniui hominis &c. for euen as by the disobedience of one man, many sinners were made, so by the obedience of one man, many iust shall be made.

Thus saith the Apostle, who as you see compareth, or rather opposeth Christ, to Adam, and our iustification geuen vs by Christ, to the death of the soule, or damnation purchased vs by Adam, concluding that we are made as truely iust by Christ, as we were truely sinners by Adam, yea and this he also enforceth further in the same place, saying *fenim vnus delicto multi mortui sunt &c. for if by one mans fault many haue died, much more the grace of God, and the gift in the grace of one man Iesus Christ hath abounded vnto more men, whereby the apostle signifieth, not that more are iustified by Christ, then haue died, or benne condemned by Adam, (which in the greeke is manifest, wherein steede of plures, more men, we read pollous, many men,) but that Christs grace was more abundant, and of greater force to iustifie vs, then Adams sinne to make vs sinners, and of condemne vs: which he confirmeth also afterwards saying, ubi abundauit delictum, superabundauit gratia, where the fault abounded, grace hath benne much more abundant.*

Wherevpon I inferre, with the blessed Apostle, that seeing the sinne of Adam was of force to make vs truelie sinners, the merits, and grace of Christ are of farre greater force to purge, and cleanse vs from our sinnes, and to make vs truely iust: for otherwaile we must needs say that our helpe is not equiualent to our harme, nor our remedy to our diseases, nor our rynging to our fall, nor our gaine to our losse, nor conse-

quently Christ to Adam, which were impietie to think, and blasphemy to say, and yet soe must our aduersaries say, contrarie to this expresse doctriu, of the Apostle, if they will maintaine this their opinion of imputatiue iustice.

9 This may further appeare if we add hereto, many other places of scripture, which euidentlie proue a true remission of sinnes in vs with purity, and cleanes of hart, and a real sanctification, and innouation of spirit: as when the psalmist saith. *Dele iniquitatem meam, blota* *ô Lord, my iniquitie: Amplius laua me ab iniquitate mea &c.* wash me more *ô Lord from my iniquitie, and cleanse me from my sinne: thou wilt sprinkle me with hisop, and I shall be made cleane, thou wilt wash me, and I shall be made whiter then snow: creat or make in me, ô God, a new hart, and innouat a new spirit in my bowels &c.* and confirme me with the principal spirit. Thus prayed the royal prophet, demaunding nothing els but iustification, consisting, in true remission of sinnes, and purity of hart by the infusion of the holly ghost.

10 The same also may be confirmed out of the apostle, where he saith that Christ gaue himselfe for his church, *ut illam sanctificaret &c.* to the end he might sanctifie it, cleansing it with the washing of water in the word of life, and *ut mundaret sibi populum acceptabilem*, that he might make cleane, and pure for himselfe an acceptable people, and againe *ut sanctificaret per suum sanguinem populum*, that he might sanctifie his people by his blood. And is not this sanctification, trow you, real, and true, but imputation? This may appeare by our sauours owne woords, who in his prayer to his Father before his passion said, *Et pro eis, ego sanctifico me ipsam, et ipsi sine sanctificatione in veritate, I sanctifie my selfe for them, that they may be sanctified, or made holly in veritie, or truth.*

11 Thus saith our sauour, but if we haue no true remission of sinnes, or sanctification, but only by imputation, and that we still remains soiled with our sinnes, when we are iustified, and sanctified, then Christ either did not, or could not performe that by his passion which he desired, I meane he did not sanctify vs in verity, and truth neither shuld it be true which S. Ihon saith, *sanguis Iesu Christi emundat nos ab omni peccato*, the blood of Iesus Christ doth make us cleane, from all sinne, nor that our sauour Christ is, *agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi*, the lambe of God which taketh away the sinnes of world.

12 Loc then how blasphemous is the opinion of our aduerfaries, which by a necessarie consequent, doth euacuat the merits of Christs passion, and death, depriuing it of the principal force and effect thereof, euen in that where in God is most glorified, the deuil most confounded.

Psal. 50.

Ephes. 5.

Tit. 2.
Hebr. 15.

Ioan. 17.

1. Ioan. 1.

Ioan. 1.

ounded, and we most honored, and benefited, to wit, in the perfect re-
 pair of our wrack receiued by Adam, I meane our true iustification,
 and the full remission and abolition of our sinnes by the merits of
 Christ.

But let vs heare the doctrin of the ancient Fathers. *Iustitia*, saith *S. Aug.*
Augustin, *virtus est animi magna praequeque laudabilis*, Iustice, or righteousness,
 is a greate vertue of the mind and highly commendable: and presently after,
qui facit in homine iustitiam &c. who made iustice, or righteousness in man, but *ibidem*.
 which iustifieth the wicked, *hoc est per gratiam suam*, de impio facit iustum,
 but is to say, he which by his grace doth make a iust man of a wicked man. Thus
 see, where you see that righteousness is a vertue of the mind, and there-
 fore really inherent in vs as other vertues ar, and that God doth not on-
 ly repute a man to be iust, but also *facit iustum ex impio*, maketh him iust,
 where he was wicked before.

Againe: *quid est aliud iustitia*, saith he, *cum in nobis est &c.* what els
 is iustice, when it is in vs, or any other vertue, wherebie we liue well and wisely, ad consen-
 teth the beautie of the inward man? so he: acknowledging righteousness
 to be really in vs as other vertues are, and that it is the beauty of the
 soule: where vppon he also saith els where, that, when mans nature is
 iustified by his creator, *a deformi forma formosam transfertur in formam*, is
 transposed, or changed from a deformed vnto a beautifull forme. Which is
 contrarie to the doctrin of Luther; and Calvin, who teacheth that a
 man being iustified remaineth still deformed with sinne, though Christ
 by his owne merits do hold, and repute him to be iust.

Furthermore, *legimus*, saith the same Father, *iustificari in Christo qui*
indunt in eum, we read that those are iustified in Christ which beleue in him,
 and then to show how they are iustified, he addeth *propter occultam com-*
municationem, & inspirationem gratiae spiritualis, by the meanes of a secret com-
 munication, and inspiration of a spiritual grace, and this grace he saith els
 where, *is caritas diffusa in cordibus nostris per spiritum sanctum, qui datus est no-*
bis, caritate infusa in to our hearts by the holly ghost which is geuen vs.

Whereby it is euident that he neither taught nor knew any other
 iustice, or righteousness in man but a real, and inherent iustice, consisting
 in true remission of sinne, and infusion of faith, charity, and other ver-
 tues: and therefore no meruel that Calvin is forced flatly to reiect him
 in this question, though neuertheles he acknowledgeth him someti-
 mes to be the most faithfull, and best witnes of antiquitie, but whether
 of them deserueth more to be beleueed, and followed, I remit it to the
 iudgement of any vnpassionat man, that hath care to saue his soule.

Yet if *S. Augustin* had bene singuler in this point, or euer hether to
 noted

*S. Aug. in
 Psal. 118.
 Conc. 26.*

*Idem ap. 83.
 ad consen-
 tium.*

*Idem de Tri-
 nitate li. 15.
 c. 8.*

*Idem li. 1 de
 peccator.
 mer. & re-
 miss. ca. 10.*

*li. de spiritu
 & littera
 per totum.*

*Et ser. 15 de
 verb. aposto-
 li & de ha-
 res. bar. 88.
 Calvin In-
 str. li. 3. c. 11.
 sect. 15. Idem
 li. 3. c. 3. sect.
 10 & li. 4.
 c. 14. sect. 26.*

noted by any good christian man to haue erred therein; Calvin might seeme to haue more reason to reiect him: And therefore let vs heare one of the Fathers of the greeke church, to wit *S. Chrysostome*. who expounding the epistle of *S. Paul* to the *Ephesians*: and particularly the words, *Demo nos gratificauit in dilectis filijs suis*, God hath made vs gracious, or acceptable in his beloued sonne, saith thus, *gratiosos nos reddidit, hoc est deo*, he hath made vs gracious, that is to say he hath not only deliuered vs from sinne, but also hath made vs his beloued friends: for as if a man shuld make one faire, and yong, who before was old, scabbed, diseased and pestiferous, and should beautifie him so, that his face, and eyes shuld cast out resplendent beames of light, and further cloth and adorne him with purple, and all kind of furniture, euen so hath God, as it were, curiously wrought our soule, and made it beautifull, worthy to be desired, and beloued.

18 Thus farre *S. Chrysostome*, who yow see teacheth that God doth not only geewe vs remission of sinnes when he iustifieth vs, but also doth so renew, beaurify, and deck our soules with his grace, that we are not esteemed only, and reputed to be acceptable in his sight, but also are in deede made gracious and acceptable vnto him, and adorned with an inward, and spiritual beauty. And I haue the rather alledged this place of *S. Chrysostome* expounding the words of the Apostle, because our aduersaries abuse them, to the confirmation of their opinion of imputatiue iustice, pretending that the greeke word *echaristos*, (which in our latin translation is *gratificauit*) doth signifie *gratiosos habuit*, that is to say hath held, or esteemed vs for gracious, where as *S. Chrysostome*, (who may woorthily be presumed to haue vnderstood the greeke, and the meaning and drift of the apostle, some what better then any of our aduersaries) interpreteth it, *gratiosos reddidit*, hath made vs gracious, or acceptable, and vtgeth the same notable, as you haue heard, for the prooue of our Catholike doctrine, of a true, and inherent iustice.

19 I might add many other testimonies of the Fathers to proue inherent iustice, and true remission of sinne, if I thought it needefull, but to auoide prolixitie, I remit my reader to the places cited in the margin, and to all those Fathers who treat of the effects of Baptisme, teaching not only a full remission, ablution, and abolition of our sinnes, (according to the promise of God by his prophet, saying I will pauer vppon you a cleane water, and you shall be cleansed from all that filth, and corruption) but also a perfect regeneration, and renouation of the soule, whereby we become *noua creatura*, as the Apostle saith, a new creature, and are made, saith *S. Gregorie Nazianzen*, of old new, and of a humane deuiue, and as *S. Chrysostome* testifieth, *b mundi res solo radiu*, cleaner then

Ephes. 1.

S. Chrysost.
in *Ep. ad*
Ephes. c. 1.

S. Ambros.
li. 6. *Hexa-*
mer. c. 2. &
li. 6. in *Luc.*
S. Hieron. li.
1. aduer. *pe-*
lagian.
Ibid. li. 3.
S. Prosper. in
respons. ad
ca. 6. Gallo-
rum.

S. Basil. de
baptis. ho. 1.
par. 2.
Nysenus &
Nazianz.
orat. in san-
ct. Baptis.
Ezech. 36.
Clemens A-
lexand. li. 1.
padagog. ca.
6. Galat. 6.
a Orat. in
sanct. baptis.
b Hom. ad
baptizan.

beames of the sunne, beinge the children of God, and d temples of the holly c Rom. 8.
ghost, and therefore truely iust, not by the same iustice, whereby Christ d 1. Cor. 4.
is iust, (as our aduersaries absurdlie affirme) but by the iustice saith s.

Augustin; c qua iustos nos facit, wherebye he maketh vs iust, and f quam dar ho- c S. Aug. de
mini Deus, ut sit homo iustus per Deum: which God geeueth to man, to the end spir. & lit. c.
that man may be iust by God. For, soe saith s. Augustin. Soe that our iu- 9. & 11.
stice being true iustice, may be called both Christs iustice, and ours, f Ide tra. 3.
Christs, because he doth geeue it vs, and ours because we haue, and pos- 2. 6 in Ioan.
seffe it by his gift: And therefore I conclude with him, saying also els To. 9.
where, that the grace of Christ, doth worke inwardlie our illumination, and in- g Idem de
fication. peccat. me-
rit. & re-
miss. li. 1. c.

ad But heere our aduersaries may perhaps demaund, why then the 9.
prophet Isay doth saye of all men, and of all their iustice, or righteous-
nes i facti sumus ut immundi omnes, & quasi pannus menstruata, vniuersa iusti-
tie nostra: we are all become as vncleane, and all our iustices, as a stayned clout.
which words of the prophet our aduersaries doe commonly obiect
against the true iustice, and righteousnes whereof I haue hitherto trea-
ted, to whome I answer: that the prophet in this place speaketh not
of iust men, but only of the wicked Iewes, for whose greate sinnes, and
wickednes, the city of Hierusalem was to be geeuen ouer in to the
hands of the king of Babilon, and therefore speaking in their person he
saith, we are all become as vncleane &c. wherein it is also to be obserued,
that when he speaketh of all their iustices, he doth not meane all the
woorkes of those wicked men, (whereof some might be at least mo-
rally good, or indifferent;) and much lesse doth he meane the woorkes
of iust, or good men, but he vnderstandeth the woorkes of the law,
wherein they did put all their confidence, placing speciallie therein all
their iustice, and righteousnes, though neuertheles they performed the
same with so bad intention, and euill circumstances, that the prophet
woorthily said, that they were all vncleane, and like to a filthy stayned clout.

11 And of those kind of woorkes, and to those wicked men the same
prophet said also in the person of god; i Ne offeratis ultra sacrificium frustra
&c. doe not offer sacrifice any more in vaine, their incense is abomination to me, I
will not endure their Neomenie, their sabbats, and other feasts: your assemblies,
are wicked: my soule hateth their Calends, and your solemnities &c. whereby
it cannot be vnderstood, that God hated all the sacrifices, feasts, and
woorkes of the law, or held them to be vnpure, and vncleane, when
they were well performed by good men, but when they were donne
wickedly or by such as presumed so farre thereon, that they perswaded
themselves to be iustified thereby, how badly soeuer they liued other-

N N n n

waife,

h Isay. 64.

Isay. 1.

waile, in which respect the prophet speaking in the person of those wicked men, as I haue said, called those woorkes, and feasts of the law *iustitias nostras*, our iustices, because they placed all their righteousnes therein. Finallie those woords of the prophet, are soe farre from imputing the iustice of good woorkes, that both Luther, and Calvin doe confesse it in their commentaries vppon the same place, as a Card. Bellarmin noterh, though neuertheles Luther being allwaile most inconstant, and variable, doth els where absurdlie labour to proue theretrie, that all the woorkes of the iustest, and best men are sinnes.

22 Furthermore our aduersaries obiect against real, and inherent iustice those woords of the apostle, *b credidit Abraham Deo, & reputatum est ei ad iustitiam*, Abraham beleueed God, and it was reputed to him for iustice, where vppon they will needs gather, that Abraham was not iust in deede, in the sight of God, but only that God reputed, and esteemed, him to be soe. Whereto I answere, that the woords *reputatum est*, doe not signifie only an estimation, or imputation of a thing which is not in deede, but a true estimation of that which truely is: for almightie God, (whose iudgments are alwaile according to iustice, and veritie) reputeth, or esteemeth euery thing as it is in deede, and therefore as those whome he reputeth for euil men, are euil in deede, so also those whome he reputeth for good men, are truely good, because he hath made them good, and iust by his grace.

23 Besids that it is euident in the same epistle, and chapter of the Apostle that the woord *imputare*, to impute, doth signifie there a true esteemation of that which really is, as it is reputed to be, for we read in him, that *ei qui operatur, merces imputatur, non secundum gratiam, sed secundum debitum*, to him that woorketh, the hyre, or wages is imputed, not according to grace, or fauour, but according to duty, so that you see, *imputatio* heere, doth not signifie a bare opinion of a thing to be due, when it is not due, but a true esteemation of a thing no lesse due, then is the hyre to the labourer, or woorker man; and in this sence we deny not but that it may be truely saide, that the iustice of Christ is imputed vnto vs, when it is truely communicated, and geuen vnto vs by our sauour Christ, and that we are truely reputed for iust, when God hath made vs iust by the remission of our sinnes, and infusion of his grace, in which sence neuertheles our aduersaries will not admit it.

24 The like is also to be answered to an other obiection, which our aduersaries make out of the same chapter of the Apostle, and the 31. Psalme, where we reade. *c Beati quorum remisse sunt iniquitates &c.* happy are they whose iniquities are remitted, and whose finnes are covered: blessed &

a Bellar. de
iustificat. li.

4. c. 20.

Luther in
assert. 31.

b Rom. 4.

Rom. 4.

Rom. 4.

c Psal. 31.

the man to whom God hath not imputed sinne : where vppon our aduersaries absurdlie inferre, that no sinnes are truly remitted, but only couered, and not imputed.

To which purpose it is to be noted, that they fly heere to their common shift, to find out some few obscure texts of scripture to interpret thereby a greate number of plaine, and euident places, which might be exemplified in most controuerfies betwixt them, and vs, and in this is most manifest : for is there any thing in the holly scriptures, either more plaine, or frequent then the mention of true remission, and abolition of sinne, which is expresse there so many waife, and by such different manner of speech, that nothing can be added to make it more cleare, as when the prophet saith, *a if your sinnes shall be like skarlet they shall be made as whyte as snow*, *b The iniquitie of the people shall be taken away*. *c I am he who doe wipe, or blot out thy sinnes for my owne sake: d I haue abolished thy iniquitie like a cloud, and thy sinnes as a mist*. &c in an other prophet, *e I will power out a cleane water vpon you, and you shalbe cleanzed fro all your filth*. And againe in an other, *f he will cast all our sinnes in to the bottome of the sea* : And in the proverbs, *g sinnes are purged by mercy, and faith*. Also in the Psalmist, *h he hath made our iniquities to be as farre from vs, as the east is from the west*. And againe : *i his sinne shalbe sought, and shall not be found* : whereto may be added the prayers of the psalmist which I haue mentioned before, to wit, that it might please God to *k blot, or wipe out his iniquitie, to make him cleane, and to wash him more, and more, that so he might be whiter then snow*. Also in the new testament the like manner of speeches are most frequent, which I haue partly alledged before, as that our sauour *l washed our sinnes in his blood* : *m shall cleanse our consciences from dead works*, *n make a purgation of sinnes*, *o purifie our hartes*, *p take a way the sinnes of the world*, *q cancel our obligation of det*, *r kill our enmities in him selfe*, *s exhaust or consume sinne*, and finally make vs *t holly, immacular, and irreprehensible coram ipso*, be- fore him, or in his sight, in all which you see, the holly ghost teacheth such a full, and perfect remission, and vtter abolition of sinne (to our exceeding comefort) that if a man should studdy, and deuise words, and phrases to signifie, and perswade the same, it were not possible to doe it more effectuellie.

And yet all these places being so euident, as you see, must be vnderstood, say our aduersaries, of couering, or hiding sinne, or not imputing it, because the scripture sometimes vseth such manner of speech though reason would require, that the more rare and obscure phrases, and manners of speech, should be expounded by the more frequent and cleare, especiallie seeing they are other whiles so conioined the one with

NNnn ij the

a Esay. c. 1.

b c. 33.

c c. 43.

d c. 44.

e Exechiel.

f Miche. 7.

g Prou. 15.

h Psal. 102.

i Psal. 9.

k Psal. 50.

l Ibid.

m Ibid.

n Ibid.

o Ibid.

p Ibid.

q Ibid.

r Ibid.

s Ibid.

t Ibid.

u Ibid.

v Ibid.

w Ibid.

x Ibid.

y Ibid.

z Ibid.

the other, that they must needs be vnderstood to signifie one and the selfe same thing in effect, or at least to be a consequent the one of the other, as for example we read in *Esdra*, *ne operias iniquitatem eorum*, & *peccatum eorum*, *coram facie tua non deleatur*, do not cover, o Lord) their iniquities, and let not their sinne be blotted out before thy face, and againe in the psalmist: *auerte faciem tuam a peccatis meis*, & *omnes iniquitates meas dele*, turne away thy face from my sinnes, and blot out my iniquities, and againe: *remissit iniquitatem plebis tue*, & *operuisti omnia peccata eorum*, thou hast remitted the iniquities of thy people, and hast couered all their sinnes. And so in like manner the same psalmist saith in the place before alleadged, *blessed are they whose iniquities are forgivenen, and whose sinnes are couered*, geueing to vnderstand that when sinnes are forgivenen, they are so couered, that almighty God himselfe to whose eyes, (*omnia nuda sunt*, & *aperta*, all things are naked, and open) seeth them not, because they are vtterly blotted out, and extinguished, as it may further appeare in the same place, where the psalmist hauing said, *blessed is the man to whome God hath not imputed sinne*, addeth immediatlie, *ne est in spiritu eius dolus*, nor any deceit is in his spirit, or soule, whereby he signifieth plainelie, that mans sinnes are couered, and not imputed, when his soule is cleare, or free from sinne.

28 But to decide this controuersie, lett vs heare the interpretation of some of the most ancient, and learned fathers of the church. *S. Iustin* the martir, who liued with in a 150. yeres after *Christ*, in his disputation with *Triphon* the Iew, alledgeth the same words of the psalme, *beatus cui non imputabit Dominus peccatum*, blessed is he to whome God shall not impute sinne, and expoundeth them thus. *hoc est cui penitenti Deus peccata remittit* &c, that is to say (saith he) to whome being penitent God shall remitte his sinnes, not as you (Iewes) doe say deceiuing your selues, or as others like you doe affirme, to wit, that although they be sinners, yet if they know God, he will not impute their sinnes vnto them. Thus farre *S. Iustin*, expresselie reiecting, as you see, this interpretation of our aduersaries, and coupling them with the Iewes, and other miscreants of that time, who held, as it seemeth, the same opinion, that they doe now, concerning this point.

29 *Orig. li. 4. in ep. ad Rom.* *Origen* also interpreteth the same verse of the psalme of true, and perfect remission of sinne, making three degrées therein, saying, that it is a greate benefit when God remitteth, or forgiveueth a mans sinnes: a greater when he couereth them, and the greatest when he doth not impute them, for that then they are blotted out in such sort, that no appearance, or shew thereof remaineth, as though a man had neuer sinned.

*S. Aug. con-
cio 2. in
psal. 31.*

30 *S. Augustin* expounding also the same words of the psalmist

saith,
saith,
liued
sinners
for he
s. Gre
T
an
postle
Father
these
Christ
deuil.
F
deny,
world
take a
deuil, a
(as S.
if Chri
deuil,
deanse
repreh
his tem
his pr
say be
pture,
uous
hath a
not fo
ne, be
are, v
33 C
both
ued h
when
any p
the p
the g
toget

faith, non sic intelligatis &c. do not you understand that which the psalmist saith, (to wit that finnes are couered,) as though they remained there, and couered still: and againe afterwards, medicus, saith he, regit ut curet, emplastrum enim regit, the phisician couereth the wound, or sore, to the end he may cure it: for he couereth it with a plaister: and the same similitud is also vsed by s. Gregory the greate.

Thus then you see how farre these Fathers differ from Luther Calvin and other sectaries in the exposition of the psalmist, and of the Apostle, concerning the couering, and not imputing sinne, which the Fathers vnderstand to signifie a full, and perfect remission, whereas these other teach the contrarie, euacuating, as I haue said, the fruits of Christs merits, and establishing the kingdome, and tyrannie of the deuil.

For if it be true, which s. Iohn teacheth, and no true Christian can deny, to wit, that the sonne of God appeared, (that is to say came in to the world, and tooke our flesh,) ut peccata tollerem, to the end that he might take away finnes, and, ut dissoluat opera diaboli, to dissolue the woorks of the deuil, and if the woorks of the deuil be sinne, and that he which sinneth (as s. Iohn also saith) is of the deuil, yea his bondman, and his slaue: and if Christ came to redeeme vs, and deliuer vs, from this bondage of the deuil, and sinne, and to renew vs in spirit, to make vs new creatures, to cleanse vs, to sanctifie vs, to iustifie vs, yea to make vs immaculat, and irreprehensible in his sight, to make vs his friends, his brethren, his children, his temples, and his kingdome, in whome he might raigne, and rule as in his proper inheritance dearely purchased with his blood. If all this, I say be true, (as it must needs be, being the expresse doctrine of the scripture,) how is it performed, if notwithstanding the merits of our sa- uious passion applied vnto vs by baptism, and such other meanes as he hath appointed, we are only reputed by almightie God to be iust, and not so in deede: nor truly sanctified, but remaine still defiled with sinne, bondmen of iniquitie, and children of the deuil, as s. Iohn saith we are, whiles we are in sinne?

Can we then be the children of God, and the children of the deuil both at once? or can we say that Christ conquered the deuil, and dissolued his woorks, (that is to say sinne) if it still remaine in our soules when we are iustified? can there be any agreement betwixt Christ, and Belial? any participation betwixt light and darknes? my bed, saith the holly ghost by the prophet, is narrow, and two can not lie in it at once, but the one must fall to the ground, whereby it is signified that God, and the deuil cannot dwell together in one soule, as they must needs doe, if mortal sinne still re-

s. Greg. ma-
gnus in 2.
Psal. penit.

1. Iohn. 3.

Ibidem.

Ibidem.

Coloss.

1. Tit. 3.

1. Cor. 3.

Rom. 8.

Galat. 6. 1.

Cor. 6.

Coloss. 1.

Iohn. 15.

Matth. 28.

Luc 8.

Matth. 5.

Rom. 8.

2. Cor. 6.

Apo. 1. & 5.

1. Iohn. 3.

2. Cor. 6.

1. Iay. 28.

maine in it, not with standing that it is sanctified by the infusion of the holly ghost. And much more if our best woorks are sinfull, and damnable, as *Luther, Caluin*, and others their followers teach, contrarie to the expresse doctriu of the holly scriptures, which testifie that good woorks, which proceede of Gods grace, are *spirituales hostia acceptabiles Deo*, spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God, and (as the Apostle saith of the almes of the *Philippians*.) *hostia accepta placens Deo*, an acceptable sacrifice pleasing to God, in which respect our Sauour himselfe speaking of the good woorks of the faithfull, saith, *si oculi tui fuerit simplex. &c.* if thy eye be simple, all thy body shall be light, and if all thy body be light, not hauing any part of darknes, the whole shall be light, and as a candle of brightnes shall illuminate thee.

1. Pet. 2.
Philip. 4.

Matth. 6.

Luc. 11.

See Bellarm.
li. 4. de iustifi-
fic. ca. 15.

34. Thus saith our sauour, describing a perfect good woork, meaning by the eye, the intention, and by the light body, the good woork, and therefore he saith els where, *let your light so shyn before men*, that they may see your good woorks: so that according to our sauours similitud, and testimonie, good men may doe woorks which shall be throughlie light, and cleare, and haue, as he saith, *no part of darkenes*; that is to say, no mixture of sinne: so that such woorks, being the woorks of the holly Ghost in vs, are so farre from being sinfull, and damnable in Gods sight, that they may abyde the trial of Gods iustice, and iudgement, as the royal prophet signified of himselfe, saying, *igne me examinasti & non est inuenta in me iniquitas: Thou hast tried me, O Lord, with fire, and iniquitie hath not benne found in me*: and the Apostle much more clearely: *Si quis*, saith he, *superedificat supra fundamentum hoc &c.* if any man build upon this foundation gold, siluer, precious stones, wood hay, stubble &c. fire shall try every mans woork, of what kind, or quality it is, if any mans woork, which he build thereupon, doe abide, he shall receiue reward, if any mans woork burne, he shall suffer detriment, but himselfe shall be saued, yet so as by fire.

Matth. 5.

Psal. 6.

1. Cor. 3.

35. Thus saith the Apostle, signifying by gold, siluer, and precious stones, such woorks of good men, as proceede from the grace of God, and therefore are so good, and pure, that being tried by the fire of Gods iudgement, they doe suffer no detriment, but shall receiue reward, where as other woorks of theirs, to wit light, and venial finnes (which he therefore compared to wood, hay, and stubble) shall not be able to abyde the like trial, and much lesse receaue any reward, but suffer detriment, that is to say punishment, yet so, as the party who did those woorks shalbe saued, *quasi per ignem*, as by fire: whereby it is euident, that these woorks of the latter sort, are not mortal, but venial finnes, (as the ancient Fathers do also interpret the same) and that the other

S. Aug. ser.
41. de sanct.
S. Greg. li. 4.
dial. ca. 39.

woorks

works compared to gold, silver, and precious stones, are good works proceeding from Gods grace, and so farre from being damnable, (as the sectaries would haue our best works to be) that Gods iudgement doth find them to be not only pure, but also woorthy of reward, in which respect the Apostle speaking els where of his owne fight, and course, and his perseverance in the faith of Christ, did nothing dout to say, that the crowne of iustice was laid up, or reserved for him, *quam reddet 2.Tim. 4. mihi dominus*, saith he, *in illa die iustus iudex*, which (croune) our lord the iust iudge, will render me in that day.

And although the Apostle doe exclude from iustification, not only Rom. 3. the works of infidels, which goe before faith, but also the moral works of the faithfull themselves, which doe not proceede from grace, yet he teacheth euidentlie, that the works which follow faith, and proceede of grace, doe iustifie before God, and therefore he saith, *that factores legis iustificabuntur apud Deum*, the doers of the law shall be iustified before God, and not the hearers only, meaning by iustification, an encrease of iustice, that is to say, a iustification, of the iust, according to the saying of S. Iohn, *qui iustus est, iustificetur adhuc*, he which is iust, let him be iustified still, to which purpose also the apostle saith of almes, *augebit in- 2. Cor. 9. cimenta frugum iustitie vestra*, it shall augment the encrease of the fruit of your iustice, and S. Iames also witnesseth, *that factor operis beatus in suo facto* Iac. 1. *erit*, the doer of the work, shall be blessed in his deed. and that Abraham was Iac. 2. iustified by works, when he offered his sonne Isaac, &c. and after concludeth, that man is iustified by works, and not by faith only, as I will proue more largely in the third part.

Seeing then our good works which flow from the fountayne of Gods grace, are acceptable to him, yea so pure in his sight, that they may abyde the trial of his iudgement, and iustifie vs, that is to say, encrease our iustification, how false, and absurd is the contrarie doctrine of our aduersaries, teaching that such works are mortal sinnes? & where so may they be thought to tend, but, as I haue saide, to establish the tyranny of the deuil, and to ouerthrow the kingdome of Christ, in our soules, not withstanding their pretence to patronize Christs merits against vs, charging vs most falselie to impugne the same by our Catholike doctrine of good works, and of the merit thereof, whereby they say we obscure the glory of Christ, attributing to our selues, and to our owne merits, that which Christ hath merited for vs: as though it could be any derogation to the merits of our sauioir to say, that he not only merited for vs himselve and conquered the deuil, and sinne, but also made vs able to merit, & to conquer them both? or rather is it not farre more

more glorious to *Christ*, and a greater confusion to the deuill, that *Christ* conquereth him, and sinne daily in vs, & by vs, then if he had only once subdued them for vs: for by making such weake ones, as we are, daily to treade them vnder our feete, his conquest, and triumph is farre more glorious, his mercy to vs more manifest, his enemies, and ours, more confounded, and we infinitlie more obliged to him, in which respect we may truly say with the Apostle. *Deo gratias qui dedit nobis victoriam, thanks be to God, who gaue vs victorie*: but how by our selues? no, but per *Dominum Iesum Christum*, by our lord *Iesus Christ*, from whose grace, and merits proceed all our force, and habilitie, all our good woorks, our iustification, and saluation, in which respect *S. Augustin* saith, that when *Christ* crowneeth our merits, he crowneeth his owne gifts.

2. Cor. 1. 5

Ibid.

S. Aug. ep.
105. contra
pelagian.

38 Therefore as our doctrine concerning the merits of works, remission of sinne, and iustification, is glorious to our sauiours, (teaching that his merits were of sufficient force, with the helpe of his grace, to make vs merit, to cleanse, and wash away our sinnes, to renew vs in soule, and to make vs as truly iust, as before we were truly sinners) so the contrarie opinion of our aduersaries, is not only dishonorable to our sauiour *Christ*, yea blasphemous, (as I haue signified) but also pernicious to common welth, for that it serueth to no other end, but for a very couer, and cloke to sinne, yea for an encouragement thereto, seeing that whosoever is imbued with this doctrine, must needs thinke it bootlesse for him to labour either to cleanse his soule from sinnes past by repentance, and penance, or els to preferue it in puritie, for the time to come, perswading himselfe, that he is, and alwaies shall be polluted with damnable sinnes, doe he what he can, and yet not with standing that he shall be still iustified by the imputation of *Christ*s iustice, and thereby be the child of God, the temple of the holly Ghost, and coheire with *Christ*? and therefore will any man that is thus perswaded, care greatelie what he doth? no truly, or at least he needeth not to care, if this doctrine be true, in which respect it is no lesse preiudicial to common welth, (as I declared more amply in the 35. chapter) then repugnant to the verity of our holly scriptures, and to the doctrine of all the ancient Fathers.

39 Herevpon I conclude, that seeing it is euident by all this discourse concerning iustification, that when we are iustified our sinnes are through the merits of *Christ*, truly remitted, and our soules by the infusion of the holly Ghost, purified, renewed, illuminated, and sanctified, and that thereby we become temples of the holly Ghost, the children of God, heyres to his eternal kingdome, and are therefore most

acceptable

acceptable, and deare vnto him, it must needs follow, that whosoever
 liueth, and perseuereth in this state of Christian iustice, he is a perfect
 christian, and continuallie vnited with God, not with standing the hu-
 mane frailties, and imperfections whereto the iustest man is subiect in
 this life: For although the said imperfections, (or venial sinnes) can not
 stand with the perfect puritie of the next life, forasmuch as they are not
 directlie repugnant to the law of God, they doe not exclude vs either
 from the perfection of this life, or yet from true iustice, as I decla-
 red in the last chapter, besides that they are not alwaie committed, and
 being committed, they are (as *S. Augustin* teacheth) daily remitted
 through the repentance, penance, and prayers of the iust, so that then
 the soule, being both purged from those imperfections, and also
 adorned with grace, and the habits of all vertue, remaineth pure, im-
 maculat, and irreprehensible before God, yea most faire, and beautifull
 in his sight, according to all those testimonies of the holly scriptures,
 and Fathers, which I haue alledged before to this purpose.

Now then to proceed, hauing declared in the last chapter in what
 consisteth christian perfection, and felicitie, who they are that arriue
 vnto it, and by what meanes it is obtained, I will now apply the same,
 and all my former discourse to common welth, showing how it is
 made no lesse happy, then particuler men who are members of it.

This may sufficientlie be gathered, and inferred of that which I
 haue alreddy discoursed: For seeing the felicitie, and happines of the
 whole common welth, and of euery member thereof, is all one, (as I
 proued in the fourth chapter) it cannot be denied, but that the meanes
 also to beatifie, or make happy the common welth, must needs be the
 same that geueth happines to euery part thereof: for as when euery
 part of the boddy is found, and healthfull, the whole boddy is found,
 and well disposed: soe also the whole common welth must needs be
 happy, when euery member thereof (that is to say euery particuler
 man) is happy.

Seeing then I haue proued that no man can obtaine true vnion
 with God (which is the end, and felicitie of euery man) but by the per-
 fect exercise, and practise of the Catholike Roman religion, it is con-
 sequentlie euident that common welth cannot be vnited with God, but
 by the same meanes, especiallie for two causes declared before; the one,
 because perfect vertue, (which is the stay, and principal pillar to vphold
 common welth) cannot otherwaie be had but by the Catholike reli-
 gion, and the other because true vnion with God, (wherein consisteth
 the end, & felicitie of common welth) is also the special effect thereof.

a *S. Tho. 1. 2.*
 q. 87. ar. 5.
 & q. 88. ar.
 1. *primum*
 & 22. q.
 105. 1. 1.
 b *Chap. 37.*
 nu. 88.
 c *S. Aug. li.*
de natu. &
grat. ca. 38.
S. Aug. ep.
 108. & li.
 50. *hom. 60.*
 40.
Chap. 37.
 d *Nu. 78.*
 79. & 80.
 e *Nu. 77.*

43. And to the end that this may be the more manifest, and that I may with all cleare a principal difficultie controuersed betwixt our aduersaries and vs, concerning the meanes whereby the christian religion doth vnite man with God, (they ascribing it to *only faith*, and we rather to *charity* then to *faith*, though in deede to the concurrence of both, and of all other vertues, yet in such sort, that faith is vnderstood to be the foundation, and charitie the consummation of the whole building,) to the end, I saye, that this may appeare, I will first proue that our vnion with God is properly the effect of perfect *charity*, and then I will euidently show, that the vertue of perfect *charity*, is proper only to the Catholike Roman church, and not to be found in the congregations of *Lutherans*, or *Caluinists*, or of any other sectaries of these dayes, where vpon it must needs follow, that the religion which the Catholike Roman church teacheth, vniteth man with god, and consequently geueth true felicitie to comon welth.

44. Therefore for as much, as our vnion with god, and consequently the felicitie of common welth, is wrought by our iustification, which our aduersaries attribut wholly to *faith*, I will here show the excellencie, or rather the preeminence of *charity*, before *faith*, in the woork of iustification, thereby to show also, how our vnion with god, and the true felicitie of common welth, is principally wrought by *charity*.

45. Let vs then consider how much the Apostle himselfe preferreth *charitie* before *faith* for iustification, seeing he saith, that though he should haue all *faith*, yea such as might remoue mountaines, yet if he had not *charitie*, he were nothing, & further comparing them together for worth, and valew, he concludeth expresselie, that of *faith*, *hope*, and *charitie*, *maior horum charitas*, the greatest of these is *charitie*: and treating els where of iustification, he saith also, that the *faith* which is necessarie thereto, is, *fides qua per dilectionem operatur*, a *faith* which woorketh by *love*, or *charitie* wherein he signifieth plainly, that *charitie* is (as the schoolemen speake) the forme, or that which geueth viuacitie, life, and operation to *faith* in the act of iustification; as the soule geueth life, and operation to the boddy, which in the greeke text is more euident, then in our latin, for that the woord *operatur* in latin, is in the greeke *euergoumeny*, that is to saye, *mota*, or *acta*, moued, or stirred, geueing to vnderstand, that *faith* when it iustifieth, is moued, or styrred by *charitie*, as the body is by the soule, whereuppon it followeth not only that *faith* with out *charitie* is (as *S. James* woorthilie tearmeth it) *inanu vaine* (so farre foorth as concerneth iustification, but also that *charitie* farre excelleth *faith* in worth, and dignitie, as much as the forme excelleth the matter, and the soule

1. Cor. 13.

Ibid.

the boddy. Whereby two absurd heretical opinions of the sectaries are clearly confuted, the one of *Luther*, who teacheth, as you haue heard, *Chap. 35. nu. 5.* in the 35. chapter, that *fides sine charitate, & ante charitatem iustificat*, *Luther. in ca. 2. ad Gal. lat.* *faith iustificeth with out, & before charitie*, whereas the Apostle teacheth, as you see, the flat contrary, to wit that the *faith* which iustificeth, must be such a *faith*, as shall worke or be moued by *charitie*, and therefore it cannot possibly iustifie with out, and before *charitie*, no more then the boddy can doe the functions requisit thereto, or yet liue, with out the soule.

The other absurd opinion confuted by this place of *S. Paule*, is of *Caluin*, and all other sectaries at this day, who hold, that albeit *charitie* *Caluin in Antidoto concil. ad art. 11. seß. 6 & li. 3. in str. c. 16. seß.* cannot be with out *charitie*, as they fondly affirme) yet the act of iustification, is to be attributed, say they, only to *faith*, and not all to *charitie*, wherein they say as wisely, as if they shuld affirme that mans actions are to be attributed wholly, and only to the boddy, and not at all to the

soule, where as it is euident in the Apostle, that, as all mens actions are principally to be ascribed to the soule, from whence proceedeth his life, and operation, soe also the act of *faith* in iustification is cheefely to be attributed to *charitie*, which geeueth life, and operation vnto it.

Therefore *S. Augustin* saith, *fidem non facit vtilem nisi charitas, no- S. Aug. de trinit. li. 15. ca. 18.* thing maketh *faith* profittable but *charitie*, and in an other place, *sine amore fides nihil prodest, with out loue faith nothing profiteth*, where vpon it fol-

loweth, that seeing *faith* doth iustifie, as the apostle teacheth by the meanes, and operation of *charitie*, much more doth *charitie* iustifie which geeueth life, and operation to *faith*, in which respect *S. Augustin* ma- *S. Aug. de magna, magna iustitia est, caritas prouecta, prouecta iustitia est, caritas perfecta, perfecta iustitia est: caritie begunne, (that is to saye vnperfect) is vnperfect* *ca. ult.*

iustice, greate charitie, is greate iustice, charitie increased, is increased iustice, perfect charitie, is perfect iustice. Thus saith this ancient, and most learned father, not denying iustification by *faith*, but geeuing to vnderstand whence proceedeth all the force, and efficacie of *faith* in the worke of iustification: and therefore also in his treatise vpon *S. Iohn*, he proueth notably that all the summe of christian religion is reduced to *charitie*, because he which truly loueth God, must needs both belecue, and hope in him, where as euery one which beleeueth, doth not hope in God, and loue him, to which purpose he saith also els where, *dilectio sola discernit inter filios Dei, & filios diaboli, only loue, or charitie, doth discern, or distin-* *Idem in ep. 1. Iohn. tra. 83.* *ish betwixt the children of God, and the children of the deuil.*

- 48^r Furthermore our Sauour himselfe sufficiently signified the eminent excellencie of *charitie*, and the power it hath to iustifie, when he abridged the whole law, into the loue of God, and of our neighbour,
- Matth. 22.* saying, in his *duobus mandatis pender vniversalis*, & propheta: vpon these two commaundements dependeth the whole law, and the prophets: where vpon the Apostle also saith, *plenitudo legis dilectio*, the plenitud, or accomplishment of the law, is loue, or charitie, and there vpon it also followeth that *charitie* doth iustifie, for he which fulfilleth the law, is iust,
- Rom. 13.* and a perfect christian (as I haue proued in the last chapter) and therefore seeing that he which hath true *charitie*, doth thereby fulfill the law, he must needs also thereby obtaine true iustice, and christian perfection: in which respect the Apostle calleth *charitie*, *vinculum perfectionis*, the bond of perfection, saying, *induite vos &c. put vpon you the entrailes, or bowels of mercy, benignitie, humilitie, modestie, patience, bearing one with another &c. super omnia autem hac caritatem habere, quod est vinculum perfectionis*, aboue all these, haue *charitie* which is the bond of perfection. And *S. Peter* also exhorteth vs to haue *mutuam caritatem ante omnia*, mutual *charitie* aboue all other things, and the reason is because *charitis* geueth perfectio, and connexion to all other vertues: for with out it, there is no true vertue, and where it is there are all vertues, *sola charitas est*, saith *S. Augustin*,
- S. Aug. de verb. Domi. qua vincit omnia &c.* It is only *charitie* which ouercometh all things, with out which all things are nothing worth, and which draweth all things vnto it, where soeuer it is.
49. More ouer such is the prerogatiue of *charitie* a boue all other vertues, that no other but it can make a man truely good, and vertuous, and therefore *S. Augustin* saith, *non faciunt bonos vel malos mores, nisi boni vel mali amores*, nothing but good, or euil loues, maketh good, or euil manners, and in an other place he affirmeth, that *charitie* is the precious margarit, with out the which, nothing can proffit vs, and which alone, if we haue it sufficeth: and againe in an other place, speaking of the righteousness of *Abel* the iust, he ascribeth the same to *charitie* only, saying, *qua vna vera natura, & iustus est, quicumque iustus est*, by the which (*charitie*) alone, he is truly iust where soeuer is iust, not meaning, that *charitie* can euer iustifie, or yet be alone with out faith, and other vertues, but that it only hath this preeminence aboue all other, to consummar and perfect the rest, and that when it is once had in perfection, there needeth no more to be added to perfect iustification, nor consequentlie to true vnion with God, for he that is iustified, is truely vnited with God, and the more iust he is, the greater is his vnion with God, and therefore seeing *charitie* doth consummar, & perfect our iustification, it doth principallie worke our vnion with God.

God, in which respect *s. Dionysius Areopagita* calleth it *virtutem vnificam, connexionam, adunatiuam, & commixtionem*, a vertue which combineth, uniteth, knitteth, and minglet together, whereby he signifieth the force it hath to vnite, and conioine man with God in such sort, that they become, as it were both one, as I haueshowed amply when I treated of contemplation, and particularly of the *vnitive waye*.

so This the Apostle signifieth when he saith, *qui adheret Deo, vnus spiritus est*, he which adhereth, that is to saye is vnited with God, is one spirit with him, and that this is wrought principallie by *charitie*, *s. Iohn* signifieth plainely, when he saith, *Deus est charitas* &c. God is charitie, he that dwelleth in charitie, dwelleth in God, and God in him, and againe: *si diligamus invicem, Deus in nobis manet*, if we loue one another, God remaineth in vs. Also our Saviour himselve witnesseth the same, saying, *qui diligit me, sermonem meum seruabit* &c. he which loueth me will keepe my commandments, and my father will loue him, and we will come vnto him, and make our abode with him. Thus saith our saviour, teaching as you see, that not only the obseruation, & keeping of his commandments, but also his, and his fathers vnion with vs, is the speciall effect of our true loue of him, that is to saye of perfect charitie.

si Whereby it may appeare how absurdly *Luther*, and his followers doe ascribe all our vnion with God, to only faith, alledging for that purpose the woords of the prophet *Osee* to the people of the *Iewes*, speaking of their last conuersion, *sponsabo te mihi in fide, I will espouse thee vnto me in faith*, in which woords of the prophet, *fides*, is not of necessitie to be vnderstood, to signify the faith whereby we beleue, and are iustified, (as *Card. Bellarmin* noteth very well) but the fidelitie which God vseth in performance of his promises towards vs, in which sence he promised to espouse his people in *fide*, in faith, that is to say fideliter, faithfully, or assuredly, as he saide immediatlie before, *sponsabo te mihi in iustitia, iudicio, & in misericordia, I will espouse thee vnto me in iustice, iudgement, and in mercy*, which may very well be vnderstood to signifie iustly, and mercifullie.

12 But though *fides* shuld there signifie beleefe, or a iustifying faith, yet our aduersaries shuld gaine nothing thereby, seeing that faith doth not otherwaie conioine vs with God, then as it iustificeth, to wit *per dilectionem*, by loue, or charitie, by the meanes, and force whereof, it woorketh both those effects, and therefore howeuer it may be saide, that faith doth make the espousal, or contract betwixt God, and our soule, yet, it is charitie which maketh the matrimonie, and perfect vnion betwixt him, and vs, as it is sufficientlie exprest throughout all the canticles, where the coniunction of *Christ*, with his church, or with a faithful

OOoo iij soule,

S. Dionysius
Areop. li. de
diuinitu nom.
ca. 4. par. 1.
&c.
Chap. 10.
&c.

1. Iohn. 4.

Ibid.

Osee 2.

Bellar. de
iustific. li. 1.
ca. 23.

Osee 2.

1. Cor. 13.

soyle, is signified by a continual allegorie of two passionat louers, or of the bridegroome, or the spouse languishing, as it were, with the loue one of the other, in which respect *S. Bernard* calleth the canticles *epitalem;* carmen, or carmen nuptiale, a wedding or marriage song, (betwixt the bridegroome, and his spouse) exprimens, saith he, *castos incundosque complexus animorum &c.* expressing the chaste, and pleasant conjunction of their minds, and the mutual charitie of their affections one to another.

53 Thus then we see, what is the special force, and effect of charitie, to wit, to coniaine, and vnite vs with God, whereby it appeareth that although faith is woorthily esteemed to be the foundation of our iustification and vnion with God, (for as the Apostle saith, *accidentem ad Deum oportet credere &c.* whosoever commeth to God must beleuee &c. and *fide impossibile est placere Deo, without faith is it impossible to please God*) yet charitie is the consummation, and perfection thereof, which the true ancient, & learned fathers of Gods church doe teach expressely.

54 Puto, saith *Origen*, *quod prima salutis initia &c.* I thinke that the first beginning, or the very foundation of our saluation is faith, the augmentation, or encrease of it hope, and the perfection, and toppe of the building, charitie. The like saith *S. Ignatius* disciple to *S. Iohn* the Euangelist, *principium vite*, saith he, *est fides &c.* The beginning of life is faith, the end of it loue, or charitie, and both ioyned, and vnited together doe persue the man of God.

55 Also *Clemens Alexandrinus* saith, *præcedit fides*, &c. faith goeth before, feare raiseth the building, and loue doth consummate, or end it. Finally to omit diuers others for breuities sake, *S. Augustin* saith, *Domus Dei credendo fundatur &c.* The house of God is founded by beleefe, erected, or raised by hope, and persued, or finished by charitie.

56 Loe then how vniforme is the doctrine of these most learned, and ancient fathers, and conforme to the holly scriptures before alledged, all teaching that our iustification, and consequentlie our vnion with God, is perfected by charitie, in which respect, we doe truly say, that charitie doth iustifie, yet not soe, that we deny iustification by faith, but rather establish it, signifying wherein consisteth the life, and efficacie of a iustifying faith, *qua per dilectionem operatur*, (as the Apostle saith) which worketh, or rather is moued, and made to worke by charitie. And therefore, whereas the Apostle speaketh oft times of iustification by faith, he neuer saith, or euer meaneth that faith iustifieth alone, without charitie and other vertues, but that it iustifieth, as the beginning and first disposition to iustification, and the meanes to obtain all other things necessarie thereto, as *S. Augustin* teacheth expressely saying. *Ideo dicit Apostolus iustificari hominem, &c.* Therefore the Apostle saith that man is iustified by faith, not by

S. August. de prædestinat. sancto. c. 7.

1. Cor. 13.

Clemens. Alexand. li. 2. Stromat. S. Aug. ser. 20.

Origen. in in cap. 4. ep. ad Rom. S. Ignat. ad Philip. pens.

works, be
vise call
7 An
cation,
to declar
are exclu
this que
showed
iustificat
man, and
this most
tes, and
that the
cholike
3 It is
highest
cellent p
no lesse
age of c
charitise
scape, a
mpt nat
mys a r
cludes, l
neft no
which is
power,
no prin
no high
of God,
cicles, f
woorth
in death
the bo
true lo
ctions
world,
lue not
9 T
y men

works, because faith is gotten first, by the which the rest are obtained, which are properly called works, wherein we live iustly. So he.

And this shall suffice for this time, for so much as concerneth justification, whereof I meane to treat more amply in the third part, and to declare further, how faith, and woorkes doe iustifie, and what works are excluded from iustification, with diuers other things pertaining to this question, contenting my selfe for the present, briefly to haue showed the excellent dignitie, and efficacie of charitie in working our iustification, and vnion with God, wherein consisteth the felicitie of man, and common welth. I will therefore now proceede to show that this most excellent vertue of *charitie* is proper to the Roman Catholics, and not to their aduersaries, whereby it will euidentlie appeare, that the common welth cannot attaine to true felicitie, but by the Catholike Roman religion.

It is therefore to be vnderstood that some of the woorthiest, and highest fruits of perfect *charitie*, or the loue of God, are those most excellent points of perfection, which our sauour recommended vnto vs, no lesse by his example, then by his doctrine, to wit, the continual carriage of our crosse, the contempt of the world, and the mortification, or chastisement of our owne bodies for the pure loue of God. For soe deepe, and firme is the roote that our selfe loue hath taken in our corrupt nature, that nothing is able to extirp and root it out, and to plant vs a true christian contempt of the world, and a holly hate of our selues, but *charitas Dei, diffusa in cordibus nostris, per spiritum sanctum qui dabit nobis*, The charitie, or loue of god spread in our hearts by the holly ghest, which is geuen vs, whereof the power, and force, exceedeth all natural power, and therefore the Apostle saith, neither death, nor life, nor Angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, neither might, nor depth, nor other creature, shall be able to sepeare vs from the charitie of God, which is in Christ Iesus our Lord. Also the spouse of Christ in the Canonicles, feeling in her selfe the admirable force, and power of his loue, woorthily compared it to death, saying *fortius ut mors dilectio*, loue is as strong as death, geueing to vnderstand that euen as death killeth, & destroyeth the body, depriuing it of all sence, mocion, and operation, soe also true loue of god, suppresseth, and conquereth all the inordinat affections of the soule of man, in such sort that he dieth wholly to the world, and himselfe, & liueth only to god, saying with the Apostle, *I Galat. 2.* I am now dead, but Christ liueth in me.

The experience hereof hath benne sufficientlie seene in those holymen, of whose admirable austerities, (surpassing the power, and strength

Theodoret.
hisor. reli-
giosa, orat.
de charitate.

strength of humane nature) I treated amply in the last chapter, in whom *Theodoretus* (who wrote the liues of many of them, about a 11. hundred yeres agoe) sheweth notably the stupendious force, of Gods loue, prouing euidentlie that the voluntarie asperities, of hunger, cold, fasting, watching, and other mortifications which they endured, excelled all the labours, and trauailes that any sort of men what soeuer, vndergoe in any state, or condicon of life in this world, which he attributeth wholly to the force of a deuine loue, where with they were enflamed, describing the notable effects thereof in a large discourse, whereof I thinke it not amisse to lay downe some part here, as well for our edification, as for our better instruction in this point.

Rom. 8.

60 Therefore this ancient father hauing exemplified the greates force of charity, first in *Moses*, and after in *S. Paule*, alledgeth his woords to the Romans, *Quis nos separabit à charitate Christi?* &c. who shall be able to separate vs from the loue of Christ? shall afflictions, anguish of mind, &c. And then (saith *Theodoretus*) the Apostle sheweth the cause of this sufferance, saying, in his *omnibus superamus propter Deum, qui dilexit nos*, in all these we overcome for God, who loued vs, for considering who we are, and what benefits we haue receiued, and that we did not preuent God with our loue, but were preuented by him, yea and were beloued of him, whiles we hated him, and were reconciled to him, when we were his enemies, not by any sute, or petition of ours, but by his owne sonne, whom he sent as embassadour vnto vs, (in so much that we, who had donne the iniurie were inuicid, and allured by him which had receiued it) and furthermore pondering with our selues, the crosse, passion, and death, that the sonne of God suffred for vs, and the hope of resurrection that he hath geuen vs thereby, we overcome all difficulties, and comparing the memorie of our benefits, with our corporal afflictions, which are but transitorie, and short, we doe willingly endure them: for when we ballance, and waigh all the troubles of this life with our loue to God, we find them very light, and though we collect, and gather in our minds all the pleasures, and delites of the world, and consider on the other side, the loue that we owe to God, they doe appeare more vaine and vanishing then a shadow, and more fraile then the fading flowers of the spring.

61 Thus he, and after a while prosecuting still the same matter he addeth. *Qui ergo diuinam accepit amorem*, &c. he therefore that hath receiued the loue of God, condemneth all earthlie shings, treadeth vnder his feere all the pleasures of the boddy, he despiiseth riches, glory, and all honour of men, he esteemeth the Imperial purple no more then cobwebs: and precious stones to be no better then pebble stones in the sea coast: he holdeth not bodilie health for any happines, nor sickness for calamitie, nor powertie for miserie, neither doth he measure felicitie by riches, and delites, but thinketh all these things to be most like to the fleeting water

of a river, which passeth along by the trees planted on the banks, and stayeth not in any of them.

63. Finally this graue, and learned author hauing after many other notable sentences, and aduises, concerning the effects of charity, alledged the examples of the greates torments that the Apostles, and innumerable martires of Gods church, being inflamed with this heauenlie fire, most willingly suffred, he returneth to those holly men of whose voluntarie penances, and austerities he had treated before, saying, *Huius quoque pulchritudinis amore capti, noui Athleta &c.* These late, or new champions being also surpris'd with the beauty of this loue, undertooke these greates ambars, which exceeded the nature of men. Thus saith *Theodoretus*: showing, as you see, the admirable force, and notable fruits of charitie in those holly hermits, monks, and religious men who being inflamed with the feruent loue of God, serued for patterns, and examples to the world of true mortification, and Christian perfection in his dayes: And therefore to the end we may now discern, and discusse in what church, and profession of Christians, these, and other true frutes of perfect charity are practis'd, it shall suffice that we only consider, what I haue already treated concerning the same, which may also serue for a recapitulation thereof, and euidentlie show that they abound, and flourish in the Catholike Roman church, and that *Lutherans*, and *Caluinists*, cannot claime to themselves so much as any shadow thereof.

64. For this purpose I will touch only 4. principal effects, or fruits of charitie, whereof the first shall be that which I haue now lastly mentioned, and was practis'd in greates perfection by these holly men of whome *Theodoretus* treateth: to wit, a true, & holly hatred of themselves, showed by the continual cariage of their crosse in the exercise of penance, and mortification, or chastisement of their flesh.

64. Now then, that this effect of perfect charitie is no lesse manifest at this day, then it alwaies hath benne in our Catholike Roman church, it is cleare both by our Catholik doctrine concerning the necessitie thereof, and also by the continual practise of it, euident in infinit numbers, as well of secular, and lay men, as of religious and cleargy men, exemplarauen at this day in all kind of mortification, I meane not only such mortification as the Catholik church ordaineth, and enioineth to be generally vsed at certaine times, but also many particuler, and priuat penances, as frequent, and rigorous fasts, disciplines, haire cloth, laborious peregrinations, watching, and diuers other austerities partly prescribed by the ancient rules of religions with in the first 400. and 500. yeres, as I haue signified before in the 36. chapter,) and partly enioined in

some cases by ghostly fathers, and partly voluntarie vnderaken, and practised by particuler men of all states to satisfie the iustice of God for sinnes past, (through the merits of our sauiours sufferings, and satisfaction) to preuent future sinnes, by the repression of concupiscence, to obtaine Gods mercy towards other men, as well for the conuersion of sinners, as for the releefe of their temporal necessities, and finally to conforme their liues to the liues of our sauiour, of *s. Iohn Baptist*, of the Apostles, & of all the holly men of the primatiue church, of whose seueritie, and rigour in all kind of penances, and mortifications, I treated amply in the aforesaid 36. chapter, where I also declared the continual practise thereof from our sauiours time to these our dayes, by a continual succession of ages, and times, so that it cannot be denied, but that the vse and custome thereof, and consequently this notable fruit, and effect of charitie, both is, and alwaile hath benne euident in the Catholike Roman church.

See the 35.
chap.

65 But now on the other side, if we consider either the doctrine, or yet the practise of our aduersaries, we shall find them to be vtterly void thereof, as it hath appeared sufficiently in diuers parts of this treatise, especiallie in the 35. chapter, where I layed downe diuers points of their doctrine, wholly repugnant to all mortification of the flesh, teaching such a free remission of sinne by the merits of *Christ*, that all our voluntarie penances are in their opinion derogatorie to Christs merites, and satisfaction: besides that their doctrine also of iustification by only faith, and of a Christian liberty, exempting vs from all obligation of external woorks, doth wholly exclude all penance, and chastisement of the flesh, as needeles and superfluous: And therefore no meruel that they haue no exercise amongst them at all of mortification, whereof they are such open aduersaries, that they exclaime against nothing more then the practise thereof in the Catholike church.

Idem.

66 So that of this most notable effect of charitie they haue not so much as any pretence, whereby the common welth is infinitely endamaged both spirituallie, and temporallie, for as the restraint, and mortification of the flesh, doth notable repress vice and aduance the vertue of temperance, which (as I haue declared in the ninth chapter of *Plato*), is a most political vertue: soe also the general libertie of the flesh must needs foster, and nourish all kind of vice, and breede generally greate intemperance, and enormitie of sinne, to the greate offence of God, & breach of political lawes, and consequentlie to the greate prejudice of common welth: and thus much for the first fruit of perfect charitie.

67 An other special fruit, and effect thereof is, the obseruation of the commaundments of God, and of the Euangelical counsels: and first touching the commaundments, the same appeareth euidentlie by our fauours owne words alledged before, to wit, *Si quis diligit me, sermo- nem meum seruabit* &c. if any man loue me, he will keepe my commaund- ments &c. as also in that he abridged the whole law into the two pre- cepts of charitie, to which purpose also the Apostle saith, *plenitudo legis dilectio*, the fulnes or accomplishment of the law is loue, or charitie, and si- millie s. Iohn teacheth that. *Hæc est charitas Dei ut mandata eius custodiamus*, This is the charitie, or the loue of God, that we keepe his commaundments.

1. Iohn. 14.
Matth. 22.

Rom. 13.

1. Iohn. 5.

68 Now then heere we are to consider whether this fruit of charitie be to be found in the Catholike Roman church, or amongst the secta- ries, and first concerning them, it is manifest that they are in this point as I may say *rei confitentes*, so guilty that they confesse their fault, teaching that the commaundments are impossible to be kept: yea Luther Melancthon, the *Antinomi*, and the rigid Lutherans affirme, that the commaundments are abrogated by Christ, as appeareth in the 35. chapter, whereto ten- deth also all their doctrin concerning iustification by only faith, and our Christian libertie, which Luther teacheth to be such, that we are bound to nothing but only to beleue, and confesse God, and that in all other things, we are free, and left to our owne libertie, as I haue also declared more at large in the 35. chapter: and therefore it is euident by the doctrin of these Archsectaries, that they neither kept the com- maundments, nor thought it needefull to doe it, no nor yet, as it may be presumed, euer so much as endeouored to keepe them: for no man is soe simple to take paines, to doe that, which he thinketh to be but nee- deles, and impossible.

See chap. 35.

Luther de
christia. li-
bert.

Item ad c. 2.
ad Galat.

Item in ep.
c. 7. ep. 1. ad
Cor.

69 The like may also be said with greate reason of all Lutherans Cal- uinists, and other sectaries who beleue, and follow this doctrin of their maisters: so that I may well conclude that this most excellent effect of perfect charitie, to wit the obseruation of the commaundments, or law of God, is not to be found amongst these aduersaries of the Catho- like Roman church, where vppon it also followeth that their congrega- tions can not be the true church of Christ, seeing that almighty God promised in the old testament, to geue his holly spirit to his seruants in the new testament, whereby they shuld obserue his commaundments, as appeareth in the prophet Ezechiel, who speaking of the church of Christ, saith in the person of almighty God, *Spiritus meum ponam in me- do vestri* &c. I will place, or put my spirit in the midst of you, and I will make, or cause that you shall walke in my precepts, and keepe my iudgements.

Ezech. c. 36.

PPpp ij

Thus

Thus saith the prophet, whereby it is euident that the commaundments of God shall be fully obserued in the church of *Christ*.

70 And if this be denied it must neede follow that the church of God had greater priuiledge, and assistance of his grace, and holly spirit vnder the law of *Moyse*, then it hath now in the law of grace: And this I say, for that it is euident, that in *Moyse* his law the commaundments; and law of God were exactly fulfilled, as the scripture testifieth of diuers holly men in that time, as namely of *Iosue*, saying, *non prateriit de uniuersis mandatis, ne unum quidem* &c. he did not let passe, or transgresse so much as one of all the commaundments which God commaunded to *Moyse*.

71 Also of *Dauid* we read in the booke of kings, that *fecit rectum in oculo Domini* &c. he did that which was right, (or iust) in the sight of God, and did not decline from all those things (that is to say from any of those things) which God commaunded him all the dayes of his life, except in the matter of *Uriah*. besids that he signifieth of himselfe, that he performed the commaundments of God with all facilitie by the helpe of his grace, and therefore he saith *viam mandatorum tuorum cucurri* &c. I ranne the way of thy commaundments when thou didest dilate my hart. In life manner the Euangelist witnesseth of *Zacharias*, and *Elizabeth*, (as I haue signified in the last chapter) that they were borth iust before God, walking in all the commaundments, in iustifications of our Lord with out blame.

72 Seeing then these, and many others no dout, kept the commaundments of God vnder the law of *Moyse*, it were very absurd, and iniurious to *Christ*, to say that the commaundments are impossible to be obserued in his church, which hath receiued of him the law of grace, and abundance of his spirit, and a promise of his continual assistance vntill the end of the world, besids that he himselfe also witnesseth that his yoke is sweete, and his burden light, and *s. Iohn* saith that *mandata eius graua non sunt*, his commaundments are not heauy, yea and the psalmist testifieth that they are *dulciora super mel*, & *fauum*, sweeter then hunny, and hunny combe. what ineruel then that good, and holly men being assisted with gods grace, and holly spirit, doe not only receiue infinit sweetenes and consolation in the obseruation and performance of the commaundments, but also doe exceede, or goe beyond them; performing much more then is commaunded? as I haue alreddy proued before when I treated of the Euangelical counsels, and will also proue more particularly after a while.

73 In the meane time I inferre herevpon that the commaundments of God are not impossible, but easy, and sweete by the helpe of Gods grace which I could confirme by infinit places of Scriptures, and Fathers but

that

that for breuities sake I must remit all this question to be handled more at large in the third part of this treatise : therefore for the present , I wish it to be noted, that the fathers abhorred this opinion of the sectaries, as impious, and blasphemous, and therefore *S. Basil* saith, *impium est dicere impossibilia esse spiritus precepta*, it is a wicked thing to say that the precepts of the holly ghost are impossible to be kept and *S. Chrysostome* in like manner, *nequaquam*, saith he, *dominum accusas*, &c. doe not thou accuse our Lord, he doth not commaund impossible things, *multi ipsa superant precepta*, many doe surpass, or goe beyond the precepts themselves : and *S. Paulinus* to the same purpose saith *nec sufficit quod iusta non facimus* &c. neither doth it suffice vs, that we doe not those things which are commaunded, except we also pronounce him to be vnjust, who commaunded them, whiles we complaine that the very author of equitie did commaund things not only difficult, and hard, but also impossible. Finallie to omit others *S. Augustin* saith thus, *eo ipso quo firmissime creditur* &c. for as much as it is most firmelie beleeued that God being iust, and good, could not commaund impossible things, we are heereby admonished both what to doe in those things that are easy, and also what to craue of God in those things which are hard, or difficult : for all things are easy to charitie, whereto alone the burden of Christ, (that is to say Christs law, or commaundment,) is light.

74 Thus saith this holly father geeuing to vnderstand two things, the one that to affirme God to haue commaunded things impossible, were to accuse him to be neither good, nor iust, which is no lesse then meere blasphemy, and impiety: and the other is, that the hardest commaundments are easily performed with the helpe of charitie, which therefore he saith we ought to craue of God in our prayers, whereby he also teacheth that the obseruation of the commaundments, or law of God, is an effect, or frute of charitie, as I haue shewed before.

75 And now to say some what particulerlie of the Roman church, it is euident that in it is the true obseruation of Gods law, and commaundments not only because it is the true church, and spouse of Christ, and practiseth all the meanes that God hath ordained for the performance of his law, (as I haue proued sufficientlie before) but also because the Euangelical counsels of Christ (which include the commaundments) are fully and exactly obserued therein, as appeared in the 25. 28. 29. 30. and 31. chapters, where I haue manifestlie shewed, that the Roman Catholikes only, haue the true imitation of Christ, by the obseruation of the Euangelical counsels, besides that it is no lesse manifest, that the counsels doe both include the commaundments, and also in some sort exceede them in perfection : for although Christian perfection doth consist in the obseruation of the precepts, (as I haue declared in the last chapter.)

PPpp iij and

S. Basil in opere in illud attendet tibi non longe à principio.
S. Chrysost.
ho. 8. de preceptis.
ni ent circa medium.
S. Paulin ep. ad Celanum inter ep.
S. Hieron. li. 1 ep. 14.
S. Aug. li. de natura & gratia ca. 69.

and that the counsels are referred thereto as to their end, (being proposed, and taught by our sauour to the end that the precepts may be the more perfectly obserued) yet they doe excell the precepts three waies.

See Bellarmin li. 2. de monachis c. 6.

76 The first is if we compare together those counsels, and precepts, which concerne one, and the selfe same matter, as for example the precepts forbidding couetousnes, are, *non concupiscis rem proximi*, Thou shalt not couet thy neighbours goods; and *non furaberis*, thou shalt not steale, and the Euangelical counsel, that concerneth that matter, is *voluntarie paupertie*, but to forbear to steale, or not to couet the goods of our neighbour, is not of such excellencie, and merit, as to forsake or geue away all that we haue to the poore for the loue of God, whereto our sauour promisseth a hundreth fold in this life, and an euerlasting kingdome in the next.

77 The like also may be said of the counsel of virginity, as that it is more excellent, and perfect then the precept *non machaberis*, thou shalt not commit adulterie, for he which doth, for the loue of God conserue himselfe in perpetual virginity, and chastity, is no doubt more perfect then he, that only forbeareth to commit adultery, or fornication, as married folks may easily doe.

78 Secondly it is also euident, that a farre greater measure of charitie is necessarie to the keeping of the counsels (which require a perfect renuntiation of our goods, and pleasures) then to the obseruation of the precepts only, which may be kept, and yet our goods, and moderate pleasures retained: in which respect *s. Augustin* saith of virgins, *maius amor, maius onus imposuit*, a greater loue laide a greater burthen vpon them, therefore where there is greater charitie, or loue of God, there is also greater perfection.

s. Aug. ser. 18. de verb. Apo. soli. cap. 11.

79 Thirdly if we compare the state of those that keepe the counsels, with those that keepe the precepts only, the former no doubt are of farre greater merit, and perfection, because the counsels being perfectly obserued, doe include the precepts, and ad more thereto, in which respect our sauour answered to the yong man, who said that he had kept the commaundments, *adhuc unum tibi deest &c.* Thou yet wantest one thing, if thou wilt be perfect, goe and sell all thou hast and geue it to the poore, and follow me, wherevpon *s. Augustin* saith, *magister bonus mandata legum ab ista excellentiore perfectione distinxit &c.* Our good maister (Christ) distinguished the commaundments of the law, from this more excellent perfection, for he said there, if thou wilt enter into life keepe the commaundments: and beere (he saith) if thou wilt be perfect sell all thou hast &c. So he, who also in the same place calleth this aduise of our Sauour to the yong man, *grande & praeclarum perfectionis*

Mat. 10. Luc. 18. Mat. 19. s. August. ep. 89. q. 4. ad Hilarium.

perfectionis consilium, a greate, and notable counsel of perfection, as may be seene ibid:
more at large before in the 28. chapter, where I treated of the counsel
of voluntarie pouverie in particular.

To For these respects the ancient fathers of the church doe affirme, that
the Euangelical counsels doe surmount, or goe beyond the precepts.

Origen saith, that they are *supra debitum*, and *supra praeceptum*, above, or *Orig. in ca.*
beyond our duty, and above the precept, or commaundment of God: and *15 ad Rom. 2.*

s. Ambrose speaking of virginie, saith *non enim praecipitur quod supra le-*
gem est &c. That which is above the law is not commaunded, but is rather per- *s. Ambro-*
suaded by the way of counsell: and not only *s. Paulinus*, but also *s. Augu-*
stin, doe geue to vnderstand that virginie, (which is one of the Euan- *cel. eccles. li.*
gelical counsels) is a *work of supererogation*: to which purpose *s. Pauli-*
3. ep. 25.
s. Paulin.
Nolan. ad
Sulpis. Sen-
rum. ep. 4.

nus alluding to the parable of our Sauiour concerning the good Sama-
ritan, who cured the wounded man, saith, that he which doth adde the
counsel of virginie to the precepts, *de suo supererogat*, doth lay out of
his owne more then is commaunded, and shall be rewarded for it, when our
Lord returneth, as the good Samaritan promised to the innkeeper, to
render, or repay him at his returne whatsoever he shuld lay out of his
owne, more then the 2. pence which he gaue him for the cure of the
wounded man.

81 And the very same application of that parable is vsed by *s. Augu-*
stin not only concerning virginie in his booke *de virginitate* but also els *s. August de*
where concerning the other counsels, mentioned in the holly scriptu- *virginitate*
ca. 30.
Idem li. 2.
quast. Enag.
q. 19.

res, whereof he saith thus. *Hac sunt quae amplius erogantur saucio &c.* The- *Idem li. 1. de*
se are those things, which are laid out ouer and above, that which was ordai- *Adulterinus*
coniugis. 1.
14.

ned) for the cure of the wounded man, whome the Samaritan out of his mercy,
and compassion caused to be caried to the inne to be cured. And therefore they are
said not to be commaunded by our Lord, although they are by him aduised to be of-
fered, so the end we may vnderstand that they are so much the more gratefull, by
how much more they are vndue, that is to say, by how much lesse wee are
bound to vnderake them. Thus teach these two holly fathers, wherein
I wish our aduersaries to note, that the tearme of *supererogation* applied
to woorks, is not a late inuention of ours, but vsed 1200. yeres a goe,
and deriued out of the holly scripture, by the ancient fathers.

82 *s. Chrysostome* also testifieth that *multi & ipsa superant mandata*, many *s. Chrysost.*
doe passe or goe beyond the commaundments, as appeareth in the place, *ho 8 de poe-*
nitent.
which I haue alledged out of him a before, to proue the possibilitie to
keepe the commaundments. And *s. Gregory* affirming also the same, *a Nu. 75.*
s. Greg. li.
26.
Moral. ca.
20.

saith, *Alii non iudicantur, & regnant, qui etiam praecepta legis perfectione vir-*
tutum transcendunt &c. some are not iudged, and doe reigne, who do transcend, or

mount above the precepts of vertue, not being contented, only to fulfill that which the law of God commaundeth to all men, but endeavoring also with a more excellent desire to exhibit more, then they could heare in the general precepts. Thus saith S. Gregory in conformitie with all the other fathers, concerning the counsels of our sauour.

83 Finally for as much as the heyghest perfection of Christian life consisteth in the true imitation of *Christ*, and in the perfect obseruation of his commaundments (as I haue often signified before) and that *Christ* is truly imitated, and the commaundmets perfectly obserued, (so farre forth as is required in this life) by the meanes of the Euangelical counsels (which cannot be perfectly practised, and performed, with out a most excellent, and eminent charitie) Therefore all the ancient, and holly fathers of the church do with vniforme consent, attribute the heyghest perfection of Christian life, to the performance of the counsels in religious disciplin, as I haue signified breiefely in the last chapter, and proued more at large in the 28. 29. 30. and especiallie in the 31. chapters; whereuppon I conclude, that seeing the Catholike Roman church hath the true imitation of *Christ*, by the exact practise of the Euangelical counsels, it hath also that most excellent fruit, and effect of charity, whereof I now treat, to wit the perfect obseruation of the commaundments of god, and consequentlie the heyghest, and all the perfection of Christian religion: and that on the other side, the aduersaries of the Roman church, being professed enemies of the Euangelical counsels, and not obseruing the commaundments by their owne confession, (seeing they teach them to be impossible to be kepte) are therefore vtterly void, not only of the true imitation of *Christ*, and of Christian perfection, but also of perfect charity, which (as I haue showed before) the Apostle calleth *vinculum perfectionis, the bond of perfection*.

Coloss. 3.

84 And to the end thou maist, good reader, the better call to mind what I haue discoursed, and proued before concerning this point, it may please thee to remember, that hauing deduced the doctrine, and practise of these counsels of our sauour out of expresse scriptures, and the ancient fathers, not only in general, but also of euery counsell in particular, I showed that the saide sectaries haue no vse, or practise thereof at all: as first concerning voluntarie pouerty, I made it manifest, that albeit there hath benne in all ages, and times from our sauour *Christ* vntill this day, infinit numbers who haue followed his counsell, and example of voluntarie pouertie, abadoning all their worldly welth, substance, and honours for the ioue of god, and amongst them many

many emperours, kings, princes, and most eminent personages, (eminent I say for their temporal power, dignitie, and riches) yet it was neuer heard that any *Lutheran*, or *Caluinist* would leaue the valew of sixe pence, and much lesse all his temporal commodities, and dignities, to become poore, needy, and contemptible for Christs sake.

¶ In like manner I showed also the same touching the Euangelical counsell of *chastitie*, as that notwithstanding the expresse doctriu and practise thereof deliuered vnto vs by our Sauour, and his Apostles and that innumerable holly men, and women in all succeeding ages vntill this day, haue voluntarily consecrated themselves to the seruice of God, by vow of perpetual chastity, neuertheles the *Lutherans*, and *Caluinists*, haue not so much practise of this Angelical, and heavenly vertue, as painimes had, amongst whome it was heighly esteemed, and practised by many, (as I showed evidently in the 30. chapter) whereas these professors of the new Ghospell, and pretended reformers of the world doe with might, and maine impugne it, teaching a most carnal and absurd doctriu, contrary to experience, and comon sence, to wit, *that it is no more possible to liue chaste, then to liue with our meate*, besides that, to exclude, and debarre men from the special meanes to attaine vnto it (I meane from Gods grace and assistance) they teach also, that it is no more lawfull to craue of God the gift of *chastitie*, then the gift, or grace of prophesie, or of doing miracles: also that a man may be diuorced from his wife, and marry againe for many causes, and that *Poligamie*, or the hauing of many wiues at once, is not forbidden in the new testament, but indifferent to be vsed, or left at our pleasure, for so teacheth *Luther*, and other of the sectaries his followers, opening a wide gappe to Mahometts beastly *Alcoran*, as I haue declared in the 30. chapter, where I also showed that their liues were surtable to their doctriu, being most impure, carnal, and scandalous, as I will declare further after a while.

¶ Moreouer, touching the third Euangelical counsell of *obedience*, or abnegation of our selues, (whereto our sauour most seriously inuited euery christian man,) I also made it manifest, that although the practise thereof hath benne alwaie euident in Gods church in religious discipline, from the time of the Apostles vntill this day, yet the sectaries aboue named, haue not soe much as any pretence, or shadow thereof, hauing no practise of the abnegation of themselves any way in the world, no, not so much as in captiuating their reason, and vnderstanding to faith, seeing they reduce all matters of faith, and the sence of holly scriptures (as all heretikes haue cuer donne) to their owne vnderstanding, and priuat iudgement, which they ridiculously call the

See the 3 chap.

spirit of God, euery one of them pretending to haue the infalible assistance of Gods spirit, though they be neuer so different in opinion, and doctrine of most important points of diuinitie, condemning one another of absurd, and damnable heresies: besides the luciferian, pride which *Luther, Caluin*, and others of them shew in their owne writings, and with most odious exprobrations, doe cast in the teeth one of another, as I declared amply in the 31. chapter: soe that, it is more cleare then the sunne, that they haue no collour, or prerence at all of that true christian humilitie, and abnegation of themselves, which our sauour required in his seruants, and followers, wherevpon I haue inferred diuers times before, and now conclude that their congregations being utterly destitute of all exercise, or practise of the Euangelical counsels, haue no participation of that notable fruite of charity, whereof I now treat, nor any true imitation of *Christ*, nor perfection of Christian religion, nor finally that felicitie which is the end of man, and common welth: and that on the other side the Catholike Roman church exercising, and performing exactly these counsels of our sauour, and consequentlie obseruing the law, and commaundments of God (as I haue declared before) excelleth in all christian perfection, and geueth true felicitie to the common welths where it flourisheth.

87 And this may appeare, so farre forth as concerneth the Euangelical counsels, by the greare benefits that redound to the comon welth by the obseruation thereof. For although the perfect practise of them cannot stand with the state of euery member of the political body, (I meane, such as are married men, and haue proprietie in goods, or possessions) yet it is necessarie for the perfection of the whole common welth, that they be exactly obserued in some part thereof, and therefore I showed by diuers instances, and examples in the 31. chapter, that some things are necessarie for the whole, that are not needefull to be found in euery part: and this, I say, is euident in the Euangelical counsels in regard of comon welth.

88 To which purpose it is to be considered, that whereas there are three things especially which doe corrupt, and ruin not only the soules of men, but also whole comon welths, (to wit, *concupiscentia carnis*, *concupiscentia oculorum*, and *superbia uitae*, the concupiscentie of the flesh, the concupiscentie of the eyes, and the pride of life) our sauour, intending to cure these most dangerous and inueterat diseases of mankind, to the benefit as well of all men in general; (that is to say of whole common welth) as of euery man in particular, proposed, like to a wise, skilfull, and pious phisition, three remedies of a contrarie qualitie, to wit the three notable

able vertues of *single*, and *chaste life*, *voluntarie pueritie*, and *obedience*, abnegation of our selues, practising also the same himselfe most fully for our example, and encouragement.

Therefore whosoever doth duly follow his counsel, and example in the exercise of these three vertues, must needs be not only a good and perfect christian, (sacrificing himselfe wholly *soule, body, goods*, and *liberty* to almighty God) but also an excellent member of his common welth, being therein most laudably without the iniury, or offence of any, loving every man as himselfe, benefiting all men to his power, practising profound humilitie, patience, remission of iniuries, and all kind of vertue, and finally abounding in perfect charitie, which is the foundation from whence floweth all perfection as well political, or ciuill, as Euangelical, and Christian.

90 And although it is not necessarie, or conuenient, as I haue said, that every member of the comon welth, doe exactly obserue these counsels, yet it is requisite that some doe performe them in perfection, for where as most men that are transported with vice, and sinne, doe commonly measure all others by their owne infirmitie, and therefore would easily suppose, that the perfection of vertue were impossible to be obtained, if they should not see the perfect practise of it in some men at least, it cannot be denied, but that the example of such as performe Euangelical counsels, is an euident argument to all men that those vertues are possible, yea and helpeth to dispose, and notably moue, and incite many to the exercise thereof; if not in the heyghest perfection, yet at least in some sort, according to their state, and vocation. And therefore the couetous rich man, seeing richies abandoned for the loue of God, is moued thereby at least, lesse to affect his welth, and to vse the same well without the offence of God; or of his neighbour, and the incontinent man, be he married, or single, is by the example of the virgin, the sooner induced to liue continent in his vocation. Lastly the proud, and ambitious man learneth lesse to esteeme the world, and the vanities thereof, by the profound humilitie of those that doe wholly contemne it, and deny themselues for the loue of God: so that vertue is notably furthered, and aduanced in the common welth by the example of such as practise the Euangelical counsels, and not only by their example, but also by their other good endeouours of admonitions, fraternal corrections, and exhortations.

91 For the excellent, and singular charitie, or loue of God, which moueth them to practise perfect vertue, themselues, inciteth them also to further the same in others, by all possible meanes, and to ioyne the

active with the contemplative life in the heyghest perfection; where the common welth is exceedingly benefited, as may appeare by all which I haue amply laid downe before, concerning the gaining of infinite numbers of soules to God, and the conversion of innumerable nations to the Christian faith, by such only, as haue practised the Euangelical counsels: and therefore when our sauour determined to employ his disciples in the promulgation of his law, and the conuersion of the world, he taught them the Euangelical counsels, knowing in his deuine wisdom, that none could be fit instruments to induce other men to Christian perfection, (which is repugnant to flesh and blood) if they did not perfectlie practise it themselves; wherevpon I inferred, that our aduersaries being enemies to the Euangelical counsels, can neither themselves arrive to christian perfection, nor perswade other Christians to embrace it, and much lesse conuert infidels to the Christian faith: All which I haue largely debated in the 34. chapter, where I haue also declared what greate benefits, spiritual, and temporal God hath in all ages bestowed vpon princes, and their states by the prayers, and endeuours of religious men observing the Euangelical counsels. Finally I haue also shewed, in the same chapter, how much the first christian Emperours, and kings, as well in our cuntry, as els where haue esteemed, and honored such men, and laboured to aduance their profession: by all which it euidently appeareth, how necessarie, and beneficial the exercise of the Euangelical counsels is, not only to euery common welth in particuler, but also generally to the whole world. Thus much concerning the second effect of charitie, consisting in the performance of the commaundments, and of the Euangelical counsels of our sauour.

92 The third fruite of perfect charity (whereof I determined to treat) is all kind of good woorks, for, although our aduersaries do attribute the same wholly to faith, as the proper fruite thereof, yet they are to vnderstand, that good woorks are no otherwaise the frutes of faith, then as faith woorketh, or is made to woork by charitie, from whence they doe immediatlie proceede, and therefore are the proper frutes, and effects thereof, in which respect *s. Augustin* saith, that the Apostle commending faith vnto vs, doth recommend no other, but an *holiness* and *Euangelical faith*, *cuius opera ex dilectione procedunt*, the woorks whereof doe proceede from loue, or charity: and againe (*si fides*, saith he, *sine dilectione sit* &c. if faith be without charity, it shall be without woorks, addeth *hope*, and *loue*, and take no thought for thy working, for charity can not be idle. Also in the same place, *quod credit*, saith he, *fidei est*, *quod operatur* charity,

s. Aug. de fide & op. lib. c. 14.

Idem praefat. in psal. 13.

Idem.

that a man beleueth, it is off faith, that he worketh, it is of charity. Thus he.

And this may be confirmed out of the Apostle, who attributeth to charitie all the effects, and fruites of vertue, saying, *charitus patiens est, benignus est, &c.* charity is patient, is benigne, or meeke, charitie enuieeth nor, dealeth not perversely, is not puffed up, is not ambitious, seeketh not her owne, is not provoked to anger, thinketh not euil, reioyseth not vpon iniquitie, but reioyseth with truth, suffereth all things, beleueth all things, hopeth all things, beareth all things &c. So saith the Apostle, signifying that charity is the mother of all vertue. 1. Cor. 13.

94 Now then, it resteth to be considered, where this notable effect of charity is to be found, whether in the congregations of the sectaries, or in the Catholike Roman church, to which purpose I shall not neede to trouble thee, good reader, with any further discourse, then with a breefe recapitulation, of what I haue treated alreddy concerning the doctrine, and liues of the sectaries, and Roman Catholikes.

95 First, for the sectaries: I haue declared at large in the 35. chapter what an absurd, pernicious, and pestilent doctrine they teach touching charitie, and woorks, as that faith only iustificieth before charitie, and without charity, (for so teacheth Luther) that good woorks are neither meritorious, nor necessarie to saluation, but hurtfull thereto: that the best woorks of the best men are damnable sinnes: that nothing can damne a man but incredulitie, or lack of faith: that the more wicked a man is, the nearer he is to Gods grace: that whatsoeuer our woorks are, we are sure to be saued, if we apply to our selues the merits of Christ by faith: that mens actions proceede nor of free will; but of absolute necessitie: that God moueth, and compelleth men to sinne: besides those other absurd, and impious paradoxes, mentioned a litle before in this chapter touching the abrogation of the commaundments by Christ, the impossibilitie to keepe them, and our Christian liberty admitting no obligation of law humane, or deuine: wherevpon it must needs follow, (as I haue signified before diuers times, and specially in the 36. chapter) that all vertuous, and good life is superfluous, yea impossible, (when fate doth not compell men vnto it,) and that vice, and sinne is acceptable to God, seeing that according to their doctrine, it proceedeth of his owne mocion, and compulsion, and is his owne woорke, and therefore by a necessarie consequent must needs be good, and commendable, ineuitable, and remedies to man. See chap. 35.

96 What then can be expected of those which teach, or beleue this doctrine, but al wickednes, vice, and sinne? specially seeing they also reject all the means that may bridle lust, & concupiscence in man, as all

Chap. 35.
36.

kind of penance, mortification, and chastisement of the flesh, as I haue sufficiently declared in the 35. and 36. chapter: where I also inferred vpon the premisses, that their exhortations to vertue, and rephrehensions of vice, are not only booteles, and fruitles, but also ridiculous in them, being contrarie to their owne grounds, and of no other force, or effect, then a weake antidote, geueen after a strong poison, especiallye seeing that also the liues of their cheefe maisters, and doctors, (*Luther, Caluin, Beza, and others*) were conforme to their doctrin, and so beastly as is described in the 30. chapter, and therefore no meruel though their first disciples practising their doctrin, and imitating their example, loosed the bridle to all vice, and wickednes in such sort, that their maisters themselues were ashamed of them, and exceedinglie lamented and complained thereof, as euidently appeareth by that which I haue alled-

Chap. 35.

ged before out of the writings of *Luther, Caluin, Andreas Musculus, and Iohn Andrewes*, which last signified plainely that the Ghospellers in Germany excused all their wickednes, by the doctrin of only faith, wherevpon they wholly relied, holding good woorks, and all good christian disciplin for nothing els, but for a new popery, and monkery, (for so faith *Iohn Andrewes*) as may be scene more at large in the 35. chapter, whereto may also be added the testimonies not only of *Villagagnon* (first a *Caluinist*, and after a *Catholike*) concerning the brutish bestiality of the Geneuian ministers, and others sent by the magistrats of Geneva to *Nova Francia* in *America*, but also of *Crecanionius*, and *wigandus* protestant writers in Germany, witnessing the greate excesse of enormities, that grew in all those parts by reason of *Luthers* loose, and dissolut doctrin, to the exceeding dammage of the comon welth, as I haue signified more amply in the 30. chapter: by all which it appeareth most manifestly, what frute of good woorks their ghospell yeldeth, and what benefit the common welth may reape therebie.

Chap. 30.

97 But perhaps some will say that howsoeuer *Luther*, and his followers the *Lutherans* ouerlashed in their doctrin concerning good woorks, excluding them from iustification, yet *Caluin* admitterh them thereto in some sort, at least as frutes, or signes of a good faith, affirming that faith can not be void of good woorks, & therefore he exclaimeth greatly against these, that charge him to teach that iustification may be without them.

98 Whereto I answere, that although *Caluin*, and the milder sort of *Lutherans* are more modest in woords, then *Luther*, and his followers, not speaking so outragiously against good woorks as they, yea seeming to admit them in some sort to iustification, yet for as much, as they doe

cuscus

evacuat the speciall frute, and effect thereof, denying their merit, (con-
trary to the doctrin of our sauiour, and his Apostles) whereby they also
impair the reputation of good woorks, and hinder mens desire, and
diligence to performe them, Therefore, I say, their doctrin is impious,
and pernicious to common welth, especially if *Calvins* opinion be well
examined, what he meaneth when he requireth good woorks with
faith to our iustification.

For although he seemeth sometymes to admit them, (as I have
said) yer in truth he holdeth them to be altogether needeles on our
part: I say on our part: for, expounding his owne opinion what he mea-
neth, when he saith, that faith can not be with out good woorks, he si-
gnifieth plainly, that the good woorks which he requireth to our iu-
stification, are not ours, but the woorks of *Christ* imputed to vs: but let
vs heare his owne woords, in the same place where he cryeth out
against his calumniators, as he calleth them.

100. *Non somniamus, saith he, fidem bonis operibus vacuum, aut iustificationem* Calvin in-
qua sine illis constet &c. we doe not so much as dreame of a faith void of good *tit. li. 3. c. 16.*
works, or of a iustification which may stand with out them: this only difference
there is, that where as we confesse that faith, and good woorks do necessarie-
concur together, we place iustification in faith, and not in woorks: and in what
manner this is donne, it is easy to declare, if we turne our selues to *Christ*, to
whom faith is directed, and from whom it receiveth all the force it hath. where-
fore, we are iustified because we apprehend by faith the iustice of *Christ* (by which
only we are reconciled to God,) and this thou canst not apprehend, but thou dost
apprehend his sanctification, for he was geuen us for our iustice, wisdom,
sanctification, and redemption: and therefore he iustifieth no man, but he doth wish
all sanctifie him; for these benefis are conioined together with a perpetual, and
invisibile bond &c. And after a while hauing added more to the same
purpose, he concludeth, *cum ergo hac beneficia &c.* Seeing therefore our lord doth
grant us the fruition of these benefis, (of iustification, and sanctification)
by geuing himselfe unto us, he doth geue us them both together, and neuer
seueth the one with out the other: and so it is manifest how true it is, that we are
iustified with our woorks, neither yet by woorks: because sanctification is no
lesse contained then iustice, in the participation of *Christ*, whereby we are iustified.
So he, explicating his owne opinion, how good woorks must needs
concur with faith in our iustification: wherein neuertheles yow see
he doth not so much as mention our woorks, but geueth to vnderstand
that the woorks of *Christ* (which are comprehended in his sanctifica-
tion) are imputed to vs together with his iustice, for it is euident that
Calvins constant opinion and doctrin concerning our iustification, is
that

*Calvin li. 3.
insti. ca. 12.
§. 2. & 3.*

that it consisteth in the remission of sinne, & the imputation of Christs iustice vnto vs, *ut pro iusto*, saith he, *in Christo censemur, qui in nobis non sumus*, that we may be held for iust in Christ, who are not (iust) in our selues: So that when he teacheth that we are not iustified, with out woorks, and declareth his meaning to be no other, but because we apprehend the sanctification of Christ by faith together with his iustice, it is manifest by his owne interpretation, that the good woorks which he requirer together with faith in our iustification, are Christs, and not ours, I meane no otherwaile ours, then Christs iustice and sanctification is ours, that is to say, not really, and in deede, but only by imputation, according to his opinion, which I haue sufficiently confuted in the beginning of this chapter.

101 And this is also most conforme to his doctrine in other points, seeing he teacheth expressely, as I haue declared in the 35. chapter, that our best woorks are mortal sinnes, and that our iustification by faith, is *soluta conditionibus legi* free from the conditions of the law: Besides his other blasphemous opinion, that God is the author of sinne, inclining, moving, adcompelling men thereto, yea and working it himselfe in their minds, as the first cause, vsing them as his instruments, which how absurd, and impious it is, I haue alreddy showed sufficientlie before: where by it is euident, that his doctrine concerning woorks being well sifted, and examined, is no lesse preiudicial to good life, & consequently no lesse pernicious to common welth then *Luthers*, though it be sometimes more cunningly shrowded with some more shaddow, and colour of piety.

102 Whereas on the other side, I haue manifestly showed in diuers parts of this treatise, and especiallie in the * 35. and 36. chapters, that the doctrine, and practise of the Catholike church, is most behoouefull, and beneficial to common welth, inuiting, encouraging, and leading men to all kind of good woorkes, vertue, and christian perfection, teaching our of the holly scriptures, and fathers, that good woorks are necessary to iustification, and saluation: that they are most acceptable to almighty God, and meritorious: that contrition, confession, and satisfaction, is requisite to the remission of sinne: that the chastisement of the body is not only gratefull, and pleasing to almighty god, and satisfactory for sinnes past, but also needefull to the repression of concupiscence, and preuention of future sinnes: that the meditation of our sauiours life, passion, death, and resurrection, is necessarie to the true imitation of him, and geueth singular contentment, and comefort to a deuous soule (though *Luther* saith, that he had more gult, and pleasure in bread and

*Caluin li. 3.
institut. c.*

14. sect. 9.

Ibidem li. 3.

c. 11. sect. 13.

& 17.

Idem de eter.

Dei prae-

stina. prin-

tad. ad Gene-

us an. 1. 32.

fol. 905. 906

916. 944. &

945.

Item li. 1. in-

stit. ca. 17. §.

11. & ca. 18.

§. 1. & §. 2.

& §. 4.

Ibidem li. 2.

ca. 4. §. 2. &

§. 3. & 4.

Item li. 3. c.

23. §. 4. 7. 8.

& 9.

** Chap. 35.*

& 36.

are, then in such meditations, as I declared out of his owne drunken confession in the 32. chapter:) finally that the practise, and performance of the Euangelical counsels of *Christ*, is necessarie to the perfection of Christian religion: all which doctrien tending directly to vertuous and good life, to the repressiō of vice, to the reformation of manners, and to Christian perfection, and being most exactly practised in the Catholike Roman church, must needs bring forth plenty, and abundance of all good woorks, to the incredible benefit of comon welth.

103 And to this purpose I haue also further proued in the 36. chapter, that although there are very many who professe Catholike religion, and are with all very vicious, and wicked, yet their vice, and wickednes, neither doth, nor can proceede of the Catholike faith which they

professe, but of their owne negligence, in not following and obseruing the prescript, and rules thereof: And againe on the other side, I also showed in the same place, that the bad life of such as professe *Lutheranisme*, or *Caluinisme*, both may, and commonly doth spring of their doctrine, and beleeve, and that the good deeds, or commendable liues of some of them, are not the fruits of their religion, but to be ascribed to the hypocrisie of some, and to the good natural disposition of others, yet and that therein also they haue no aduantage of *Epicurians*, *Pagans*, *Turks*, or *Atheists*, amongst whome there haue benne, & are many as

morally good, and vertuous as any of them. Finallie that amongst the old philosophers, there were diuers who in moral vertue excelled the best of them: whereas all those that euer haue benne famous and admirable in gods church for sanctitie, and hollines of life, and haue attained to the perfection of Christian religion, haue benne Roman Catholiks, and liued in the exercise of the Catholike Roman doctrine, as appeareth at large in the 36. chapter aforesaid. So that there is nothing more eident, then that this notable frute of charity, (consisting in good woorks, and true Christian vertue) doth no way belong to the profession of sectaries, but to the Catholike Roman Religion, which therefore is most conuenient, and necessary to the happy state of comon welth, as well temporal, as spiritual.

104 There remaineth yet the fourth effect, or frute of charitie, wherof I promised to speake heere; to wit our vnion with God, which I haue proued to be a special effect of charity, as well in my tract of contemplation, when I treated of the *vnitive way*, as also in this chapter, where I haue showed the eminent dignitie, and excellent operation of charity in the woork of iustification, and in vniting the soule of man with God; in which respect it is called by the ancient, and learned Fa-

S. Dionys. li. de diuinit. nomin. c. 4. par. 1. & 2. a Num. 49 ther *S. Dionysius, virtus vnifica, connexiua, concretiua, commiscens* &c. As I haue signified before, in this a chapter.

105 And now to show that this effect of charitie is euident in the Catholike Roman church, the same appeareth by the euident experience, and manifest demonstration of all the external signes, of Gods internal vnion with his seruants: which I haue showed to be no lesse manifest in Roman Catholikes at this day, then it alwaise hath benne in other seruants of god in former times. To which purpose I haue laid downe in the 27. chapter, examples of Gods extraordinary fauours, graces, and gifts beittowed vppon his saints in this life, not only in the old; but also in the new testament, and euer since continued in all ages successfullie from the Apostles vntill this day, I meane the admirable, and stupendous effects of a contemplatiue, and extaticall loue, as abundance of spiritual sweetenes, and heavenly consolations in prayer, extases, and rapt, the spirit of prophesie, reuelations, visions apparitions, of our saviour, Angels, and Saints, the operation of miracles, and such other euident signes of Gods vnion with holly men: of all which the Catholike Roman church only, hath euer had; and still hath the special priuiledge, as by the examples aforesayde is more cleare then the sunne, especiallie seeing I haue also euidently showed, that *Lutherans*, and *Caluiniſts*, and other aduerſaries of the Roman church, haue not, nor euer had any participation of those deuine fauours, and external signes of Gods internal vnion with them, but rather manifest tokens of the contrarie by fained miracles, false reuelations, fanatical dreames, and manifest illusions of wicked spirits, such as I showed in *Luther*, *Caluin*, *Zuinglius*, *Carlostadius*, *Foxe*, and others, as it may be seene in the chapter.

106 Besides that I also made it manifest partly in the same chapter, and partly in the 27. that those deuine graces, and gifts whereof I speake, haue benne alwaise most euident in such Roman Catholikes, as haue not benne subiect to the least suspicion of any deceit, or illusion, in respect of their admirable sanctitie, and hollynes of life, manifest to the Christian world, and approued in diuers of them, with such stupendious miracles as passed the deuils power to doe, or counterfet.

107 Finally I showed this effect of charity not only in the greatest seruants of God for the 600. yeres last past, to wit in *S. Bernard*, *S. Francis*, *S. Dominick*, *S. Thomas*, *Aquinas*, *S. Cathern of Siena*, *S. Brigit*, and diuers others (besides many holly men, and women of this age) but also in the old religious monks, and hermits of the first 600. yeres after *Christ*, as *S. Paule* the first hermit, *S. Antony*, *S. Hilarion*, *S. Ephraim*, *S. Basil*, &c.

Hermit

Hierome, S. Martin, S. Augustin, S. Benet, S. Gregory, and others, of whom I haue produced notable examples in this kind, and by them haue derived a continual succession from the primitiue church vntill this day, as well of these spiritual graces, and miraculous gifts, as also of religious, and monastical life which they all professed.

88 So that it being euident, that God hath testified, and manifestly showed his internal vnion with holly men, by such external fauours given from the time of his Apostles, to this our age, and that the same hath benne alwaise, and is still most manifest in Roman Catholiks, yea and that no *Lutheran, Calvinist, or other Sectarie* can, or euer could challenge to themselves, any true participation thereof, it must needs be granted that this effect of perfect charitie, (to wit Gods vnion with man,) is proper to the Catholike Roman church only, and to that religion which she professeth, and deliuereth to her children.

109 Whereuppon I conclude that for as much as it appeareth by the whole discourse of this treatise, that the end, and felicitie of man, and of common welth, consisteth in mans vnion with God, and that this vnion is wrought by perfect charitie, which is found only in the Catholike Roman church and religion, therefore it must needs follow, that the said Catholike Roman religion, and church hath the only meanes to vnite man with God, and consequentlie to make a happy common welth, both spirituallie, and temporallie: spirituallie, for that the members thereof liuing in the perfect practise of the Catholike Roman religion, shall abound in all the frutes of the spirit mentioned by the Apostle, who saith, *Fructus autem spiritus sunt charitas, gaudium, pax, &c.* The fruits of the spirit are charitie, ioye, peace, patience, longanimitie, bounty, *5 Gal. benignitie, mansuetud, faith, modestie, continencie, chastitie,* and that these are proper to Roman Catholikes, it appeareth sufficiently by all those effects of Catholik religion whereof I haue treated as well in diuers parts of this treatise, as now lastly in this chapter: Of these the Apostle also addeth further in the same place, *aduersus huiusmodi non est lex, against such as these, there is no law,* signifying that those which haue these vertues infused by the spirit of God, doe not neede any written law, humane, or deuine, to diuert or with hold them from doing euil, or to a compel the to discharge their duty towards God or man, because (as he saith of such as where) *sibi ipsi sunt lex, they are a law to themselves,* hauing the law of God written in their hearts by the holly Ghost: whereby they are also *homines sanctorum, & domestici Dei, fellow citizens of saints, and household seruants of God, &c.* finally do enioye true peace, comfort, and ioye of soule, which farre excelleth, all bodily or wordly pleasures, and contentments.

110 And the more general this spiritual felicitie is in the members of the common welth, the greater also is the temporal happines that redoundeth thereof to the whole state, which being spirituallie vnited with God in all the parts, and members thereof, must needs dwell (as the psalmist saith) *in the helpe of the hyghest, and in the protection of the God of heauen*, and flourish in all plenty, tranquillitie, peace, prosperitie, and securitie. According to the promise made by almighty God to his people,

Leuit. 26.

“ saying, *si in preceptis meis ambulaueritis, & mandata mea custodieritis &c.* If you walke in my precepts, and keepe my commaundments, I will geue you, raine in due season, and the earth shall bring forth her spring, and your trees shall be filled with frutes: the thrashting of your haruest shall reach to the vintage: and the vintage shall continue vntill the sowing time, you shall eate your bread to your fill: and you shall dwell in your land with out feare, I will geue you peace in your coasts, you shall sleepe, and there shall be no man to afright you: I will take away noysome beasts, and the sword shall not passe ouer your bounds: you shall pursue your enemies, and they shall fall before you: five of yours shall pursue a hundreth strangers, and a hundreth of you ten thousand; your enemies shall fall by the sword in your sight: I will respect you, and make you encrease: you shall be multiplied, and I will ratifie my couenant with you: you shall eate the eldest of their old store, and shall cast away the old vpon the coming in of the new: I will sett my tabernacle in the midst of you, and my soule will not reiect you: I will walke amongst you, and will be your God, and you shall be my people.

111 Thus said almighty God to the *Jews*, promising them all the temporal felicitie that could be imagined, if they would inuiolablie obserue his law. And the same is no dout to be vnderstood of any other people, or common welth, liuing in the profession of true religion, and the obseruation of the commaundments of God: wherein neuertheless I wish it to be vnderstood, that for as much as temporal prosperitie, being considered in it selfe, is common, as well to bad common welths, as to good, at least for a time: it is neuer to be taken for any part of true happines, but only when it cocurreth with the spiritual felicitie before mentioned, or rather redoundeth thereof, as a benediction, and blessing of almighty God bestowed vpon his particuler people: for otherwaie it may rather be counted an infelicitie, and malediction, for such reasons, as I haue signified partly in the 9. chapter, and much more at large in the first part of this treatise, where I laid downe the causes why God prospereth wicked men, and showed evidently that their sinfull prosperitie, doth not only pronosticate, but also accelerate their ruin, and is, as

Chap. 26.

Augustin saith, a iust punishment of god for their sinne, seruing for no other end sometimes then, as it were, a lightning before death, and other while, for a pleasant pasture to feede, and fatten them for the slaughter, yea being many times an assured token, & argument of their reprobation, or an earnest penny of their eternal damnation, and therefore the greater, and more general is such prosperity of the wicked, the greater is their infelicitie, and misery, as shall further appeare in the third part of this treatise, when I shall create of the notable punishments of almighty God extended vpon princes, and their states, for heresie, and schisme, whereby also the eminent dignitie, and excellent fruit of Catholike religion in common welth, shall be yet much more manifest.

And this being as much as I haue thought good to represent vnto thee, good reader, in this second part, I will heere make an end, remitting thee to the third, as well for the compleat accomplishment of my whole proiect, as also for some things which I haue particularly promised in my first part, and not yet performed. In the meane time, I beseech almighty God to inspire thee, to make no lesse vse, and benefit of these my labours, then I hartely wish thee, to Gods greater glory, and thy owne eternal good.

S. Aug. in Psal. 9.

See the first part. chap. 26. nn. 25. 26. &c. vnto the end of the chapter.

*Laus Deo qui dedit velle
& perficere.*

R.R.r. ij.

THE

The principall faults escaped are thus to be amended. The
 letter p. signifieth the page, The letter n. the number,
 and the letter l. the line.

P Ag. 59. l. 10. for, in the yeare after the foundation of Rome, read in the yeare
 after the foundation of Rome, p. 61. n. 8. l. 8. For esteeming, esteeming. p. 67. l. 16.
 for hould, should p. 68. l. 10. for here, how p. 71. n. 24. l. 8 for aloustruse, abstruse, p.
 73. n. 28. l. 2. for others, oathes p. 74. l. 9. for hem, them. *ibid.* n. 31. l. 2. for *cum*
profundum, cum in profundum. p. 83. n. 24. l. 3 for attended, attend. p. *ibid.* n. 31. l. 1.
 for, labour to, labour to be like to p. 84. n. 39. l. 1. for emplified, exemplified p. 88. n.
 47. l. 12. for stade, stode p. 91. l. 4 for laudes, landes p. 92. n. 10. l. 13. for with
 which. p. 93. l. 2. for intigate, mitigate. p. 94. n. 13. l. 6. for Liuij Liuy. And the like correct
 in more places hard by p. 97. n. 21. l. 3. for *Turim, Turinus.* p. 100. n. 32. l. 1. for *Ma-*
donia, Macdonia, p. 184. l. 1. for hebetat, hebetat p. 290. n. 11. l. 2. for aaxe, as are p.
 318. l. 4. for treatate, treated p. 329. n. 27. l. 8. for cast, case. *Ibid.* n. 28. l. 5. for *isa,*
 p. 333. n. 27. l. 12 for diminutions, disinations p. 354. l. last, for cruell, crueltie p. 377.
 32. l. last, for not, nor. p. 360. n. 7. l. 6. for held, geld p. 446. n. 21. l. 16. for monast
 monasterie.

If there be some other litle faults which I haue omitted, and thou shalt chance
 to finde in the readinge, I pray thee of thy gentlenes to correct them.

SE
T
The
great
The
good
table
Of
p. 190.
John
Siena
Of
Zuing
of the
see R
Tw
aed by
OF
O

A TABLE
SHEVING BRIEFLY
THE PRINCIPALL POINTS
THAT ARE HANDLED IN
the Second part of this
Treatise.

A



ASTINENCE, see *Fasting*, and *Mortification*.

Adulterie, see *Chastitie*, and *Lust*.

Almes, see *Liberalitie*, and *Monasteries*.

S. Bernards description of the Ambitious man pag. 26. num. 4. The wife and graue reprehension of Cincas to Pyrrhus king of Epyrus, touching his insatiable Ambition. *ibid.* num. 5.

The description of Anger pag. 29. num. 12. The same further Anger, exemplified in Aman, against Mardocheus. p. 30. n. 15. Repression

Abstinence.

Adulterie.

Almes.

Ambition.

of Anger, see *Valour*.

The Angelicall Spirits deuided into three Hierarchies p. 300. n. 35. &c. Of the Angels, great excellencie of the Angelicall nature. p. 301. n. 35. &c.

The strenght of an armie, consisteth not in the multitude of the men, but in the good discipline. p. 513. n. 9. Religious men, not exempt from armes. p. 114. n. 10. Noble feates of armes performed by cleargie and religious men. *ibid.*

Of diuers Apparitions of our Saviour and his Saints, to sundrie holie personages. *Apparitions.* p. 390. n. 15. To S. Martin. *ibid.* To S. Gregorie. n. 19. To S. Cuthbert. n. 21. To S. Iohn Damascen. n. 21. To S. Dunstan. n. 24. To S. Briget. n. 31. To S. Catharin of Siena. n. 31. To mother Teresa of Iesus n. 41. & 43.

Of sundrie Apparitions of the diuell, and other deceitfull illusions, to Luther, Zeinglius, Iohn Fox, and others p. 471. n. 22. &c. Fox his exposition and computation of the 41. months *ibid.* The vision of Corolostadius p. 474. n. 37. Apparitions, see *Revelations*.

Two sortes of Atheists p. 69. n. 19. & p. 73. n. 10. The seuerer punishment ordained by Plato against Atheists *ibid.* Atheists, see *Common wealth*.

Atheists.

Of the great authoritie of the Augures in the Roman Empire p. 60. n. 12. &c.

Augures.

B

Of the victorious Bataille of Lucius Papirius against the Samnites p. 66. n. 14. Deocus consecrated himselfe as a sacrifice to the Gods, to obtaine victorie in a bataille

Batailles.

THE TABLE.

p. 99. n. 1. Which example, his sonne afterwards imitated in a battaill of his owne, and also performed it. p. 99. n. 98.

Three hundred and six Fabii, all of one familie, slaine in one battaill p. 91. n. 7.

Battailes of the Romans against the kinge of Siracusa p. 102. n. 1. Against the Carthaginians n. 3. Betwixt Hannibal, and Scipio p. 105. n. 11. & 12. Betwixt Hannibal and Paulus Emilius n. 13. & 14. Betwixt Sulla, and Mithridates p. 117. n. 49. Betwixt Virgilius, and Octo n. 41. Betwixt Virgilius, and Vespasian n. 42. Battailes, see *Varres*.

Benefits.

Benefits, see *Religious* men; and *Conversion*.

C

Chance.

Nothing to be left unto Chance, which may be assured by counsell and wisdom p. 66. num. 13.

Charitie.

The excellencie and preeminence of Charitie above Faith. p. 640. n. 49. &c. Two absurd opinions of heretiques, touching this point, confuted p. 641. n. 45. &c. The prerogative of Charitie above all other vertues p. 642. n. 49. Four principall fruites or effects of Charitie p. 647. n. 63. &c. & n. 107.

Chastitie.

Notable examples of the vertue of Chastitie. Of Scipio towards a faire virgin taken in warre p. 2. 3. n. 2. Of Virginius, who slew his owne daughter p. 93. n. 11. Of Lucretia, who kild hir selfe p. 214. n. 5. Of Hippo, who drowned hir selfe ibid. The conjugall loue of the Indian women p. 215. n. 6. Of Porcia Catoes daughter ibid. Of the daughters of Phido, Fiftie Lacedemonian virgins, Seauen Milesian virgins, The two daughters of Scerdalus A. Theban maide, and others, who all kild or drownd themselves for the loue of Chastitie p. 449. n. 33.

The singular Chastitie of Henerie the Emperor p. 337. n. 8. Of king Edward the Confessor p. 342. n. 15.

Of the Evangelicall counsell of Chastitie p. 421. n. cap. 29. per totum. Luther beaustie and Mahometicall doctrin, concerning the impossibilitie to live chaste p. 431. n. 2. &c. The like absurd and beaustie doctrin of Caluin p. 439. n. 4. Of Zwinglius n. 7. Of Bucer n. 8. The great inconveniences which ensue of this their Mahometicall doctrin p. 440. n. 9. &c. Heretiques allowe not only adulterie, but also polygamie, or pleralltie of wives at once p. 441. n. 12. &c. Lawes made by Plato, for punishment of adulterie p. 448. n. 32.

The vse and obligation of a vow of Chastitie p. 494. n. 10. &c. The same proved by the unifornne consent of all the ancient Fathers ibid. n. 12. &c. The acts and decrees of king Vitoria, Valens Emperor, Mauritius Emperor, Comnenus Emperor, and Nicephorus Phocas Emperor, against religious parsons and their vowes of Chastitie p. 510. n. 1. Chastitie, see *Virginities*.

Christians.

Trajan and Adrian, informed of the innocencie and harmlesnes of the Christians, gaue order that they should not be punished for their religion p. 204. n. 20. what an excellēt member a good Christian is to the cōmon welth wherein he liueth p. 204. n. 20.

Ceremonies.

Ceremonies, see *monks*.

Christian Religion, see *Religion*.

Caluin.

The great and intolerable pride of Caluin p. 465. n. 41. &c. Caluins raising of the man Brule p. 469. n. 24.

Carnallitie.

Carnallitie, see *Lust*.

Clemencie.

Clemencie, see *clemis*ion of *Injuries*.

Commandment.

Of the possibilitie to keepe the commandments, and of the benefit which this doctrin bringeth to common welth p. 540. n. 23. &c. Divers holie seruants of God in the old law kept the Commandments p. 649. n. 69. &c. The testimonies of Iudicall

OF THE MATTERS.

Dear Fathers that the commandements may be kept. p. 651. n. 73. How the euangelicall counsell include the commandements, and in some sort exceede them. *ibid.* p. 75. &c.

How dangerous and pernicious an Atheist is to a Common welth. p. 70. n. 22. &c. *Common*
Of the detrimēt of sinne, and vice to Common welth, and the lawes of Licurgus welth.
for the preuention thereof. p. 77. n. 6. Diuers Common welths subuerted by meanes
of sinne and vice. *ibid.* n. 7. 8. &c. Numerositie of people, most dangerous to a
Common welth. p. 512. n. 5. 6. Religious life, no way hurtfull but profitable to Com-
mon welth. p. 582. n. 81. &c.

Communion, see *Sacrament*.

Communion.
Considerations.

Preparatiue Considerations for Meditation, of our Sauours life, death, passion, &c.
p. 251. n. 18. Of mans miseries and imperfections, compared with Christs merites &
perfections. *ibid.* n. 19. Of the presence of God, and of all the blessed Trinitie. p. 255.
n. 35. &c. Of the substance of man concerning both his soule, and bodie. p. 256. n.
40. 41. Of the end of mans creation, and negligent care he hath had thereof. p. 257.
n. 42. Of Gods rigorous iudgment in punishing sinne. *ibid.* n. 43.

A horrible Conspiracie practised by the matrons of Rome against the men. p. 58. *Conspira-*
n. 28. & p. 98. n. 26. Iunius Brutus put to death two of his owne sonnes, and two of *cic.*
his wiues bretheren, for Conspiracie. p. 88. n. 1. A Conspiracie of 3000. slaues, and
as many saylers to surprise Rome. p. 102. n. 2. The Conspiracie of Catelin. p. 121. n. 59.
Conspiracie see *Rebellion*, and *Sedition*.

Coniuring, see *Southsaying*.

Coniuring.
Counsels.

Of the three euangelicall Counsels, of Pouertie, Chastitie, and Obedience. p. 360.
n. 7. &c. The difference betwixt a precept, and a Counsel. p. 411. n. 10. & p. 413. n. 14.
15. &c. The friuolous euasion of Caluin answered. *ibid.* Of the euangelicall Counsel
of Chastitie, cap. 29. per totum.

Of the conuenience and necessarie practise of the euangelicall Counsels in com-
mon welth. p. 456. n. 51. &c. How the euangelicall Counsels include the commande-
ments, and in some sort exceede them. p. 651. n. 75. &c. Of the euangelicall Counsels
of perfect Pouertie, Chastitie, and Obedience. p. 685. n. 84. &c. The great benefit
which redoundeth to common welth by the obseruation of the euangelicall
Counsels. p. 686. n. 87. & n. 90. Counsellis, see *Pouertie*, *Chastitie*, *Obedience*, and
Commandements.

Of Continencie, and the great temperance to be vsed therein. p. 186. n. 49. Of the *Conti-*
moderation thereof betwixt such as are married. p. 188. n. 53. The absurditie of the *nencie.*
doctrin of heretiques, and hereticall inferences concerning Continencie. p. 453. n. 36.
&c. The doctrin of Continencie confirmed by the testimonies of the ancient fathers.
p. 452. n. 42. &c. The possibilitie of Continencie compared to a sick man. p. 454. n. 46.
A motion, or pious of a Burges of the parliament, concerning the Continencie of
the Ministers. p. 512. n. 7. Continencie, see *Chastitie*.

Notable examples of the greates loue which sundrie parsons bare vnto their *Countrie.*
Countrie: Furus Camillus being banished returned, and releued his vngratefull
Countrie, being in great distresse. p. 96. n. 19. & p. 97. n. 22. & p. 162. n. 18. Of the
two Decii, the father and the sonne. p. 214. n. 4. Of the escape of the famous Clelia.
p. 89. n. 3. Of young Scipio. p. 106. n. 13. Of Pomponius Bassa, who made offer of his
life for the publike good. p. 162. n. 18. Countrie, see *Conversion*.

Of the Contemplation of the ould philosophers, and the meanes they vsed to *Contem-*
ascend thereto. p. 231. n. 7. 8. &c. The lets and impediments of Contemplation. p. 233. *plation.*
n. 15. what thing the ould philosophers required to true Contemplation. p. 234.

S S S

n. 16. &c.

THE TABLE

m 16. &c. The great delectation they taught to be in the exercise of Contemplation. p. 136. n. 23. &c.

A definition of christian Contemplation. p. 246. n. 2. The difference betwix cogitation, meditation, speculation, and contemplation. *ibid.* n. 3. The proper offices and functions of the memorie vnderstanding, and will, in the exercise of Contemplation. p. 247. n. 6. 7. &c. Of diuers approued authors who haue purposely treated of Contemplation. p. 318. &c.

An obiection against the practise of Contemplation, answered. p. 320. n. 1. 2. &c. Of the two parts of a contemplatiue life, speculation, and practise. *ibid.* n. 2. 3. 4. &c. Contemplation specially requist in the prince and magistrates, to make a common welth happie. p. 322. n. 5. How euery man in a common welth, of what vocation soeuer he be, may be a perfect Contemplatiue. p. *ibid.* n. 7. 8. &c. Of the actiue, and Contemplatiue life: and of the perfection of the mixt life compounded of them both. p. 323. n. 8. 9. &c. That euery perfect contemplatiue, is a good citizen. p. 325. n. 17. Contemplation, see *Exstasies*, and *Prayer*.

**Contem-
platines.** Examples of sundrie kinges, which neuertheles were great contemplatiues. p. 334. n. 1. The same exemplified in holie Iob. *ibid.* n. 2. In Moyses. p. 335. n. 3. In Dauid. *ibid.* n. 5. In many notable princes in all countries. p. 336. n. 6. In Henric the Emperor. *ibid.* n. 7.

**Conuer-
sion.** Notable examples of the strange and soudaine conuerſion of sundrie parſons. p. 231. n. 24. Of the Apostles. p. 222. n. 25. Of Dionysius Areopagita. *ibid.* Of a young man conuerſed by S. Iohn Euangelist. *ibid.* n. 26. Of a great philosopher by Spiridion an vnlearned Bishop. *ibid.* n. 27. Of two companions of Porianus. *ibid.* n. 28. Of S. Augustin. p. 223. n. 30. Of S. Anthonie. p. 224. n. *ibid.* & p. 369. n. 29. Of Pachomius. *ibid.* n. 31. Of S. William Duke of Aquitan. p. 225. n. 32. Of Nannes. p. 226. n. 33. Of Cardinall Domenico de Cuppis. *ibid.* n. 34. Of Isaac a Iew. p. 227. n. 35. Of S. Iohn Gualbertus. p. 374. n. 9. Of S. Bruno. p. 375. n. 11. The admirable effect wrought by S. Bernard in the conuerſion of ſoules. p. 394. n. 28. Of Constantine. 154. n. 89.

Diuers countries and nations conuerſed to the Christian faith by the labours of religious men. p. 517. n. 28. France by S. Remigius. *ibid.* n. 29. England by S. Augustin. n. 30. Germanie by S. Bonifacius. n. 31. Hungarie by Adelbertus. n. 34. The Vandals by Vicilinus. n. 36. One Franciscan baptised 20000. ſoules. n. 40. Another Franciscan baptised 12000. n. 42. The great and prosperous ſucceſſe in gayning of ſoules, procured by the Fathers of the ſocietie of I E S V S. p. 520. n. 45. Conuerſion, ſee *Religious* men.

**Conetouſ-
nes.** Valerius deſcription of the Couetous man. p. 25. n. 2. The Couetouſnes of Veſpaſian. p. 139. n. 43.

Croſſe. The viſion of the Croſſe to Constantine. p. 154. n. 89. How S. Ofwalde by erecting a Croſſe obtayned a miraculous victorie. p. 340. n. 13. How Herachius the Emperor caried the Croſſe barefoote. p. 344. n. 20.

D

Death. The miſerable end and diſaſterous Death of ſundrie great and eminent perſons. The Death of king Pyrrhus. p. 27. n. 5. Of Paulus Æmilius two ſonnes. p. 112. n. 33. Scipio Affricanus found Dead in his bed. p. 124. n. 40. Pompey killed with a thunderbolt. p. 117. n. 47. Iulius Ceſar about to kill himſelfe. p. 122. n. 63. Antonius and Cleopatra queene of Egipt killed them ſelues. p. 124. n. 69. Many principal men in Rome kild them ſelues, becauſe of Auguſtus tirrannie. p. 125. n. 70.

The death of Tiberius by poiſon. p. 136. n. 32. Of Caligula ſlaine by his owne gardes. n. 33. Of Claudius poiſoned by his wiſe. n. 34. Of Nero who cut his owne throage.

OF THE MATTERS.

throat. n. 35 & p. 163 n. 21. Of Galbary a conspiracie. p. 136 n. 36. Of Otho who
 slaid him selfe. *ibid.* & p. 163 n. 21. Of Vitellius drawne with a halter about his
 neck along the streetes, and after killed. n. 37

Vespasian died of a flux, p. 136 n. 43 Titus killed by a conspiracie of his owne
 seruants. n. 46 Traian ordained for a sport, ten thousand gladiators to fight one with
 another to death, n. 51 The miserable death of Adrian, n. 52 Lucius Verus died
 suddantlie, n. 54 Heliogabalus drawne in the streetes thorough the dirt, n. 63. Tau-
 rinus drowned him selfe, because he would not be emperor, n. 65 Gordian hanged
 him selfe for feare and sorrow for the death of his sonne. *ibid.* Decius to saue
 him selfe leapt into a ditch horse and all, and so stuck fast in the mud and died,
 num. 69

Valerian made Saporeshis footestoole, after fleyed him and salted him aliue, p. 87
 n. 74 Claudius the second died of the plague, n. 77 Quintillius brother killed him
 selfe, n. 78. Carus kild with a thunderbolt, n. 82 The miserable death of Galerius
 Maximilianus, n. 87 Maxentius the tirant drowned, pag. 154 n. 89 Maximinus
 dies leapt out of his head, n. 92 Licinius put to death by the order of Constantin,
 n. 94 Of sixtie three Roman Emperors, only six died a naturall Death, pag. 162
 n. 18 See the miserable Deaths of many of them together, pag. 163 n. 20. 21. &c.

Notable examples of the contempt of death, exemplified in Marcus Curtius, pag. 163
 n. 22 In Mutius Scevola, pag. 217 n. 4 In the two Decij the father and the
 sonne. *ibid.* In Socrates, pag. 214 *ibid.* The benefit which groweth by the medita-
 tion of Death, exemplified in Heneric the Emperor, pag. 338 n. 10. Death, see
Murders.

The bodies of men adiudged by the magistrates to their creditors, to suffer whipping *Dettor.*
 and sundrie other torments, for satisfaction of their dettes, p. 90 n. 4.

Of the causes of Desolation, p. 269 n. 27 &c. Of the benefit of desolation. *ibid.* *Desola-*
 n. 30 & 46. Remedies to be practised in time of spirituall desolation, pag. 271 *tion.*
 n. 32 &c.

The great Deuotion of S. Oswald, p. 339 n. 11 His Zeale to conuert soules. *ibid.* *Deuotion.*
 n. 12 & 14 The Deuotion of king Edward the Confessor, p. 341 n. 15 The Deu-
 otion of kinge Dauid, p. 343 n. 18 Deuotion, see *Prayer.*

The causes of Distraction, p. 262 n. 4 The remedie of Distractions proceeding *Distra-*
 from our senses, *ibid.* n. 5 &c. Against those that arise by the passions of the minde, *tion.*
 p. 268 n. 13 Against those that arise by the occasion of wordlie busines, p. 266 n. 17
 How to conuerse with men in all kinde of affaires, without much distraction of spirit.
ibid. n. 17 & 18

Diunation, see *Southsaying.*

Of the sinne of Drunkennes, see p. 79 n. 10

Duel, see *Luther.*

Diunation.
Drunkennes.
Duel.

A fearfull opening of the earth in the citie of Rome, p. 99 n. 29. Another hor-
 rible Earthquake, pag. 101 n. 37 An Earthquake which lasted for eight dayes
 together, p. 127 n. 3. An Earthquake which ruined thirtene cities in one night,
 p. 138 n. 38 &c. A terrible Earthquake at Antioche, n. 49 Another terrible Earth-
 quake, num. 68

The number of the Roman Emperors, sixtie three, p. 162 n. 18 Only six died *Emperors*
 naturall, and a peaceable death, *ibid.* The short life, and hauck, made of the
 Roman Emperors, p. 164 n. 22 Mauritius of a notarie made an Emperor, p. 529
 n. 83. His death, and the strange publication thereof, pag. 530 n. 85 Emperors, see
 S S I I 2

Souldiers,

THE TABLE

- Empyre** *Souldiers, and Lines.* The Empyre set on sale by the soldicars for who would giue most, pag. 144. n. 10. How Iulius Cesar came to the Roman Empyre, p. 121 n. 62. How Octavianus Cesar nephew advanced himself thereto, after his ouncles death, p. 122 n. 62. That the Roman Empyre hath subdued more by christian peace, then euer it did by force of armes, p. 170 n. 35. Empyre, see *Soldicars*.
- Essai.** The difference betwixt the Essai, and the Esseni, p. 363 n. 15.
- Euill.** Kinge Edward the Confessor was the first kinge of England to whome the gift of healing the kinges euill was granted by almightie God: which hereditarie gift of grace was after wards continued in his successors. p. 342. n. 15.
- Excesse.** Of auoiding the Excesse of minde which may happen in publique, p. 290 n. 11 &c. Of the Excesse of minde called Extasie, and of the effects thereof in sundrie contemplatiue seruants of God, p. 314 n. 20.
- Extasies.** Of certaine rapt and Extasies in the ould philosophers, and others, pag. 240 n. 32. Of Archimides the great geometician, ibid. n. 33. Of Reslitus a priest, p. 241 n. 34. Of Cardianus, ibid. Of Appolonius Thyaneus, p. 244 n. 44. Of the last Pichoniss which serued in the temple of Apollo, ibid. Of Mahomets fained Extasies, ibid. num. 45.
- Of Extasies, Rapt, and Excesse of minde in diuers deuout seruants of almightie God, pag. 391 n. 17. Of an Abbot of a monastier in the desert of Scythia, ibid. Of Macarius, ibid. n. 18. Of Isidorus, ibid. Of an Abbot called Ioannicius, p. 392 num. 23. Of Pope Gregorie the seuenth, ibid. n. 26. Of S. Francis, p. 394 num. 39. Of S. Dominick n. 30. Of S. Thomas Aquinas, ibid.
- Of S. Clare p. 395 n. 31. Of S. Elizabeth of Spalbec, ibid. Of S. Briger, ibid. Of S. Catharin of Sienna, n. 32. Of S. Diego p. 396 n. 33. Of Father Ignatius of Loyola, n. 34. Of Father Zauerus, p. 398 n. 37. Of Father Lewis Gonzaga, p. 400 n. 35. Of Father Giouanni, p. 403 n. 47. Of Suora Catharina, ibid. n. 48. Extasies, see *Prayer, Reuelation, Vision*.
- F
- Faith.** Of Iustification by Faith and workes, and of the fruites which arise by this catholique doctrin to common welth, pag. 534 num. 3. The detrimēt that the contrarie doctrin of sectaries bringeth to commonweth. ibid. n. 4. 5. &c. Faith, see *Charitie*.
- Famin.** A great Famin in Rome, p. 93. n. 10. The miserie of a ffamin, p. 94 n. 15. & p. 96 n. 17. A great miserie and want of corne, p. 116 n. 46. Another great ffamin in Rome, p. 117 n. 3. A generall ffamin ouer all the world, pag. 138 n. 39. Another great ffamin, pag. 143 num. 56.
- Fasting.** The exercise of fasting necessarie to contemplation, pag. 291. num. 15. The benefits resulting to common welth by the catholique doctrin of fasting. pag. 553 num. 59. &c. The preiudice arising by the contrarie doctrin, pag. 554 num. 66. Of the practise of fasting and mortification in all times and ages. pag. 565. num. 4. 5. &c. Proofes deduced out of the ould testament. ibid. Proofes out of the new testament, p. 567 n. 11. 12. &c. Fasting, see *Mortification*.
- Fastes.** The beastlie feastes of the bacchanalia discovered, pag. 109 num. 24. The prodigallitie of Heliogabalus in his feastes, who spent at euerie ordinarie meale, two thousand five hundred crownes: and many times at some one supper 75000. crownes, pag. 134 num. 24. Adrian bestowed vpon his soldiars and the people in donatiues and playes, ten millions in the feasts which he made, p. 157 n. 3.

Notable

OF THE MATTERS.

Notable examples of fidelitie. Of Marcus Attilius Regulus in rendering him selfe *Fidelitie*. prisoner to accomplish his promise, p. 103 n. 4. & p. 214 n. 3. Of the men of Seguntum in Spanie, who burnt their owne citie, p. 105 n. 12. The like of the Numantins in Spaine, p. 114 n. 38. Fidelitie, see *Iustice*.

Notable examples of fortitude. In young Scipio, who drew out his sword in the *Fortitude* senat, pag. 106 num. 13. Of certaine women who assisted and fought in the companie of men, pag. 155 num. 44. Of Heraclius Codes defending a drawe bridge, pag. 213 num. 3. Of Murius Scevola, who burnt of his owne hand, num. *ibid*. Of the vertu of fortitude, pag. 346 num. 4. & num. 7. Fortitude, see *Valor*, and *Torments*.

John Fox, see *Apparitions*.

Fox.

G

The great donatiues and Gifts of Iulius Cesar, pag. 157 num. 3. Of Augustus Cesar. Of Antonius. Of Nero. And of Adrian, *ibid*. Gifts see *Libellitie*.

The glorie of wicked men compared to the shining of the gloue-worme: or of a kinde of rotten wood which shineth in the darke, pag. 598 n. 11. *Glorie*.

A prouerb of Gluttonie, pag. 28 num. 7. The infinit euills which accompanie Gluttonie, *ibid*. num. 8 & 10. Of the insatiable Gluttonie and prodigallitie of Heliogabalus, pag. 134 num. 24. Of Gallienus, pag. 135 num. 27. Gluttonie, see *Feastes*.

The multitude and turpitude of trifling Gods adored by the Romans, pag. 48 num. 1. 2. &c. & pag. 52 num. 17. & pag. 69. 18. The superstitious worship of their Gods, pag. 51 num. 13 &c. Their impure and beastlie feastes and ceremonies where with they honored them, pag. 54 num. 19 &c. Their abhominable and bloodie sacrifices of men made vnto them, pag. 55 num. 21. The derision and contempt of the poets themselves towards their owne Gods, pag. 68 num. 16 &c.

Man wholly dependant on God and his gouernment exemplified by Aristotle in an apt comparison, pag. 210 num. 33. *God*.

The effect of Gods grace in the hart of man, pag. 203 n. 17.

Grace.

H

The dissembled holnies and hipocricie of diuers heretiques, and atheists. As, of Pelagius, Vigilantius, and Artius, pag. 586 num. 55 & 56. Of Epicurus, *ibid*. pag. 587 num. 60.

Spirituell and temporall Honor, not incompatible, pag. 600 n. 14.

Honor.

The religious Humilitie of Henric the Emperour, Who being present in a synod of Bishops at Francford prostrated him selfe vpon the ground, and would not rise until the Archbishop of Mentz lifted him vp. pag. 338 num. 9. Also he would needs helpe carrie the bodie of Romualdus the Abbot to buriall, bearing on part of the beere vpon his owne shoulders, *ibid*. Also how he cast him selfe prostrate at the feete of the Archbishop of Cullen, crauing pardon of him for a wronge opinion which he had conceiued of him, *ibid*. The Humilitie and meeknes of king Edward the Confessor, pag. 341 num. 15. & pag. 344 n. 19. Of the wonderfull Humilitie of king Dawid, pag. 343 num. 17. 18. The religious Humilitie of Heraclius the Emperour, pag. 344 num. 20. Humilitie and magnanimitie, not contrarie one to another, pag. 346 num. 3 &c. The great Humilitie of king Carlomanus set to keepe sheepe, pag. 418 num. 26.

Humility

Humilitie, see *Patience*.

S S S S 3

Idolatrie,

THE TABLE

I

Idolatrie. **I** Idolatrie, see *Idolatrour Priests.*

Lewes.

The great commotions of the Lewes in severall parts of the worlde, pag. 141 num. 50 Of the religion and Thalmud of the Lewes, p. 191 n. 64 The sundrie compounders of the Lewes Thalmud, ibid. n. 65 &c. The Lewes Thalmud ten times bigger then our Bible, p. 192 n. 67 The execrable doctrine, blasphemies, errors, and grosse lyes which it containeth, pag. 193 n. 68 &c. Diuers most ridiculous articles taught by their Thalmud, p. 193 n. 70 Diuers particularities wherein the lawes of the Lewes, contradict the lawes of Moyses, which yet they pretend to keepe, pag. 194 num. 73 &c.

Illumi-

natiue.

Imputa-

tione.

Ingrati-

tude.

Iniuries.

Iusticie.

Of the Illuminative way, and of the practise thereof, p. 261 n. i &c. Meditations belonging to the illuminative way, p. 298 n. 30 &c.

Imputative Iusticie, see *Iusticie.*

Such as are vnthankfull to God for his benefits, compared to hogges and swine, pag. 35 n. 27

The clemencie of Iulius Cesar in pardoning his enimies, preferred before all his famous conquests, pag. 348 n. 10 The same vertue further exemplified in Licurgus, p. 394 n. 11 In Phocion, ibid. n. 12 In Augustus Cesar, n. 13

Notable examples of Iusticie and fidelitie. Of Furius Camillus vpon a scholemaster, p. 213 n. 1 Of the senat of Rome towards kinge Pyrrhus, ibid. Of Lucius Crassus towards Carbo his enimie, ibid. Of Titus Manlius in putting to death his owne sonne, p. 98 n. 25

The doctrine of Catholiques concerning inherent Iusticie, with the good effects which arise to common wealth by meanes of this doctrine, pag. 537 n. 16 The bad effects proceeding of the contrarie doctrine of sectaries, ibid. p. 17 The definition of that Iusticie or righteousness whereby we are iustified, p. 625 n. 3 The causes and effects of our Iustification, ibid. n. 4 That we are made as truly Iust by Christ as we are made sinners by Adam, p. 627 n. 7

The doctrine of the ancient Fathers, prouing a reall and inherent Iusticie in vs, pag. 629 n. 13 &c. A common obiection of the aduersaries concerning our Iusticie, answered, p. 631 n. 20 A second, and third obiection, answered, p. 632 n. 22 & n. 24 Prooves out of the ancient Fathers concerning this point, ibid. num. 28 &c. The effects of true Iustification, p. 638 n. 39

Iustification, see *Charitie.*

Iustifica-

tion.

Ladie.

Lawes.

OF the titles of dignitie attributed to our blessed Ladie, p. 277 n. 52 The Lawes of Licurgus for the government, of his common welth, p. 77 n. 4 The like most notable lawes of Cato for the government of his, pag. 79 n. 12 &c. Diuers wicked Lawes of certaine Emperors, against the profession of religious life, p. 510 n. 1

Liberalli-

tie.

Notable examples of Liberallitie. Of Scipio, who gaue to a virgin for hir dowrie, the monie paid for hir ransom, p. 213 n. 2. Of Bassa, an Italian mazon, who receiued and maintayned 10000 soldiears, p. 214 n. 5 The great pietie and Liberallitie of kinge Oswald to the poore, p. 340 n. 12 Liberallitie, see *Gifts*, and *Almes*.

Libertie.

The catholique doctrine concerning Christian Libertie, and how far it extendeth, p. 554 n. 67 The detriment arising to common welth by the contrarie doctrine, pag. 555 n. 67 &c. The absurditie of Luthers doctrine concerning this point discovered, p. 557 n. 73 &c.

Liues.

The vicious Liues of sundrie Emperors. Of Tiberius, p. 129 n. 9 Of Caligula,

OF THE MATTERS.

ibid. n. 10 Of Claudius, n. 12 Of Galba, n. 15 Of Vitellius, n. 16 Of Domitian, n. 17 Of Commodus, n. 19 Of Seuerus, n. 20 Of Antonius Caracalla, n. 21 Of Macrinus, n. 22 Of Heliogabalus, n. 23 Of Maximinus, n. 26 Of Gallienus, n. 27 Of Aurelianus, n. 28 Of Carinus, n. 39 Of Maxentius, p. 153. n. 88 &c. Twentie two wicked Emperors, our liued fortie one good aboue a hundred yeares, p. 160 n. 12 & p. 163 n. 12.

Of the holie, strick, and religious Liues of the first christians in Alexandria, and other places of Egypt, p. 362 n. 13 &c. Sundrie testimonies of heretiques themselves concerning their owne bad liues, p. 560 n. 82 &c. From what ground and cause the bad life of the catholikes proceedeth: and whence the bad liues of sectarists, p. 564 n. 23 &c. Of the laudable liues of some sectaries, p. 586 n. 55 &c. Bad Liues, see *vice*.

Of the Sinne of Lust, see pag. 78 num. 9 & p. 129 n. 9 n. 14 19 & p. 334 n. 29 & *Lust*. p. 153 n. 88. Luthers description of his owne vehement, and beaſtly Lust, p. 444 n. 22 How much the same sinne abounded in Calvin, *ibid* n. 23. 24 Likewise in Beza, p. 446 n. 25 In Zuinglius, n. 26 The testimonie of villagagnon, n. 27 Lust, see *Sodomie*.

Luthers pride and contumacie, p. 451 n. 34 &c. The opprobrious epithets giuen him by sectaries them selues, p. 453 n. 38 &c. Luthers little practise of meditation, p. 465 n. 12 Luther fell downe at Masse at the reading of the gospell, p. 466 n. 16 Luthers attempting to cast out a diuel out of a woman, p. 468 n. 21 &c. Also, out of William Nessen, p. 469 n. 23 A miracle wrought vpon Luther him selfe being dead, *ibid*. Luthers conference with the diuel, p. 471 n. 18

M

THe dutie of Magistrates, pag. 81 num. 23 &c.

Magnanimitie, see *fortitude* and *valour*.

Marriage of hereticall Priests, see *Priests*.

Obiections of Machiavel answered, touching the exercising of some acts of christian religion, pag. 345 n. 1 &c. His reasons examined for preferring painims before christians for valour and magnanimitie. His first reason, pag. 350 num. 18 &c. *uel*. His second reason, p. 353 n. 25 His third reason, p. 354 n. 27 His follie in reiecting christian names, p. 355 n. 31

The first beginning of Mahomet and Mahometisme, p. 171 n. 2 Mahomets falling acquainted with Sergius an Apostata Monke. *ibid*. Sundrie particularities of Mahomets religion, *ibid* n. 56 &c. His owne beaſtly and impious life, p. 174 n. 12 The rewards he assigneth for the next life, p. 176 n. 17 His grosse, absurd, and detestable lyes, *ibid* & n. 19. 20 &c. Mahomets doctrine of pluralitie of wiues refuted, p. 180 n. 31 &c. His allowance of Sodomie, p. 188 n. 56 His law of diuorce, and repudiation, clearly refuted, p. 189 n. 57 &c. His law of Talion, p. 190 n. 62

The honor which the catholiques giue to the sacrament of Matrimonic, and how greatly the hereniques dishonor the same, p. 436 n. 38. 40 &c.

Meeknes, see *Humilitie*, and *Patience*.

Preparatiue pointes of Meditation, concerning our Sauours diuinitie, humanitie, and personal vnion with man. p. 278 n. 53 &c. Of the worke it selfe of our Sauours incarnation, p. 279 n. 55 Of the inestimable & excellent priuiledges of our Sauours humanitie, n. 56. Of the noble and heroicall acts of vertue of our Sauours soule, exercised towards God his Father, p. 281 n. 69 &c. Of his excellent acts of vertue towards his neighbour, *ibid* & n. 71 Of his paueritie, humilitie, obedience, &c. pag. 283 n. 74 &c. Of his glorious Ascension, p. 299 n. 33

Of the

Magistra
tes.

Magnu
nimitie.

Mahomet

Matrimo
nie.

Meeknes.

Medita
tion.

THE TABLE

Of the excellencie of the Angelicall nature, p. 301. n. 45 Of the great glorie and
joy of the same, p. 303 n. 47. 48 Of the imitation of their vertues, p. 304 n. ibid. & 49
Of the attributes and excellencies of the diuine nature, to wit, power, wisdom, & c.
p. 305 n. 1. 2 & c. Of the inscrutable myserie of the blessed Trinitie, p. 311
n. 15. & c. Meditation, see *Considerations*, and *Illuminating way*.

Miracles. Of diuers and sundrie miracles concerning many deuout seruants of almighty God,
pag. 389. n. 9 S. Paul the hermit miraculously fed by a crowe, ibid. The miracles
wrought by S. Benet, p. 392. n. 19 By S. Augustin our Apostle, ibid. n. 20 The mi-
raculous healing of S. Iohn Damascens hand, p. 393. n. 22 By S. Dunstan bishop of
Canterburie, n. 24 By S. Dominick, p. 395 n. 30 By S. Diego, p. 396 n. 33 By
father Xaerus, p. 398 n. 37 By mother Teresa of Iesus, ibid. n. 41 By F. Antonio of
the mount of Cicardo, p. 402 n. 45 By F. Antonio Corfo, ibid. n. 46 By F. Giouanni
Spagnol, p. 403 n. 47 By Maria Madalenadi Pazzi, n. 52. 53. By S. Cecilie. p. 570 n.
18. 19 By S. Martin Bishop of Tours, p. 571 n. 20 By S. German Bishop, p. 572
n. 21 By Simeon a shepherd, p. 578 n. 41 & c. Miracles, see *Luther*.

Of sundrie pretended and counterfet miracles, of Luther, of Caluin, of a minister
of Polonia, and of Iohn Fox, p. 468 n. 22 & c. The exceptions which heretiques
take against our miracles, discussed, and answered, p. 475 n. 39 & c. Examples and
testimonies of many approued miracles in the church of God, p. 477 n. 43 A miracle
done at the memorie of S. Stephen, ibid. n. 44 Manie miracles wrought by S. Mala-
chias, p. 478 n. 47 & c. By S. Bernard, p. 479 n. 49. By S. Vincent Ferrer a Domi-
nican Friar, p. 482 n. 56 & c. By the intercession of our Ladie at Montague, p. 483
n. 58 By the blessed Sacrament at Bisanso in Burgundie, ibid. n. 60 A miraculous
accident concerning sir Gerrard Braibrook, p. 484 n. 61 & c.

Ministers. Ministers, see *Parlament*.

Monkes. Ten thousand Monkes, and twentie thousand virginis, in the Monasteries of one
citic, called Oximico, p. 200 n. 10. The rites and ceremonies whereby the Monkes
of the primatiue church were consecrated to the seruice of God, p. 365 n. 19. The
reason and explication of the said ceremonies, ibid. n. 20. Of Monkes and Mon-
asteries, see more pag. 369. n. 28 & c. & cap. 26. per totum. Monkes, see *Orders*.

**Monaste-
ries.** Monasticall life, Monasteries and the name Monke instituted by the Apostles them-
selues, pag. 362 n. 13 & c. & pag. 364 n. 17. 18. Diuers kinges and princes who
haue built and erected Monasteries, given great possessions, and liued in them, p. 363
n. 14 & c. to numbers 74 The rage and furie of heretiques against monkes and Mon-
asteries, p. 478 n. 56 & c.

**Mortifi-
cation.** The greates penance and mortification of S. Ioanes Bishop of Hierusalem, p. 569
n. 15 Of S. Lazarus, p. 570 n. 16 Of S. Marie Magdalen, ibid. n. 17 Of S. Cecilie
ibid. Of S. Martin Bishop of Tours p. 571 n. 20 & c. Of S. Germain Bishop of
Auxerre, p. 572 n. 23 Of S. Gregoire Nazianzen, p. 573 n. 26. Of S. Hierome, p.
n. 27 Of S. Paul the Hermit, p. 575 n. 33. Of S. Anthonie, n. 34 Of S. Hilarion, n.
36 & c. Of diuers holie personages together, p. 578. n. 40 Of Simeon, n. 41 & c.
Of the Pichagorians, p. 590. 61.

Murders. Romulus Murdered by his brother Remus, p. 85. n. 41 Romulus him selfe after-
wards murdered by the senat, ibid. n. 42 Horatius kilde his owne sister, because she
wept for the death of one to whom she was fianced, whom he had slaine, p. 86 n. 43
Two Gauls, a man and a woman, together with a Grecian woman buried aliue, p.
104. n. 40 A hundred and fiftie Roman citizens murdered in one day, p. 116 n. 41
Aristonicius strangled in prison, p. 114 n. 40 Marius and Cinna caused the heads of
the senators of Rome to be brought in to their banquets to recreate them selues,

OF THE MATTERS.

p. 117 n. 43 Death to any man if Marius did not offer him his hand to kisse, *ibid.*
 All the citizens in two great cities, condemned by Silla to be slaine as if they had
 bene but one man. p. 113 n. 50 Pompey slaine by the order of young kinge Ptole-
 meus, p. 122 n. 62 Cesar stabb in the senat with twentie three woundes. pag. 122.
 num. 64.

The murtherous and bloodie minde of Tiberius, p. 119 n. 9 Of Caligula, *ibid.* n. 10
 Of Claudius, n. 12 Of Nero, n. 13 Of Galba, n. 15 Of Domitian, n. 17 Of Com-
 modus, n. 18 Of Seuerus, n. 20 Of Antonius Caracalla, n. 21 Of Macrinus, n. 22
 Of Heliogabalus, n. 23 Of Maximinus, n. 26 Titus kild by a conspiracie of his
 owne seruants, n. 46 Commodus murdered by his owne concubin, n. 55 Pertinax
 kild by his soldiears, n. 58 Iulianus kild in his pallace by the senat, n. 59 Alexander
 Seuerus kild by the soldiears, n. 65 Maximinus and his young sonne kild by the
 soldiears, *ibid.* Pupienus, Balbinus, and Marinius kild by the soldiears, n. 67 Gal-
 lus, Volusianus his sonne, and Emilianus slaine by the soldiears, num. 70 Odenatus
 traitorously slaine by his cosen German, n. 75 The fortunat Probus killed by his
 soldiears, n. 81 Maximian taken, and strangled, n. 86 Tiberius smothered with a
 quiffion, pag. 163 n. 21 Murders, see *Death, Conspiracies, and Sacrificing.*

Of the Musique Euthasiatican vsed by the priests of Iupiter and Olimpus, pag. 241 *Musique.*
 num. 36

N

THe absurd reasons of Anaxagoras touching the disease, and wound of mans na-
 ture, pag. 209 num. 31 The absurd opinion of Empedocles, Heraclitus, and
 others concerning the same, *ibid.* Others that nature in man, was declined from
 his first integritie, *ibid.* n. 32 The cause of the defection and rebellion of the infe-
 rior powers in man, against reason, p. 211 n. 35

O

OF the necessitie of Oathes in common welth, pag. 71 num. 24 The vse of Oathes.

Oathes growen of the imbecillitie of human fidelitie, n. 25 The great au-
 thoritie and force of Oathes in former times, n. 26 &c. The great fidelitie of M.
 Atilius Regulus in performing his Oathe, p. 103 n. 4. Oathes, see *Periurie.*

Of the euangelicall counsell of Obedience, and the great praise and merit of this
 vertu, p. 460 n. 3. 8. 9. &c. A notable definition of religious obedience, p. 461 n. 11.
 The counsell of the holic fathers touching the vertu of obedience, p. 462 n. 14. &c.
 Examples of Gods miraculous approbation of religious Obedience, p. 467 num. 20
 Of one who for two yeares euery day watered adrie strick, p. 464 n. 21 Of another
 who at the commandement of his Abbot entred into an hoate ouen, n. 22 Of
 S. Maurus who ran bouldly vpon the water to fetch out a childe that was drowned,
 n. 23 The reward of Obedience in Iohn an Abbot, p. 447 n. 24 Of an other re-
 ligious man mentioned by Dorotheus, *ibid.* The pretended exercise and practise
 of Obedience in Lutherans and Caluinists discussed, and answered, p. 447 n. 27. 28. &c.
 Lutherans and Caluinists far behinde the Pagans in the vertu of Obedience, pag.
 449 num. 32

Built men not to be admitted to publique Offices, pag. 82 n. 25

Of the beginning and propagation of diuers religious Orders from the first 300.
 yeares after Christ vntill our time, cap. 26. per totum. An order of Monkes influ-
 ented by S. Basil, *ibid.* By S. Augustin, called Augustins, p. 372 n. 3 By S. Benedict,
 called Benedictins, n. 6 By S. Romoaldus, called Camaldulenses, num. 8 By Iohn
 Qualbertus, called de Valle Ombrosa, n. 9 By S. Robert, called Cistercienses, num. 10
 By Bruno, called Carthusians, n. 11 By Norbert Archbishop of Magdeburg, called

*Officers.
Orders.*

T T t

Promon-

THE TABLE

Promonstrants, n. 12 By Iohn of Malta, and Felix an Anchorit, called the order of Trinitie, num. 13

By Iohn Patriarch of Hierusalem, called Carmelits, p. ibid. n. 14 By S. Francis, called by 3. feuerall names, p. 376 n. 15 By S. Dominick, called Dominicans or Friers preachers, ibid. & num. 16 By 7. gentlemen, called Serui, or Seruitz, ibid. num. 17 By Don Iayme, king of Aragon, called the order of the redemption, pag. 377 num. 18 By Pedro Moron, called Celestins, ibid. num. 19 By Bernardus Ptolemeus, called Oliuitani, ibid. n. 20 By Iohannes Columbinus, called Iesuati, ibid. n. 21 By Pedro Ferdinando, called Hieromits, pag. 378 n. 22 By S. Cletus, called the Crucigeri, ibid. n. 23 By Francisco de Paula, called the Minimi, ibid. n. 24 By Pope Paulus the 4. called Theatins, ibid. n. 25 By Ignatius of Loyola, called the Societie of I E S V S, ibid. n. 26 By S. Bridget, p. 379 n. 27

Overthrowes, see *Battles, VVarres, Victories.*

Overthrowes.

Parlamts Passions.

A Motion by a Burges of the Parlamt house, pag. 572 num. 7. How to combt against particular passions and imperfections, pag. 165. num. 15. &c.

Patience.

A notable example of Patience in Socrates, pag. 214. num. 4.

Patience, see *Precepts.*

Peace.

Two Roman consuls forced to make a shamefull and dishonorable Peace, pag. 99 num. 27 The Carthaginians forced vpon conditions of a Peace, to burne their nauie of 500. sayle of ships, pag. 107 num. 17 Phillip kinge of Macedonie forced to surrender to the Romans all his Gallies, and to pay them 4000. weight of siluer for ten yeares, p. 108 n. 20 Mancinus deliuered to the Numantins naked with his handes bound behinde him, and to stand before their towne a whole day together, pag. 113 num. 38.

Penance.

The benefit which ariseth to Common welth by the catholique doctrine of Penance, p. 548 n. 45 &c. The bad effects which follow of the contrarie doctrine of sectaries, ibid. n. 47 An obiection answered concerning the facilitie of obtayning absolution, p. 549 n. 48 &c. Penance, see *Mortification.*

Perfection.

Two perfections necessarie to euerie man to make him a true Christian, pag. 326 n. 18 &c. The scope and end of the law of Christ, was to make euerie man more perfect in his vocation, p. 327 n. 22

Of our progresse and profiting in the way of Perfection, p. 606. 607 &c. Perseuerance requisite to true Christian Perfection, p. 618 n. 61 An obiection concerning Christian Perfection resolved, p. 619 n. 64 &c. A Perfection void of all fauldes can not be attained vnto in this life, p. 611 n. 69 What Christian Perfection is exacted of vs in this life, ibid. num. 71 Diuers degrees of Perfection, pag. 622. num. 72.

Periurie.

The punishment vsed by the Egyptians, and Indians for Periurie, pag. 73. num. 19. Periurie, see *Oaths.*

Pirats.

The infinit riches of certaine Pirats, pag. 120 num. 58

Plague.

Manie died in Rome of the Plague, pag. 91 num. 9. & p. 93. n. 10. & p. 95. n. 16. 17 Another strange Plague in Rome, with an absurd remedie for the prevention, pag. 97 n. 21 A great Plague both vpon men and cattel, pag. 99 n. 29 A strange Plague which killed children in their mothers wombe, and cattel in their dammes bellies, p. 101 n. 34. Another greiuous plague, n. 38.

A most cruel plague which lasted aboute three yeares, p. 110. n. 36. A horrible plague that the men aliue were not able to burie the dead, p. 131. n. 37. Above a million

OF THE MATTERS.

million and eight thousand died of the plague in Africk, pag. 114. n. 41. A great Plague so that for some time the ground was left untilld, pag. 125. n. 71. & p. 139. n. 44. Another great Plague amongst the Romans, p. 142. n. 54. Another in Rome, n. 56. A great Plague which infected the waters. n. 72. & n. 34.

Of a prince who vsed to determin of the futes of his subiects, by playing at Play. croffe and pyle, p. 66. n. 13.

No ful content to be had in worldlie pleasures, p. 31. n. 18. & n. 21. Pleasures and Pleasures. delicacies, and their great danger. p. 77. n. 56. &c.

The absurditie of Politiques who frame religion to reason of state, p. 45. n. 24. *Politique*.

Mahomets Poligamie refuted and conuincd, p. 180. n. 31 &c. No vse of Poligamie amongst the Iewes in Christ time, p. 182. n. 36. An obiection concerning Poligamie the Poligamie of the Patriarkes answered, *ibid*. Poligamie against reason of state, *ibid*.

pag. 183. num. 37. Another obiection touching Poligamie answered, p. 183. n. 38.

A third obiection answered, p. 184. n. 43. No necessitie of Poligamie, *ibid*. n. 44.

&c. The punishment thereof exemplified in Mahomet him selfe, pag. 185. n. 46.

A fourth obiection answered, p. 186. n. 49.

Of the euangelicall counsell of Poertie, pag. 409. cap. 28. per totum. Sundrie Poertie.

manifest arguments of our Sauours Poertie, *ibid*. n. 6. &c. Examples of Emperors,

kinges, and princes, who have changed their princelie dignities with euangelicall

Poertie, p. 417. n. 25 &c. Ifaacius Comnenus, and Iohannes Brena Emperors, *ibid*.

Also Theodorus Lascaris Emperour, and Lotharius Emperour, *ibid*. Of kinges an in-

finite number, p. 418. n. 26 &c. Of Princes of royall race, n. 28. Of Dukes, *ibid*,

& n. 30. Of Earles n. 29.

A horrible fact of the matrons of Rome to Poyson the whole citie, p. 98. num. 26. *Poyson*.

Hannibal Poysoned him selfe, p. 109. n. 25. Augustus poysoned with figges, pag. 128.

num. 5. Tiberius poysoned, pag. 136. n. 32. Claudius poysoned, n. 34. Commodus

poysoned, n. 55. Diocletian the great persecutor of the christians poysoned him

selfe, pag. 152. n. 86.

The great seruour of prayer in diuers deuour and contemplatiue parsons. In S. *Prayer*,

Anthoine, p. 389. n. 10. In S. Ephrem, *ibid*. n. 14. In an Abbot of a monasterie in

the desert of Scithia, p. 391. n. 17. In S. Cuthbert, p. 392. n. 21. In S. Anselmus Bishop

of Canterburie, p. 394. n. 27. In F. Xauerius, p. 398. n. 37. In F. Borgia, n. 38. In F.

Gonzaga, n. 39. In F. Pedro de Alcantara, p. 402. n. 43. In F. Antonio Corso, num. 46.

In Maria Magdalena di Pazzi, p. 403. n. 49. In blessed Stanislao, p. 404. n. 50. Prayer,

see *Extasie, Reuelation, Vision*.

Diuers obiections against the obseruation of our Sauours Precepts answered, and *Precepts*.

refuted, p. 328. n. 23 &c. Of the obseruation of the Precept of patience, pag. 329.

n. 27 &c. In what case the Precept of patience is to be obserued, and in what

case not, p. 330. n. 29 &c. Of the Precept to loue our enemies, p. 331. n. 31 &c.

Of the Precept of the carriage of the croffe, p. 332. n. 33.

The benefit which ariseth to common welth by the catholique doctrin of Prede- *Predesti-*

mination, p. 538. n. 18. The bad effects which follow thereon by the contrarie do- *nation*,

ctrin of sectaries, n. 19. 20. &c.

Of two sorts of Presumptious persons excluded from Gods seruice, p. 610. n. 41. *Presum-*

& 45. The Luciferian pride of Caligula, p. 139. n. 11. The pride of Domitian, n. 17. *Pride.*

Of the great authoritie of diuers idolatrous Priestes, and of the great respect that *Priests*.

was borne towards them, pag. 38. n. 8. 9 &c. Andreas Corolostadius the first Priest

amongst the sectarists that euer presume to marrie, p. 475. n. 37. Vitia kinge of

THE TABLE

- Prince.** Spain forced Priestes and religious men to marrie, p. 110 n. 1.
A notable morall lesson of Seneca to Princes in their purposes to doe good or hurt, p. 53 n. 7 The conditions Plato requireth in a Prince, p. 82 n. 26 &c.
- Prizes.** Of great spoyles and Prizes taken in the warres, p. 103 n. 5 Hanniball sent to Carthage three bushells of gould rings, taken from the handes of the Roman gentlemen that were slaine, p. 106 n. 13 The incredible welth and riches, brought by Paulus Æmilius out of Macedonie, p. 110 n. 29 &c.
- Prodigallitie.** Prodigallitie, see *Feastes*, and *Gluttonie*.
- Prouidence.** Denyers of Gods Prouidence, p. 69 n. 19
- Punishments.** The Punishments, miseries, and afflictions of the Romans, p. 84 n. 39 &c. The punishment of their tyrannicall kinges, p. 87 n. 45 & p. 88 cap. 10. 11. 13. per totum. The punishment of God vpon pagans, far greater then euer it was vpon christians, pag. 166 num. 27. &c. The punishment of God vpon Mauritius the Emperour, pag. 530 num. 86. Valens Emperour burnd in a cabin, n. 88 Vitiza deprived of his eies, *ibid.* Roderic slaine, *ibid.* Iacsius Comnenus Emperour, strooken from his horse with a thunderboulte, p. 531 n. 89 Nicephorus Phocas slaine by the meanes of his wife, n. 90 Punishment, see *Famine*, *Plague*, *VVanders*.
- Purgatiue.** Of the Purgatiue, Illuminatiue, and Vnitie way, and of three sorts of persons that they are appropriated vnto, p. 254 n. 24 &c. Meditations belonging to the Purgatiue way, p. 297 n. 29.
- R
- Rebellion.** The Rebellion of the fedenates, pag. 95 num. 16 A great Rebellion in Sicilie of 70000. slaues, p. 114 n. 39 The Picentes and others, tooke armes to deliuer them selues from the dominion of the Romans, p. 116 n. 46 Rebellion, see *Conspiracies*.
- Religion.** The necessitie of Religion, cap. 1. pag. 1. The definition of Religion, pag. 5 How by the Religion of man all other creatures good or bad, doe glorifie and serue God, p. 9 & 10 A similitude to this purpose, *ibid.* That the true end and felicitie both of man and common welth consisteth in Religion, p. 15 n. 2 &c. The absurditie, superstition, impure ceremonies, bloodie sacrifices, and bad effects of Paganisme, shewed in the Religion of the ancient Romans, p. 48 &c. vnto p. 58 Their superstitious southsayings, p. 60 n. 1 &c.
- The great force and conquest of christian Religion, p. 170 n. 35 Two principall points or heads, selected by the author, to proue the necessitie of christian Religion, p. 199 n. 6 All perfection of vertu containd in christian Religion, *ibid.* & n. 7. 8. &c. The great change and alteration which christian Religion wrought in the mindes of men, p. 200 n. 9. 10 &c. The great puritie and excellencie thereof, n. 12
- Christian Religion most politicall and fit for government of state, pag. 203 num. 19 The praise given by panimms of Christians and of their Religion, p. 204 n. 20 The force and effects of Christian Religion for the alteration of mens mindes & manners, pag. 220 n. 21 & 24
- Religious persons.** The exercise of contemplatiue and religious life deduced from the Apostles to these our dayes, pag. 368 num. 25 Of religious women of our nation in Portugall and Flanders, p. 380 n. 27 &c. Of the multitude and varietie of religious orders, p. 381 n. 30 &c.
- Notable examples of benefits done to countries, princes and their states, by the merits and prayers of religious men, pag. 514 num. 12 S. Hilarion by his prayers obtained rayne, *ibid.* n. 13 Destroyed the serpent Boas, n. 14 And deliuered the ciue Epidaurus from a great deluge, num. 15 Senuphrus obtrayed for Theo-

OF THE MATTERS.

Theodosius a victorie by his prayers; num. 16 Macezill obtayned a famous victorie by the prayers of certaine holic Monkes, num. 17 Kyricus a victorie by the prayers of Theodosius, num. 18.

Rome deliuered from sacking by prayers, n. 19. Hierusalem from adrought, by prayers, n. 20 Lacedemon from a plague, n. 21. Ranulph a victorie by the prayers of S. Bernard, n. 22 Henerie the 2. from drownings, by the prayers of S. Hugh, n. 23 Aretium from sedition, by S. Francis, n. 24 Assisio from sacking, by S. Clare, num. 25 Messina from sacking by Albertus a Carmelit friar, n. 26 Morissa from a storme, by S. Vincent, n. 27 The great honor which Emperors, kinges, and princes haue done to religious persons, p. 522 n. 51. Theodosius to Senuphius, n. 52 Henerie the first to S. Romoaldus, n. 53 Religious, see *Conuerfion, and Orders.*

Of fundrie Reuelations imparted by God to his seruants, pag. 388 n. 6 The Reuelations of S. Dionysius Areopagita, touching S. Iohn the Euangelist, ibid. Of S. Carpus before he sayed Masse, ibid. Of S. Basil, and S. Ephrem, p. 390 n. 22 Of Rope Gregorie the seuenth, pag. 393 n. 20 Reuelations, see *Enstasies, Visions, Prayers.*

Plato refused to giue lawes to the Cyrenians, because of their excessive riches, p. 23 n. 23 &c. The great welth and riches of the Romans, pag. 159 n. 2. &c. Notable examples of the contempt of riches. In the matrons of Rome, p. 97 n. 22. In Antisthenes, in Crates, in Diognes and others, p. 190 n. 61 Riches, see *Prizes.*

Rome sacked by the Gauls, p. 95 n. 19. The seueritie of Gods punishment vpon the Romans, cap. 10. per totum. The Romans slew a number of their owne soldiars, p. 101 n. 36

S

The admirable effect of the blessed Sacrament in the conuerfion of S. William Duke of Aquitan, p. 225 num. 32 Henerie the Emperor caused alwayes his whole armie to receiue the blessed Sacrament before he gaue battayle, p. 337 n. 7. Five thousand men sacrificed in Mexico in the west Indie in one day, pag. 354. num. 28. Sacrifices.

Many townes, cities, and countries miraculously protected by the patronage and protection of Saints, and Angels, p. 356 n. 31 The benefit arising to common welth by the catholique doctrin of prayers to Saints, pag. 551 n. 57 The prejudice which ensueth by the contrarie doctrin, ibid.

Of the excellencies and perfections of our blessed Sauour. See *Meditation, and Sibills.*

How Menenius Agrippa pacified a sedition, and mutenie amongst the people by telling of a fable, p. 90 n. 4 Another sedition of the people, n. 5 Another sedition betwixt the people and the senat, n. 6 Another sedition, p. 91 n. 8 Dangerous remedies sought to preuent seditions, p. 94 n. 13 A sedition raised by a consul a plebeian, p. 98 n. 26 Seditions that the plebeians might marrie with the nobilitie, p. 100 n. 29. The famous sedition of Tiberius Gracchus, p. 114 n. 39 The sedition of Cayus Gracchus, p. 115 n. 41 The sedition of Cayus Maurus, p. 115 n. 45 Other great seditions and dissensions, p. 121 n. 60 Sedition, see *Rebellion, and Conspiracie.*

Of the garde and recollection of our Senses, exemplified in S. Bernard, and F. Pedro de Alcantara, p. 262 n. 5.6. Senses.

Two hundred seuentie Sects since Luthers time to ours, and but one hundred eightie one, from Christs to Luther, p. 449 n. 30. Sects.

Prodigious Signes, see *Wonder.*

Signes.

Shippa.

A shippa of a hundred and thirtie Shippa, built and furnished by the Romans in threescore dayes, pag. 102. num. 1. Lamentable Shipwracks, p. 103. n. 3. 6. Shippa, see *Peace*.

Sinne.

Of the great detriment of Sinne and vice to a common welth, p. 76. n. 3. & 5. 7. &c. A notable law of Seuleucas, forbidding all companie with wicked men, ibid. n. 4. The nature of Sinne compared to a bowle cast downe a hill, p. 117. n. 10. To a ship with out a sterne, p. 118. n. ibid. The blasphemie of Luther, Calvin, and others making God the authour of Sinne, p. 143. n. 34. &c. The great detriment which ariseth to common welth by this doctrine, p. 144. n. 38. &c. Sinne, see *Common welth*.

Sibbils.

All the particulars of our Sauours life, death, and miracles, seuerallie fore-told by the Sibbils, p. 198. n. 3.

Soldiars.

The great insolencie of the Soldiars in setting vp and pulling downe Emperors at their pleasures, p. 144. n. 57. &c. The empire set on sale by the Soldiars for who would giue most, ibid. The great seruitude of the senators to the Soldiars, p. 151. n. 79. Three qualities belonging to a christian soldiar, p. 614. n. 53. &c. Soldiars, see *Murders*.

Sodomie.

Mahomet alloweth the sinne of Sodomie, p. 188. n. 16. The Thalmud of the Iewes alloweth the same, p. 194. n. 72. Publique stewes of boyes allowed, p. 100. num. 10.

Soule.

The three powers of the soule, represent the highe myserie of the blessed Trinitie, pag. 250. num. 16. &c.

Subiects.

The dutie of Subiects, pag. 81. num. 22.

South-

Soyages.

Of the manifold and foolish Southsayings practised by the Romans, pag. 60. n. 1. The beginning of southsaying deriued from Tages, p. 6. n. 4. Their innumerable lyes and deceitfull predictions, p. 63. n. 9. 10. & p. 66. n. 14.

State.

The Religion which destroyeth religion, pernicious to State, p. 70. n. 21.

Stigmata.

Of diuers holic personages, who received in this life the Stigmata, or markes of our blessed Sauour, p. 463. n. 8.

Swearing.

Swearing, see *Oathes*.

Tirannie.

The punishment of Tirants and of tiranie, pag. 87. num. 45. The Tirannie of Marius and Silla, p. 117. n. 48. The tirannie of Octavianus Cesar, p. 123. n. 67. & p. 124. n. 70. Of the crueltie and tirannie of Tiberius, p. 128. n. 7. 8. Of Caligula, p. 129. n. 10. 11. The horrible Tirannie of Maxentius, n. 91.

Torments.

Marius Scauola threatened with Torment, held his owne hand in the fire, vntill it was consumed, pag. 89. n. 3. & pag. 114. n. 4. Porcia Catoes daughter swallowed downe hote burning coales, p. 215. n. 6. The saying of a heathen philosopher extreamelie afflicted with the gout, p. 406. n. 55. Of Arnulphus vexed with the torment of the collique, ibid. n. 56.

Trinitie.

Trinitie, see *Soule*.

Triumph.

The forme of a Roman Triumpe represented, p. 110. n. 19.

Valour.

The commendation of perfect Valour exemplified in the Lacedemonians, pag. 347. num. 8. In Christantus, p. 348. n. ibid. A case put, of a panim, and a christian going to the warre to fight for their countrie, pag. 352. num. 23. Valour, see *Fortitude*.

Virtues.

Of the four cardinal virtues, and of the great benefit which they bring to the common welth where they are exercised, p. 75. n. 2. & p. 80. n. 17. Polemon of

very rich

n. 34.

&c. Vice,

Of di

of Gou

tomoa

134

Visions:

The

Gaules

p. 104. n.

against

the Rom

victorio

of Iuliu

Pompeii

lius by

Alexa

lesse th

throws.

Of th

the mar

almight

and disp

The v

pleasure

and wh

of Chri

28. & p.

Of th

be obser

proper t

Of di

The obi

life answ

virginit

p. 431. n.

ordinari

ginitie, p

honor do

Vnth

The o

What r

of thei

1498. n.

reason

libertie, p

49. The

very riotous, became sober and temperat by the doctrine of Zenoocrates. pag. 449
 n. 34. Three vertues requit and necessarie to a christian soldier. pag. 614. n. 33
 &c. Vertu, see holy *Linos*, and *Obedience*.

Vice, see vicious *Linos*.

Of diuine Visions and Illustrations of spirit in sundrie contemplatiue seruants
 of God, p. 315 n. 27. Of Ephrem, p. 390 n. 14. Of S. Hierom, n. 16. Of S.
 Iohannalduis, p. 393 n. 25. Of S. Anselmus, n. 27. Of S. Francis of Paula, pag. 396
 34. Of the B. Father Irenaeus of Loyola, n. 35. Of F. Borgia, pag. 399. num. 38
 Visions, see *Extasies*, *Raptations*, *Prayer*.

The Victorie of the Smnits against the Romans, pag. 99 num. 27. Of the *Victorie*.
 Gaules against the Romans, *ibid.* n. 29. Of Lustratus against the Carthaginienſes,
 p. 104. n. 7. Of the Gaules against Appius Claudius, p. 113. n. 37. Of the Vaccei
 against Lepidus, p. 114. n. 39. The great victorie of the Cimbri, and others against
 the Romans, p. 115. n. 44. The admirable victories of L. Lucullus, p. 119. n. 44. The
 victorious conquest of Cneus Pompeius, p. 120. n. 45. The like famous victorie
 of Iulius Cesar, *ibid.* The victorie of Cesar against Pompey, p. 121. n. 62. Against
 Pompeis frindes and children, *ibid.* n. 63. The miraculous victorie of Marcus Aure-
 lius by the prayers of the christians, pag. 143. n. 54.

Alexander the great ouerthrew Darius with six hundred thousand men, with
 lesse then fortie thousand, p. 113. n. 9. Victorie, see *Battle*, *Warre*, and *Over-
 throwes*.

Of the naturall inclination the soule hath to be vnited with God; compared to
 the mariners comes touched or rubbed with the loadstone, p. 34. n. 25. That
 almightie God vnitch him selfe diuersly with his, according to the different capacitee
 and disposition heindefth in their soules, p. 386. n. 2.

The worth and valew of mans vnion with God, p. 598. n. 9. The incomparable
 pleasure and delight thereof, p. 602. n. 19. Of the meanes how it is to be obtained,
 and who they are that arrive thereto, p. 604. n. 23. & p. 617. n. 59. Of three sorts
 of Christians who neuer arrive to that happie vnion with God in this life, p. 614. n.
 28. & p. 616. n. 58.

Of the vnitie way and of the practise thereof, p. 286. n. 1. &c. Five things to
 be obserued by those which practise the vnitue way, p. 287. n. 2. 3. &c. Meditations
 proper to the vnitue way, p. 305. n. 1.

Of diuers virgins consecrated to God in the primatiue Church, pag. 360. num. 11. *Virginitie*
 The obiection of Luther, Peter Martyr, and Melancthon against the reward of single
 life answered, p. 428. n. 18. &c. Luthers frivolous shift concerning the matter of
 virginitee, discovered, p. 423. n. 5. Another absurd deuise of Peter Martyr disproved.
 p. 431. n. 27. Another euasion of the aduersaries disproved, p. 433. n. 33. Another
 ordinarie obiection answered, p. 434. n. 34. 35. The great praises of the state of vir-
 ginitee, p. 436. n. 40. &c. Of the Vestall virgins amongst the panims, and the great
 honor dole to them, p. 448. n. 33. Virginitee, see *Chastitee*.

Vnthankfulness, see *Ingratitude*.

The obiections of the aduersaries against Vowes answered, pag. 490. num. 2. 3. &c. *Vnthank-
 fulnes*. What manner of things may lawfully be vowed, p. 493. n. 8. Other shifts and caills
 of theirs discovered and conuincid, p. 469. n. 19. 20. Luthers vaine glose answered.
 p. 498. n. 24. Caluins shifts and gloses answered. *ibid.* n. 25. 26. &c. The absurd
 reason of Peter Martyr, p. 507. n. 45. Their reason of their restraint of christian
 libertie, p. 508. n. 47. Their reason drawn from scripture, p. 407. n. 46. & p. 509. n.
 49. The acts of diuers wicked Emperors against religious vowes, pag. 510. num. 1.

... of the same, at several times, religious, answered, pag. 511. num. 1. Row
... of the same, for Christianitie, p. 501. ...

W

Warre The cruell Warre betwixt the Romans and the king Tarquinius, pag. 49. num. 1. Betwixt the Romans and the Sabine, Equi, Volscian and Aranci, ibid. Betwixt the Romans and the Fidenates, p. 91. n. 16. 17. Betwixt the Gaules and the Romans, pag. 99. num. 19. Again betwixt the Volsci and the Romans, ibid. n. 20. Betwixt the Romans and the Samnites, p. 27. &c. & p. 97. n. 14.

With the Gaules, p. 99. n. 29. With the Tarantins, p. 100. n. 31. With the Fali and Gaules, p. 104. n. 9. With the Ilirici, ibid. n. 10. With Philipp king of Macedon, p. 107. n. 19. With the Syrians, p. 108. n. 22. With the Leuces, p. 109. n. 23. The second war of Macedonie, with K. Perseus, p. 110. n. 27. The Romans with the C. tiberians, p. 112. n. 34. The last war with Carthage, p. 112. n. 5.

A Portugall who first began to rob vpon the high wayes, grew so strong that he was able to make warre vpon the Romans, pag. 113. n. 36. Betwixt the Romans and the Numantins, ibid. n. 38. Of Iugurthins against Aulus Posthumius, p. 115. n. 43. The wars with Mishridates and betwixt Marius and Sulla, p. 116. n. 47. Betwixt Sertorius & Metellus, p. 118. n. 52. The infamous wars of the fugitiue vnder Spartacus, ibid. n. 53. The wars of the pirats and their incredible forces, p. 120. n. 57. The wars betwixt Celsus and Pompey, p. 121. n. 62. See more in *Battayles and Victories*.

Wills Of the benefit which ariseth to common welth by the catholique doctrine of fre will, p. 122. n. 38. Of the detrimēt which ariseth thereto by the contrarie doctrine, p. 124. n. 33.

Wonders Diuers prodigious figures and wonders, rayning of blood, quell famin, straying plagues, &c. p. 86. n. 42. Showers of gobbets of flesh, p. 92. n. 10. The earth opened to the very bowels in the midst of the market place of Rome, p. 92. n. 22. Rayning birth, p. 99. n. 29. Men killed by a prodigious thunder, p. 100. n. 32. & p. 101. n. 34. A marvellous eruption of fire out of the ground, ibid. n. 37. Abundance of blood flowed out of the earth, ibid. n. 38. A rayne of blood two dayes together, p. 110. n. 26. Two mountaines in Medcna ran one against another, p. 116. n. 4.

Cattle and beastes fell mad, and would suffer no man to approach them, p. 116. n. 46. The towne of Praetorium whole swallowed vp by the earth, p. 124. n. 59. The hill of Vesuius, cast forth incredible heapes of hene ashes, p. 129. n. 44. A prodigious darknes and roaring noise out of the earth, pag. 149. num. 75. Wonders, see *Prodigious*.

Workes To flow contemptibly and basely Luther speaketh of good workes, p. 55. n. 5. 6. &c. An obiection answered, in what sense Calvin admitteth good workes, pag. 690. n. 97. 98. &c.

F. I. N. I. S.

